

**'Glonacal' Contexts: Internationalisation Policy in the
Australian Higher Education Sector and the
Development of Pathway Programs**

**This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Education from Murdoch University**

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I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

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Abstract

Through a critique of Ball's (1990) policy analysis framework, this dissertation explores the influences that led to the deregulation of international student recruitment ('the policy') and the subsequent development of pathway programs in the Australian higher education sector. In this study Ball's framework is extended to include Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) *glonacal* heuristic to analyse the *global, national and local* contexts that contributed to the creation and implementation of 'the policy'. The development of pathway programs is chosen as one aspect of implementation to allow for an exploration that progresses from a macro to a microanalysis of 'the policy' cycle.

The study examines the key 'players' or individuals who contributed to 'the policy's' creation, the ideologies that influenced these individuals and the contexts within which decisions were made. The research found that *glonacal* influences of neoliberalism, globalisation, internationalisation and commercialisation were paramount in the formation of 'the policy', and in influencing key 'players'. It was also recognized that it was not always possible to definitively describe the role of these 'players' or 'actors' according to a hierarchical structure and separate contexts, confirming Ball's (1990) theory that influence on policy is often ad hoc and trajectory in nature.

Education is an export industry, which contributes an income of \$5.6 billion to the Australian economy. In 2004, there were 151,798 international students in the higher education sector, with 10 Australian universities depending on this industry for 15% to 40% of their total income. The development of pathway programs and universities' close association with private providers has contributed significantly to the overall commercial and internationalisation objectives of these universities. The pathway model, delivered through a private provider, examined in this study is quintessentially Australian, and was a *local* response to the possibilities that 'the policy' created. The model flourished because of Commonwealth and state support, the former providing a national accreditation system in the form of the Australian Qualification Framework ensuring articulation to a university course. From a state perspective, pathway programs and private providers prospered with the support of university partners and successive Western Australian state governments that recognised the commercial gains to be made through co-operative partnerships.

The research concludes that through *glonacal* influences the recruitment of international students to Australian universities developed into an industry that is uniquely Australian. The development of pathway programs and the involvement of private providers was one of its distinguishing characteristics.

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Chapter 1

The Deregulation of International Student Recruitment and Pathway Programs – Setting the Context

Context of a Commercial Environment

In 1985, the Australian federal government allowed universities to recruit international fee-paying students for commercial gain. Previously, Australia's involvement with international students had been on an aid basis where in, "1986 there were 20,000 foreign 'aid' students, subsidized by the Australian government and only 2000 full-fee foreign 'trade' students who fully paid their own way" (Smart & Ang, 1993a, p. 31). This move from 'aid to trade' (Smart and Ang) in Australian education and the Ministerial White Paper on Higher Education released by the then Minister of Education John Dawkins (1988b) were policies strongly influenced by 'new right' economic rationalist policies in which market forces prevailed. The importance of recruiting international fee-paying students has become significant for Australian universities and income from the export of education is now an embedded component of the universities' budgets. In 2003, 10 Australian universities received 15% to 40% of their total income from international students (Lane, 2005, p. 33).

In 1993 Paul Keating the federal Treasurer commissioned a review of the Australian financial system. The chair of that committee, in setting the terms of reference for the

review, refers to the Prime Minister's observations on the market: "Social Democrats have no reason to deny the capacity of markets to allocate resources efficiently, or the great productive power that is associated with this capacity" (Hawke, as cited in Martin, 1984, p. 3). Martin observed that it was a, "widely held perception that the Government, in pursuit of its broad objectives accords a major role to market forces" (p. 3). It was this belief in the capacity of the market to provide resources, which influenced Dawkins to deregulate international student recruitment and establish a new export industry. Dawkins' objective was not only to improve Australia's international trade deficit, but was also a means to fund the changes proposed in the White Paper and provide for more places in a mass higher education system. Both the deregulation of international student recruitment and the White Paper irrevocably changed the nature of universities in Australia.

The commercial environment created in the higher education sector through 'the policy' afforded opportunities for universities and private providers alike. The development and success of *pathway* programs was such an opportunity. The pathway programs created a unique model of articulation for international students wanting to access a university education in Australia. Once universities began recruiting significant numbers of international fee-paying students, it became evident that there was a need for programs that increased market access and also prepared and qualified students for university entry. Many of the students in Australia's markets, for example Indonesia, have completed high school in their own country but do not qualify for direct entry into Australian universities. Other students from Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, where the British system of education prevails (General Certificate Examinations, GCE 'O' and 'A' levels), decide not to proceed to

‘A’ levels wanting to study in Australia as soon as possible. Private providers and universities quickly grasped the commercial opportunities available in this niche market of pre-tertiary courses and combined efforts to provide an attractive pathway option.

Focus of this Study

To date there has been minimal research on how pathway courses and private providers have contributed to this income and the overall commercial and internationalisation objectives of these universities. The private provider selected for this study was an innovator in the way that it focused on: nurturing close relationships with its host universities; providing access to a range of courses; and ensuring substantial financial returns to the universities. Therefore, this study examines how recruiting international students for commercial gain evolved and explores the significance of pathway courses offered by private providers as one aspect of the implementation of that policy.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the influences that led to the deregulation of international student recruitment and the subsequent development of pathway programs in the Australian higher education sector. Through a critique of policy process, the policy cycle of the deregulation of international student recruitment (referred to as the ‘the policy’ throughout this thesis) is tracked from influence to implementation, with a particular focus on pathway programs as one aspect of policy implementation. The study examines the question of who were the key players or individuals who contributed to the ‘policy’s’ creation, the ideologies which influenced these individuals and the contexts within which decisions were made. The export of education to international students is an established hallmark of the

Australian higher education sector, and as such there are many facets of implementation that could be scrutinised. I have chosen the development of pathway programs (within particular parameters) as one example of the implementation of ‘the policy’. This allows for an exploration that progresses from a macro to a microanalysis of ‘the policy’ cycle.

Through the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF) (a national accrediting system) private providers developed courses specifically designed for international fee-paying students. Upon successful completion, the pathway courses provide international students direct articulation to higher education. In most cases the provider offers a Certificate IV (an alternative to the end of high school exams, such as Tertiary Entrance Exams, ‘A’ levels and the International Baccalaureate) in a number of popular streams such as Commerce, Media and Communication, Information Technology and Design. The Certificate leads to a Diploma that is the equivalent of the first year of a university course. In some cases the private provider has an agreement to use a university’s intellectual property for the Diploma for which it is paid a royalty. In turn the university agrees to moderate assignments and exams, and grants advanced standing of one year for the Diploma. It is this specific model that is the subject of this research.

The establishment of pathway programs and colleges for the export of education began to flourish especially in Western Australia. Since 1996, the pathway model has become more refined and as a result there are many universities in Australia that have formed relationships with public (the Technical and Further Education – TAFE colleges) and private providers to develop pathway courses. Although these full fee-

paying pathway courses are accessible to local students, the primary focus of private providers is the recruitment of international fee-paying students. Equally, although TAFE colleges also offer Certificate IV's and Diplomas, this sector is not included in the study as the focus is one particular private provider.

Through their collaborative partnerships public universities and private colleges established a strong profile for pre-university pathways with the promise of articulation to a university place upon successful completion. The objective of these university/private provider partnerships is to capture international students early in their education life cycle and lock in a student's tertiary destination prior to their meeting university entrance requirements. From the perspective of the universities, these strategic alliances are essential to maintain recruitment numbers. To this end, many Australian universities have established close financial and academic relationships with private providers. The sole objective of these relationships is to recruit substantial numbers of students via these pathways, and in doing so, diversify the revenue base for the university. These relationships are largely driven by the dramatic decrease in Commonwealth funding for higher education, and the need for universities to increase their fee-paying international student numbers.

Internationalisation of the Australian Tertiary Sector

The "Australian McKinnon Benchmarks on Internationalisation" provide a broad definition of internationalisation in the tertiary sector. Benchmark 10.3, achieving a "balanced onshore international student programme" (McKinnon, Walker & Davis, 2000, p.129), is directed towards international student recruitment and the

commercial gain made by universities through this activity. This benchmark provides the focal point for this study.

The Australian Vice Chancellor's Committee (AVCC) (2003) reported that between 2003-2004, the export of education rated ninth of all Australia's export of goods and services, contributing \$5.6 billion to the Australian economy. Table 1 overleaf provides a summary of these data.

Table 1 Australia's Major Exports of Goods and Services 2002-2003, 2003-2004

	2002-03	2003-04
Major categories of Goods and Services	(\$m)	(\$m)
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	21,466	20,739
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	23,803	20,381
Food and live animals	18,399	18,158
Commodities and transactions not classified elsewhere (in the SITC)	13,117	13,700
Machinery and transport equipment	13,530	11,923
Manufactured goods classified chiefly by material	12,605	11,339
<i>Tourism</i>	<i>9,434</i>	<i>10,212</i>
<i>Transportation services</i>	<i>7,467</i>	<i>7,564</i>
<i>Education services</i>	<i>4,896</i>	<i>5,622</i>
Chemicals and related products	5,093	5,288
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4,413	4,267
<i>Other business services</i>	<i>3,704</i>	<i>3,592</i>
<i>Miscellaneous business, professional & technical</i>	<i>3,170</i>	<i>2,985</i>
Beverages and tobacco	2,725	2,694
<i>Gross inward insurance premiums receivable</i>	<i>1,645</i>	<i>1,678</i>
<i>Computer and information services</i>	<i>1,091</i>	<i>1,128</i>
<i>Financial services</i>	<i>984</i>	<i>1,004</i>

Source: International Goods and Services (5368.0) and Balance of Payments (5302.0) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2003).

Note: Services data shown in italics.

In 2004, there was a total of 322,776 international students in Australia, coming from the top five countries of China, South Korea, Hong Kong, India and Malaysia. The total for the higher education sector for 2004 was 151,798, that is, 47% of the total cohort for that year (see Department of Education, Science and Training, 2005b,

Tables C, A & G). National statistics for pathway students are not so readily available as they are included in either the Vocational Education Training (VET) sector or 'other' category. However, statistics for this sector are available for Western Australia. In 2004, Perth Education City (PEC) (a member's organisation consisting of Western Australia's major educational institutions responsible for recruiting 95% of all Western Australia's international students) commissioned a feasibility study on international education. This report estimated that there were about 3,444 students in the pre-university non-TAFE non-schools sector in 2004 in Western Australia (Lawrence, 2004, p. 10). One of the main objectives of this report was to calculate the economic impact of all international students on Western Australia's economy. The model used for this incorporated: the calculation of fees paid by students; the value of the goods and services sustaining the industry; the economic value international students contributed to tourism; and the number of jobs created. Economic benefit was calculated by using a multiplier of 1.58, and a multiplier of 1.73 was used to calculate the number of jobs that were created and sustained through this industry. The conclusion from the Lawrence Report estimated the value of the international education industry, to Western Australia alone, at \$1.105 billion (p. 15).

Pre-tertiary pathway programs generate a substantial proportion of this revenue. The Western Australian Technology and Industry Advisory Council (2000) through its report, *Export of Western Australian Education and Training: Constraints and Opportunities*, confirmed the 'importance of pathways' and observed that, "a key strategy in attracting significant numbers of international students was the identification, articulation and development of appropriate pathways" (p. 14).

Developing pathways as a key strategy has been essential to the commercialisation and internationalisation of the Australia higher education sector. It underpins the expansion and diversification of markets that are required by universities to grow their international student cohort. As a consequence, universities have sought out relationships with private providers who have enhanced recruitment and exposure to the market. The recruitment of international fee-paying students has become a very competitive enterprise amongst universities and gaining an 'edge' has become crucial. Universities forming alliances with private pre-tertiary providers who can supply a steady stream of students have established such an 'edge'. Typically the private provider markets the courses focusing on the profile of their university partner, and the guaranteed access to the university upon successful completion of specific courses. The provider selected for this case study research is an example of such a private educational provider.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because through a policy analysis framework the impact of 'the policy' is mapped providing a greater understanding of how policy cultures are formed, how certain players influence policy and how goals are achieved. The research framework provided for a macro and microanalysis of the roles of particular stakeholders or 'players' and the ideologies that influenced them. The data analysis captured the response of the key 'players' at one particular point in time and within particular contexts. This scrutiny contributed to a better understanding of policy making and its implementation within the setting of the Australian higher education sector. For example, interviews with both Commonwealth and state bureaucrats illustrated the following roles and influences: global, national and local influences;

government as regulator/legislator to protect the market; and the importance of the contribution of individuals at all levels and sectors. Equally, the data revealed the role of universities in the creation of ‘the policy’ and how this role differed once ‘the policy’ was implemented.

Significantly the study also explores one aspect of ‘the policy’, that is, how the development of pathway courses offered through private providers was implemented. Very little research has been done on the role of pathway programs and private providers in the development of the commercialisation and internationalisation in the Australian higher education sector. For university administrators such as myself, involved in the strategic development of internationalisation policy and the nurturing of partnerships with private providers, there is no significant analysis or research in this area which informs direction and decision making.

This research also highlighted Western Australian state government support for education exports in the mid to late-1980s, and as such the flourishing of the public and private education sectors in that state. The interview data also revealed the significant role of the particular individuals in these sectors and why pathway programs and private providers flourished in Western Australia in the 1990s.

In addition, this research provides a microanalysis of policy implementation through the evaluation of pathway programs provided by key stakeholders, that is, public servants, university administrators and academics, and private owners of colleges. Of equal importance is the assessment of these programs by the end users of ‘the policy’ cycle, that is, the students in pathway courses. The study contributes to an

understanding of how students view these programs, the prime objectives they have in enrolling in these courses, and how they evaluate their success. These student insights complete the mapping of ‘the policy’ cycle and provide a set of criteria by which the success of one aspect of implementation of ‘the policy’ can be assessed.

Research Question

Ball’s (1990a & 1993) policy analysis framework, which focuses on ‘contexts of influence, discourse/production and practice’, is pivotal to this research. The overall research questions are contextualised within Ball’s framework and questions:

- What was the ‘context of influence’, that is, the ideologies and ‘players’ that helped create the deregulation of international student recruitment?
- How did the ‘context of influence’ contribute to ‘policy in practice’, that is, the development of pathway programs?
- How are pathway programs evaluated by key stakeholders within the context of the commercialisation and internationalisation of Australia’s higher education sector?

Specifically, the above focus is explored by the following guiding questions:

Overview

- What were the perceptions of significant national and local stakeholders of the influences that led to the deregulation of international student recruitment?
- How does a *glonacal* (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002) perspective (that is, global, national and local influences) lead to an understanding of the

implementation of one particular aspect – the pathway program – of internationalisation policy in Western Australia?

Context

- What was the economic and educational context within which pathways and private educational providers flourished?
- What has been the role of pathway programs and private providers in the development of international policy in Australia?
- What has been the nature of the relationship between private providers and universities within the context of commercialisation and internationalisation?
- What is the role and level of quality of the pathway programs offered through private providers?

Analysis

- How was ‘the policy’ created and implemented?
- How did pathway programs evolve and why?
- Who were the key players in the context of influence and practice in the development of these pathway programs?

Policy Analysis: a Theoretical Framework

In this section some basic assumptions regarding policy analysis are discussed and related to ‘the policy’ (a fuller elaboration of the framework and methodology is provided in Chapter 3). These assumptions are core to this study, as they influenced the way in which I reviewed the formulation and implementation of ‘the policy’, and

essentially guided the way in which data were gathered and analysed. I recognise that the policy under review was formulated in the 1980s; however, this type of policy analysis can provide valuable insight into the policy cycle, as Lingard, Knight and Porter (1993) confirm:

... just as with the study of history, the value of pursuing policy analysis in a time of fast policy making, lies in the potential understandings it provides of the policy culture and structures of policy making and the discourses and frames of references of contemporary policy makers. Such understandings provide some purchase on the historical character of policy development and implementation and point to future policy possibilities and probabilities (p. vii).

Although this research is primarily based on Ball's (1990-1998) policy analysis theory, it is further refined and informed by Dudley and Vidovich (1995), Lingard (1996), and Vidovich (2002b, 2002c). Their discussion focuses on what constitutes 'policy', and more specifically educational policy, the influences that shape it and how it is implemented.

Essentially, Ball follows a postmodern framework for policy analysis, viewing policy as a process rather than an end in itself. He "highlights the complex and contested nature of education policy as a process rather than the end product" (Vidovich, 2000b, p. 6). Both Ball (1990a) and Marginson (1997a) elaborate on Foucault's notions of power, the role power plays on the state and 'economies', the domination and subordination of control and the level of autonomy or independence of the state in relation to formulation of public policy in the market economy of the 'new right'.

Dudley and Vidovich (1995) describe policy as what governments do or don't do (with a sense of purpose and goals to be achieved), and it "represents attempts to move society towards some preferred model or image, through the changing of existing practices or social relations" (p. 15). In addition, they cite Anderson (see Prunty, 1984) and Ripley (1985) who classify policies as being distributive, redistributive or regulatory. Distributive policies are ones that, "benefit all groups ... re-distributive policies ... are those that re-apportion resources and regulatory policies limit or direct behaviours or the actions of particular groups" (Dudley & Vidovich, 1995, p. 16). Ball (1990-1998) also discusses the concept of directing behaviour and outcomes through policy and concludes that:

... policies are both systems of values and symbolic systems: ways of representing, accounting for and legitimating political decisions. Policies are articulated both to achieve material effects and manufacture support for those effects (Ball, 1998a, p. 124).

The deregulation of international student recruitment was a policy that was, paradoxically, regulatory, in that it directed behaviour and 'achieved material effects' in the higher education sector. It gained almost immediate support from universities, which began recruiting international students, and delivered the outcome desired by 'the policy'.

Ball's theory of policy analysis rests on a 'policy sociology', which Ozga (1987) describes as social science tradition, informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques (as cited in Ball, 1990a). Ball's policy cycle approach emphasises contexts of influence, text production/discourse and practice. It does not view the state as the centre of policy formulation and implementation. There is,

however, very robust debate in the literature as to the role of the state within the globalised, economic rationalist context. That is, debate over how its role has changed, the extent of the influences it brings to bear and the level at which it operates, centrally and locally. It is Lingard (1996) and Vidovich's (2002b) refinement of the role of the state that contributed significantly to this study. These are discussed in more depth in Chapter 3.

Ball's (1990-1998) policy analysis involves a complex and layered approach which he terms 'policy trajectory studies': "those (studies) that attempt to capture the dynamics of policy across and between levels" (Ball, 1997, p. 266). Ball's three contexts for analyses, the context of influence, the context of policy production/discourse and the context of policy practice, framed the schema for this study, the data collection and analysis. Ball (1993) uses the word trajectory to describe these contexts:

Each context consists of a number of different arenas of action—some private and some public. Each context involves struggle and compromise and *ad hocery*. They are loosely coupled and there is no simple one-way direction of flow of information between them. Such a trajectory form of analysis may also be a way of ensuring that policy analyses ask critical/theoretical questions, rather than simple problem-solving ones (Ball, 1993, p. 16).

Ball (1990-1998) contends that these contexts, and their impact one on the other, are not hierarchical or ordered in nature but 'messy' as cross-sectional lines of influence are evident when policy formation is tracked to policy implementation. Ball's work has evolved since 1990 and in an early critique of Thatcherite policies in England he emphasised the complexity of the conflict, pressures and influences that impact on education more specifically, he considered, "education policy *in relation to the*

political and ideological and economic” (1990a, p. 9). Further he concluded that the ‘context of influence’ for any policy formation is axiomatic and therefore, “cannot be divorced from interests of conflict: from domination or from justice” (p. 8), which leads this research to the ideology, politics and economic influences of globalisation and economic rationalism.

Vidovich’s (2002b) subsequent refinement of this framework was also invaluable in providing additional detailed guidance for ‘interrogating the policy process’. Through a number of specific questions, related to each of Ball’s (1993) three contexts, Vidovich’s (2002b) interrogation explores the policy process confirming, “Each of these contexts can occur anywhere in the policy trajectory from macro to micro levels” (p. 12).

Economic Rationalism and the Labor Government

The 1980s witnessed a government approach to education that tied it inextricably to the economic objectives of that decade:

In the 1980s the Commonwealth’s education and training policies became more tightly linked to the achievement of a broader and changing set of national economic, social and labour market goals. ... which highlighted the importance of knowledge and skills and hence the need for effective policies in respect of education and training (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2001a, p. 87).

The Hawke government’s agenda of increasing participation in higher education as part of the ‘nation building’ objectives, together with the pursuit of neoliberal fiscal restraint set the scene for Australian higher education to recruit fee-paying international students. The government “combined a market ideology with a

corresponding set of practices drawn from the world of business” (Currie & Newson, 1998, p. 1). In 1988 the then Commonwealth Minister of Education John Dawkins, introduced a full-fee policy for the recruitment of international students. He was concerned about the balance of trade deficit and also sought to increase university places. The impact on higher education institutions was dramatic: “A highly deregulated, individualistic, competitive market-driven model of recruitment was unleashed and the shift from aid to trade rapidly gathered momentum as the institutions, severely strapped for federal cash, took up the challenge” (Smart, 1992, p. 3).

The political and economic ideology of the new right had a great impact on public policy throughout the developed world, particularly in Anglo-American countries (Marginson, 1993). It provided the context within which the Dawkins (1988b) White Paper emerged and mirrored the influences from global organisations such as the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). For example, in a 1997 report the OECD urged universities to play a part in the restructuring of their countries’ economies (as cited in Marginson, 1993). The major characteristics of the White Paper were to include new central control through teaching and research profile agreements negotiated between the individual institutions and the government; the erosion of state involvement in Higher Education; and the focus on universities looking to external sources for funding, for example, the recruitment of fee-paying international students (Smart, 1990).

Since the late-1980s the recruitment of international fee-paying students in higher education has undergone phenomenal growth, expanding from 255 in 1986

(Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1989) to 151,798 in 2004 (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2005a). The onset of diminished public funding for universities and the introduction of full fee-paying students in the higher education sector signalled a new wave of commercialisation within the sector. This dramatically changed the way in which universities defined themselves, and the way in which they were managed and operated. Slaughter and Leslie (1997) maintain that the changes in higher education brought about by globalisation are as great as those that occurred at the end of the 19th century as a result of the industrial revolution. In addition, consecutive governments of both political persuasions have continued to reduce public investment in higher education and Australian universities have had to rely increasingly on fee-paying international students to supplement their funding. For example, in 1989 the tertiary sector was receiving 70.29% of its total income from government sources, compared with 1998 when the figure dropped to 51.85% (Marginson, 2001), and by 2001 33% (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2001b).

According to Meek and Wood (1997), the “privatisation of public higher education and the introduction of market-like relationships to achieve both greater institutional efficiency and adaptability have been key features of Australian higher education policy for well over a decade” (p. 253). The development of pathway programs for international students and the emergence of private provider relationships with universities is a significant ‘market-like’ relationship. The growth of fee-paying international students in Australian universities since 1988 has been rapid and has had a significant impact on the nature of higher education in Australia, contributing to the above shortfall in funding. Educating overseas students is “viewed as a

valuable national asset to be exploited along with raw materials and manufactured goods” (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997, p. 103).

Marginson (2001) reported that in the year 2000 there were 95,540 on-shore international students in Australia’s universities, making up an average of 13.7% of the total student population. In 2004, the percentage of international fee-paying students as part of the total enrolment in higher education has increased to 16% (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2005a). The international student population in the top four universities, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Monash University, University of New South Wales and Curtin University of Technology, ranged from 29.2% to 19.7% of the total student enrolment (Marginson, 2001). The commercialisation of the Australian higher education sector through international student recruitment is, therefore, well established. Universities are operating as ‘global businesses’ and external relationships are vital to their existence (Marginson, 2000). The changes that have been made within universities to sustain commercial enterprises are the subject of much debate. The influence of global organisations is noteworthy. For example, the OECD urges tertiary institutions to look to privatisation and the market for additional sources of funding, and places an emphasis on “partnerships and strategic alliances” (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1996, p. 23). Marginson (1997a) acknowledges that there is no returning to the ‘old order’.

What is clear is that the commercial environment created by the significant recruitment of fee-paying international students has brought into question issues of sustainability and educational quality of this export industry. Marginson (2001)

claimed, “Australia could not live forever on a reputation accumulated on the basis of the past public funding” (p. 19). Equally, “a direct link is often made between the issues of declining academic standards, and the performance of international students” (Devos, 2003, p. 160). However, it may be argued that the user pay system has made universities more accountable. Certainly, there is evidence to show that Australian universities are beginning to contemplate issues of teaching and learning within a cross-cultural perspective and the effects these might have on the curriculum (Knight & de Wit, 1997). Another view suggests that universities can use commercialisation and internationalisation to improve quality, but that the “the highly deregulated, individualistic, competitive market driven model of recruitment has led to ‘harmful’ excesses” (Marginson, 1997a, p. 243).

As Australian tertiary institutions ponder the influence of the overall commercialisation of their sector and the long-term effects on governance, teaching, learning and research, the presence of fee-paying international students is integral to any future vision. It is clear that Australia has embraced the internationalisation of its tertiary sector more vigorously than the United Kingdom and the United States (Rhoades & Smart, 1996). However, in a broader sense the internationalisation of Australian campuses is open to question. The term internationalisation can define economic terms such as education exports and trade but of equal importance is the effort to increase international and intercultural knowledge and skills of all students in Australian universities (Clifford, 2005; Volet, 1997). The indicators of an internationalised higher education sector, beyond the ‘economic’ would include: staff exchanges; collaborative international research; local students studying abroad; an internationalised curriculum that is reflected in all aspects of teaching and learning;

and significant interaction between international and local students. The latter is a challenge faced by Australian universities overall, as was cited in an Australian Education International report: “the international students’ desire for intercultural interaction did not seem to be reciprocated by the Australian students” (Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000, p. 24). Whilst this study touches on issues of ‘social harmony’ as one aspect of internationalisation, the core focus is on the commercial aspects, that is, the recruitment of fee-paying international students and in particular those that are bound for pre-tertiary programs.

Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has set the overall context of this study by outlining the climate that led to the deregulation of international student recruitment; the dramatic economic policy changes taking place in the 1980s in Australia which affected higher education; and the circumstances that led to the development of pathway programs and their provision by private providers. Each of these topics will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters, as the discussion on the significance of pathway programs to the internationalisation of the tertiary sector evolves.

The underlying theory of the context of influence is explored in depth in Chapter 2, through a heuristic provided by Marginson and Rhoades (2002). The interaction of global, national and local influences that transformed the Australian higher education sector in the 1980s and 1990s is tracked through the literature. Specifically, Chapter 2 discusses the influence of globalisation on the tertiary sector in Australia, and how the deregulation of international student recruitment emerged. In addition the role of the ‘state’ in an economic rationalist context is examined, as well as ‘the nature’ of

control that individual governments have on policy making in this economic and political environment. The terms internationalisation and privatisation are defined as they apply to this study, as is the relationship to the local Western Australian context. It is this context that is explored in great detail and provides a commentary on the development of 'policy in context and practice'.

Chapter 3 outlines Ball's (1993) conceptual framework as the underlying paradigm of the study and pursues this framework further, through Vidovich's (2002b) 'interrogation of the policy process'. The specific contexts of policy formulation and implementation for the development of pathway programs are outlined in detail, as one response to the globalisation and commercialisation of the Australian tertiary sector. This chapter also presents the research strategy and context for this study, specifically outlining the way in which data were collected and analysed.

There are three chapters that present and explore the research findings. Chapter 4 focuses on the contexts of influence on a macro and micro level. A total of 32 interviews with key stakeholders, representing the *glonacal* influences, are analysed in depth. The analysis follows 'the interrogation of the policy process' with the following key questions:

- What were the global influences and trends evident in higher education policies?
- Were there international influences brought to bear? Which key nation states were involved in this influence?
- How were the global and international influences operating?

- What were the prevailing ideological, economic and political conditions?
- Which interest groups are attempting to influence policy?
- Which interests were the most/least powerful and why?
- Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?

This in-depth analysis leads to a number of different contexts of influence being explored from the perspective of rationale, evolution and implementation of ‘the policy’. These contexts reflected a *glonacal* approach, which included the international arena, the federal, the state, the university context and that of the pathway provider. All these contexts contributed to a macro and micro understanding of the factors that influenced policy-making and its implementation.

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the ‘contexts of practice’ focusing on the development and implementation of pathway programs from the point of view of the key stakeholders and students respectively. Through the ‘interrogation of policy’ approach, the analysis for Chapter 5 produces three categories within the context of practice, (that is, issues, consequences and evaluation), and forms the framework within which the ‘interrogation’ occurs. Questions pursued in this chapter include:

- Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels?
- Who put the policy into practice?
- What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?
- To what extent is the policy actively or passively resisted?

- Is resistance collective or individual?
- What are the unintended consequences?
- To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?
- Who can assess the policy and who does assess it?
- Are there winners or losers?
- How predictable were the policy effects?

Chapter 6 reports on the context of practice from the student perspective, providing a micro level scrutiny of the end user of ‘the policy’ and how students can impact on the continuing evolution of the policy cycle. Through data extracted from student questionnaires this chapter pursues the issue of quality assurance, that is, student expectations of pathway programs and whether expectations are met.

The concluding chapter revisits the core themes of the literature review against the findings of this study. A summary is presented of the contexts of influence and practice in the creation and evolution of ‘the policy’, and specifically in the development of pathway programs as one example of that policy. In particular, this chapter discusses “the power differentials” (Vidovich, 2004, p. 16) of the different stakeholders as policy ‘actors’, and illustrates how a specific macro and microanalysis of influence and practice contributes to a better understanding of the policy cycle. This chapter also suggests further areas of research that emerged through the macro and microanalysis of the ‘the policy’.

Chapter 2

Global Influences on the Internationalisation of Australian Higher Education

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the global, national and local influences that transformed the Australian higher education sector during the 1980s and 1990s. Globalisation and economic rationalist ideologies pervaded policy-making, which saw both national and state governments in Australia abandoning the “once dominant Keynesian liberal-interventionist state, and an embracing of economic rationalism” (Pusey, as cited in Watts 1993/94, p. 104). It was within this context of the ‘new right’ and a free market economy that the federal government decided to deregulate the recruitment of international fee-paying students. Within two decades this policy dramatically changed the face of higher education in Australia, and the subsequent flourishing of pathway programs in the Australian tertiary sector was a direct result of the commercial emphasis placed on the ‘internationalisation’ of the sector.

Quintessential to the discussion of policy-making within the context of globalisation and a free market economy are two principal considerations, that is, the role of the state and what constitutes educational policy. Debate on the interpretation of the role of the state and the control it exercises within this milieu includes the writings of Ball

(1998a), Dudley and Vidovich (1995), Lingard (1996), Marginson (1993) and Vidovich (2002b, 2002c). The impact of globalisation and the 'new right' agenda on higher education have been well documented along with other globalising practices, such as managerialism and restructuring, which have accompanied it: "The impact of the managerialism-orientated reforms on education policy development and the globalisation challenges have indeed accelerated structural transformations and critical changes in the higher education sector" (Mok & Tan, 2004, p. 34).

From the mid-1980s higher education policy in Australia was transformed when the government aligned its objectives for universities with the economic goals of the nation to enhance Australia's economic efficiency and international economic competitiveness (Dudley & Vidovich 1995). With this move, it relinquished the established role of 'nation building' as a primary goal for universities (Pusey, as cited in Marginson, 1993). Smart's (1991) early critique of this change in agenda and the commercialisation focus of the federal government was significant in identifying key concerns associated with the deregulation of international student recruitment. This analysis was subsequently broadened to include issues concerning the globalisation and corporatisation of the Australian tertiary education sector discussed by a number of writers (Currie & Newson, 1998; Dudley, 1998; Marceau, 1993; Marginson, 1993, 2002; Meek & Wood, 1997; Mok & Tan, 2004; Scott, 1995; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Tan, 2002).

Another important facet of the critique of higher education in Australia for this study relates to the wide use of the concept of internationalisation. Kelly's (1992) analysis of the federal government's policies in the 1980s suggests that a significant

cornerstone of the Hawke administration was the challenge to forge closer ties to the Asia Pacific region. The provision of educational services to the region was but one of the many goals of this internationalisation thrust. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1996) offers a comprehensive overview of the strategies that, in fact, internationalised the higher education sector. Knight and de Wit (1997) and the McKinnon Benchmarks (McKinnon, Walker & Davis, 2000) also contributed significantly to this discussion. Smith, Lambert et al. (2000), Volet (1997, 1999) and Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) offered an alternative perspective on the assessment of the internationalisation of Australian universities beyond the measurement of student recruitment, an aspect that is considered throughout this study.

The Role of the State

The examination of how the role of the state has changed within an economic rationalist environment is discussed by Watts (1993/94). He proposed ways to theorise the activities of the state and its role since the 1970s, and maintained that since this time it has been extensively unravelled and rewoven from the fabric of liberal – Keynesian patterns of the 1940s. Watts concluded that the hegemony of the economic rationalists might hopefully be temporary. He argued that the state has a central role to play in the economic rationalist economy, a notion that is particularly relevant to this study and to how the state is perceived:

The state remains the effective broker in the contest between public and private goods in the economy. In decisions to privatize, deregulate or re-regulate certain activities or agencies, it is government that is expected to and continues to make the effective decisions (p. 156).

This view is supported to some extent by Ball (1998a) who concluded that in the global economy individual governments have experienced a reduction in their ability to control activities of multinational companies. However, by quoting Weiss (1997) he emphasised that he did not wish to succumb to the ‘myth of the powerless state’, and that there was a different kind of state “taking shape in the world arena, one that is reconstituting its power at the centre of alliances formed either within or outside the state” (as cited in Ball, 1998a, p. 120).

Lingard (1996) further critiqued the role of the state in a postmodernist, economic rationalist context and argued that within this era the state has a role as the market player in the global economy assuming a new managerialist role and ‘steering from a distance’. This concept of ‘steering from a distance’ was referred to earlier by Marceau (1993), Marginson (1993) and later by Ball (1998a). It is adopted throughout the literature as a way of describing how the state ensures that education policy is kept in line with achieving the economic objectives of the state (Ball, 1998a). As early as 1990, Ball discussed globalisation as being crucial to the ‘context of influence’ in policy-making, where the autonomy of governments is reduced in the formulation of education policies. Simultaneously, he noted that policy-making was more political in nature and very much operating within the ‘new right’ agenda. In other words, government intervention is not advocated, but in essence is evident in a managerial model where quality assurance, appraisal systems and performance-based funding is the norm. Governments use these quality assurance systems to ‘steer from a distance’ making certain that their policy directions are followed.

Vidovich (2002b, 2002c) portrayed the role of the state as being central to policy creation as one of the players or actors and emphasised that this role did not imply control:

In the early 2000s, despite pressures placed on nation-states by globalisation, I would argue that the state retains considerable power relative to many other policy actors, albeit in reconstructed forms, in particular taking on the role of ‘market manager’ in positioning nation-states to compete more effectively in the global marketplace. (Vidovich 2002c, p. 16)

Definitions of Globalisation

Globalisation is a broad term within which Australian higher education and its relationship within a global context is critiqued: “The ‘global’ incorporates phenomena understood as economic, technological, social, cultural and political” (Appadurai, 1996; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perraton, 1999, as cited in Marginson & Rhoades, 2002, p. 288). This includes discourses relating to neoliberal economic practices such as deregulation of the economy and reduction in government spending. Globalisation is used in many contexts and, at times, encompasses various concepts. To sharpen the focus on what is being scrutinised, it is necessary to ‘unpack’ the use of this term in the literature and to attribute to it specific meanings within the contexts that it is applied in this study.

Urry (1998), when defining globalisation, focused on a politically neutral perspective and discussed the complex networks that have been created by globalisation, both human and non-human. The latter are exemplified by technologies, such as the media and Internet; informational transfers that can occur such as global financial trading; machines, such as jet planes, portable phones and electronic points of sale terminals;

and virtual reality. These technologies have ‘shrunk time and space’ and to an extent are beyond societal control and regulation. Urry also coined the word ‘scapes’ as networks of technologies, machines and organisations. Examples are the influential ‘scapes’ of global organisations, such as the United Nations, The World Bank and the OECD.

Scott’s (1998b) view is that globalisation cannot simply be reduced to a discussion of the round the clock financial markets and leading edge technologies, as this would only include the western or developed world. He contended that globalisation must be given a wider meaning, “one that emphasises the impact of global environment changes, the threat of political and social conflicts that cannot be walled off by tough immigration or asylum policies or policed by superpowers” (p. 122). Within this context, Scott concluded that universities would be required to take on roles of “new and unexpected dimensions” (p. 122).

An important distinction is to be made between the concepts of globalisation and neoliberalism. Marginson and Considine (2000) made this distinction and argued that both have had a dramatic impact on higher education. However, globalisation in the broader sense refers to the impact of “world systems of finance and economic life, transport, communication and media, language and symbols. It is as much about the cross-global movement of people and ideas as about markets and money ...” (p. 47). Sadlak (as cited in Scott, 1998b) held a similar view and regarded globalisation as a complex interlinking of processes, where “control of and access to all kinds of markets, the ability to generate and use knowledge and the capacity to develop new technology and human resources” (p. 100) will be more important than controlling

territory. Sadlak discussed the challenges for higher education in this context and its role in the critiquing and theorising of the impact of globalisation, and also strongly contended that it is the mission of global institutions to support that role:

It is the mission of global organisations like UNESCO to promote the global vision of Higher Education in which people are enabled to function in their personal, professional and community lives, and are able to be perpetuators and repositories of knowledge, ideas and local and national cultural traditions (p. 107).

Globalisation and the Tertiary Sector

The critique of the role of globalisation in Australian higher education has flourished since the late-1980s, and it is an assessment that places higher education as both a driving force in and a consequence of globalisation. Marginson and Considine (2000) argued that universities are at the forefront of globalisation not only as agents of the change but also as recipients of its effects. As ‘agents’, universities are at the forefront of the communications revolution with the early use of email and Internet, web-based teaching and virtual campuses creating a more globalised world. Further, they argued that universities are the sites of one of the growing global markets, as students travel across borders for a tertiary education. These students have created, in Australia, a market worth billions of dollars and Australian universities operate as ‘global businesses’. These businesses include onshore teaching of international students, distance education, offshore teaching and campuses, collaborative projects including twinning and feeder arrangements with private providers. It is the latter phenomenon, which is the subject of this research.

Marginson and Considine (2000) explained that the impact of globalisation is much broader than the mere economic need to recruit international students and that, indeed, the very nature of universities' work has changed dramatically. Universities have been more dependent on external relationships, travel and marketing. Constant international involvement has become necessary to maintain international excellence in research, thus it has an impact on the way in which universities are managed and organised. They further contended that public institutions are having to redefine themselves not only because of a reduction in government spending, but also because increased global mobility of people and ideas is influencing global culture and results in a rethinking of a university's identity: "As international economic advantage becomes increasingly linked to knowledge-based sectors, tertiary education is being rapidly 're-conceptualised in tradable terms'" (Rudner, 1997, as cited in Bennell & Pearce, 2003, p. 216).

Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) more recent deliberations on globalisation offered new challenges in the way the tertiary sector conceptualises its effects. They found ways to analyse and theorise the global processes that are affecting the tertiary sector:

Global forces are not so much analysed or theorised as they are identified. Thus, scholars note that across countries there is a push for higher education to be more efficient, self-sufficient, and accountable, but there is little analysis of what global forces promote the pattern (p. 281).

Marginson and Rhoades (2002) continued to make the case for a *glonacal* heuristic for analysis that included the global, national and local perspectives to which institutions respond in varying ways: "We see universities as increasingly global

actors, extending their influence internationally. They are globally, nationally, and locally implicated. These multiple realities are central to our glonacal agency heuristic” (p. 288). Currie and Newson (1998) embarked on this type of analysis finding that institutions in different countries responded to global, national and local influences in different ways. Rhoades and Smart (1996) compared Australia’s response to the recruitment of fee-paying international students and concluded that Australia responded more vigorously than either the United Kingdom or the United States. They stated that, “only in Australia has foreign student policy epitomized the entrepreneurial commercialization of higher education, treating students as trade commodities in the global economy” (p. 151). Van der Wende (2001) confirmed this view, in comparing Anglo-Saxon responses to global competition in the recruitment of students with that of Europe.

Whilst Anglo-Saxon countries have chosen an explicit (and sometimes even aggressive) *competitive* approach to internationalisation of higher education, by contrast, most continental European countries seem to pursue a more *cooperative* approach [original italics] (p. 255).

The influence of the *local* provides a clearer picture of how *glonacal* influences interact with each other. This present study on the significance of pathway programs will provide a global, national and particularly local perspective. The model developed by the private providers was one that grew from all three influences. In particular, it was very much a response that was nurtured from a local context and market, and then grew to national and international (global) contexts.

Marginson (2002) traced the changing role of the Australian university in the globalised world. He explained that from 1955-1990 Australian universities were

part of the nation building strategy of the government and within two generations “a high participation university system of good quality was constructed” (p. 409). He argued that globalisation brought tension between the *global* and the *local* or national, and that universities “remained grounded in ‘thick’ and complex relations within the local societies they served. Their appeal to international users was grounded in their specific national and disciplinary attributes” (p. 414). Thus, within a postmodern perspective the local interacts and conflicts with the global, and produces unique qualities within a global context, in what Harvey (1990) described as both a fragmented but concurrently increasingly homogenous world.

Neoliberal Globalisation in the Tertiary Sector

The most difficult challenge, as defined by Marginson (2002), is not that which is posed by trends in globalisation (as described above), but the incorporated global economic policies as influenced by neoliberalism or economic rationalism. Marginson (2000) contended that the withdrawal of government commitment to the universities is not a function of neoliberalism per se, but of the particular Australian reading of neoliberalism. The Australian government’s notion that education is a cost, rather than an investment, contradicts arguments about the future ‘knowledge economy’ and the role of the education in technological change. Yet this economic policy, wholeheartedly adopted since the late-1980s by consecutive Australian governments, has caused the abandonment of the previous policy whereby the Australian universities were incorporated into the nation building goals of the country.

Integral to the concept of ‘globalisation’ and the critique of its effect on the tertiary sector is that of ‘neoliberal globalisation’ as described by Currie (2004). This is a political-economic approach which identifies globalisation as a discourse integrating neoliberal or ‘new right’ economic rationalist policies that have flourished in the late 20th century and that support:

- The liberal market economies.
- Lower public spending and therefore more reliance on the individual’s resources rather than those of a welfare state.
- Deregulation of capital flows.
- Reduced government intervention, for instance, privatisation and outsourcing.
- The provision of a strong system of law and order to protect enterprise.

Jones (1998) maintained that globalisation is the pursuit of ‘unfettered capitalism’ on a global scale and the organisation of this activity “at levels which transcend national borders and jurisdictions” (p. 143). Consequently, economic policy is inextricably linked to global influences and to public policy, such as education. Similarly, Dudley (1998) commented, “The claim of globalisation is that national economies are being increasingly subsumed into a global economy and that the discipline of international markets and money markets ... should determine public policy” (p. 25). From the perspective of this study globalisation is not used as a neutral term, but rather as a political-economic term as expounded by Currie (2004). That is, as a significant global influence that steered Australian governments to pursue economic rationalist, free market policies that changed the face of higher education.

Privatisation in the Tertiary Sector

The terms, privatisation, commercialisation and marketisation, are often conflated. In this section I separate one from the other in order to contextualise and achieve clarity for the purposes of analysis. Although the following discussion will illustrate that some authors make a distinction one from the other, these terms all refer to the embracing of market forces and the reduction of government funding. This results in a transformation from education viewed as a 'social good' to education as an 'economic good' and a 'user pays' concept. In 1987, prior to the 1988 White Paper, a group of Australian academics and public servants, including the Minister for Education and the Shadow Minister for Education, conducted a 'Privatizing Higher Education: A New Australian Issue' conference. Privatising, in this context, was initially defined as a debate that included student finance, living allowances, loans and fees. In the *Introduction* to the conference publication Anwyl and Jones (1987) stated:

By late 1986 privatization was entrenched in higher education jargon with usage extending to very different meanings including non-government funding of research, provision of full fee places alongside free places in public institutions, the founding of a private sector alongside a public, and the marketing of academic services to foreigners studying in their country or ours (p. ix).

Notwithstanding the definition of privatisation, it suffices to say that Anwyl and Jones (1987) also declared, "there is no parallel of this remarkably rapid issue emerging in higher education in our time in a comparable western country" (p. ix). In keeping with the 'new right' agenda, it was acknowledged at the conference that the government's economic policy emphasised: profitability, efficiency and effectiveness, export income, and the size and the function of the public sector – an

agenda that was having considerable impact on many government areas, including higher education. This very early declaration in the discussion of privatisation in the higher education sector is quite significant as it is consistent with the later critiques (see Currie & Newson, 1998; Marginson, 1993; Meek & Wood, 1997; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), that Australian policy makers were very quick to take on privatisation, and undoubtedly this permanently changed the face of the Australian higher education sector.

Recent definitions of privatisation have become more refined to distinguish the term from marketisation. Kwong (as cited in Ntshoe, 2004) distinguished between these by stating that privatisation refers to the transfer of the ownership or administration of public organisations to private hands, whereas marketisation implies the adoption of market practices that may or may not involve privatisation. One can therefore exist without the other. Based on Kwong's distinction it could be argued that Anwyl & Jones' (1987) use of the word privatisation might be better termed marketisation or commercialisation.

Bennell and Pearce (2003) also refer to privatisation as that which is involved in the private sector. Their critique is specifically related to the United Kingdom environment. However, it includes Australia when they state that, "... most governments now recognise that public sector provision will be simply unable to satisfy the massive popular demand for post secondary qualifications and that, properly regulated, the private sector can train in an efficient and cost effective manner" (p. 228). From a purely Australian context, the private sector has, after a period of initial upheaval, been responsible for the successful delivery of the major

part of English language instruction regulated through a National English (Language Teaching) Accreditation Scheme (NEAS) Australia. More specifically, and relevant to this study, one can refer to privatisation as the trend that has dominated the offering of pathway courses as they have flourished in private colleges. Within the narrow definition offered by Bennell and Pearce, the privatisation of higher education has not been a notable feature of Australian universities with the exception of Bond University in Queensland and Notre Dame University in Western Australia. However, the Nelson reforms of 2003-2005 will have a significant impact and will transform the sector even further, allowing the establishment of more private universities in Australia.

The commercialisation of the Australian higher education sector, which started in the 1980s and continues today, has brought about phenomenal change. Meek and Wood (1997) discussed the following features (in no particular order) in their critique of commercialisation of the tertiary sector: private education, user pays in the form of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), full fee-paying international students, quality assurance, corporate models of management, and commercialisation and competition in research.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997), in their discussion of 'academic capitalism' and the 'entrepreneurial university', maintain that the changes in higher education brought about by globalisation are as great as those that occurred at the end of the 19th century as a result of the industrial revolution. Critics observing these changes agree that the diminished public spending, especially in education, is not a passing phase but a reality of the future (Currie & Newson, 1998; Marginson, 1993, 1997a, 2000).

As a result, “the privatisation of public higher education and the introduction of market-like relationships to achieve both greater institutional efficiency and adaptability have been key features of Australian higher education policy for well over a decade” (Meek & Wood, 1997, p. 253). The emergence of private providers and the partnerships they have been able to forge with universities in the recruitment of international students is a significant ‘market- like’ relationship.

Marginson (2001) also critically examined the push to commercialisation and specifically questioned the impact of the international student market on the higher education sector. He stated that, “a major presence in the global education market does not necessarily lead to a flourishing higher education system” (p. 20). He noted that business studies and computing courses dominate in the recruitment of international students, which “mostly focus on skill development and specialised applied knowledge, rather than immersion in discipline-based knowledge, and the formation of discipline-specific research techniques” (p. 14). These courses are indeed those offered most widely by the private providers, which allow more flexibility in the entry requirements and thus give access to many students who would otherwise be excluded.

Currie’s (2004) critique of higher education within a neoliberal context observed that the market is not a neutral force and that it comes embedded in different ideologies. For example, “The Anglo-Saxon neoliberal paradigm of the market brings with it heightened competition, increased managerialism, commodification of knowledge, and instrumentalism in the curriculum” (Currie, 2004, p. 47). Similarly, Meek and Wood (1997) and Marginson (2002) referred to the economic policies of

globalisation initiating a political redefinition of the social value of the public service and, in particular, that of universities and education. The federal government in its quest to ensure that higher education will cost less while serving the national economic priorities better has adopted the concepts or metaphor of the market, as part of its core thinking in relation to universities. However, Marginson (2000) commented that Australia's reduction in higher education spending is not necessarily a function of neoliberalism per se, but of a 'particular reading of neoliberalism'. He suggested that the "notion that education is a cost rather than an investment contradicts arguments about the future 'knowledge economy' and the role of education in technological change ... adopted by some economists whose commitment to neoliberalism is unquestionable" (p. 28). Rupert Murdoch (2001), media entrepreneur and the epitome of a free marketeer, in his delivery of the Keith Murdoch Oration in October 2001, took the opportunity to criticise the federal government for its level of funding. He argued that it had spent more on peacetime defence than on Australian education: "It's time for Australia to enter the global competition for human capital in earnest and to grow its human wealth through the power of education" (p. 1).

There is, on the other hand, another view of the commercialisation of Australian universities. Many Vice Chancellors have accepted the 'enterprise challenge'. For example, the then Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Alan Gilbert, stated, "no enterprise, no future for the academy" (as cited in Myton, 2001a, p. 4). At a national humanities and social sciences summit in 2001, Professor Malcolm Gillies, President of the Australian Academy of Humanities, warned that the humanities discipline needed to be "keen and astute players in the commercialising and

globalising games ... to remain highly dependent on government operating grants and nationally competitive research grants will doom the sector to increasing penury” (as cited in Myton, 2001b, p. 14). Professor Gavin Brown, the Vice Chancellor of Sydney University, commented, “I believe that the academy and enterprise must coexist, but I would never deny that there are tensions” (as cited in Myton, 2001c, p. 4). He also added that the interrelationship between public and private funding of university education was, in the long term, core to its survival and success.

In relation to Currie’s (2004) reference to the commodification of knowledge there are no better examples than the recent developments in discussions on trade agreements that seek to promote freer trade in services. The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which is administered by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and Australia’s discussions with the United States on the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) are two examples. The latter to date has excluded the higher education sector, although Technical and Further Education (TAFE) may be affected. Although discussions are still in the early stages, Australia has decided to include higher education in the ‘suite of services’ that may be subject to GATS.

A 1999 OECD report quotes the total annual trade in education services for students studying abroad at about US\$30 million (Larsen, Morris & Martin, 2001, as cited in Knight, 2002). Australia’s share amounting to more than \$5.6 million (Australian Vice Chancellor’s Committee, 2003) provides the rationale for education to be included in trade negotiations such as GATS. Knight (2002) provided a balanced critique of the policy implications for the trade liberalisation of higher education services and identifies certain key issues that will require scrutiny. These included:

- The role of government in funding.
- The regulation and monitoring of the delivery of higher education from a domestic and foreign market perspective.
- Whether access will be increased or decreased.
- The impact on public funding on higher education in developed and developing countries.
- The regulation of foreign providers.
- The transferability of credits.
- Quality assurance and accreditation.
- The implication of research and intellectual property rights.
- The impact on non-profit internationalisation activities.
- The mobilisation of professionals; and whether the most-developed professionals will benefit most.

Altbach (2002), an American professor, warned that the commodification of education “will have major implications for how we think about schooling and the university, the ownership and transmission of knowledge, and ... the role of citizenship in modern society” (p. 13). He explained that the trade in education, which transmits a nation’s culture, values and intellectual independence, is not like constructing a free market in the trade of automobiles. Altbach referred to the GATS agreement as a ‘new neo-colonialism’ where the multinational corporations, media conglomerates and a few universities will dominate education for economic gain. He also warned that GATS will “have the power to force countries with quite different academic needs and resources to conform to structures inevitably designed to serve

the interests of the most powerful academic systems and corporate education providers ...”(p. 17), thus creating inequality and dependence.

The above issues highlight the realisation that with the increasing commodification of education (as may be directed by GATS) government intervention will be needed to protect investments and to create a greater adherence to market principles, such as managing universities along the lines of private corporations, to ensure the quality of the provision of education. For example, Vidovich (2002c) contends that the federal government accountability agenda has developed along a ‘prove – improve’ continuum, with quality assurance in the 90s being about universities having to prove what they had done, and that the current Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) framework is more about improving and branding Australian higher education offshore. It goes without saying that this coalition government’s focus on quality assurance will strengthen Australia’s position if it chooses to pursue GATS and include higher education services in the Agreement.

Internationalisation in the Tertiary Sector

In much of the literature, the terms globalisation and internationalisation are used interchangeably to refer to global forces that impact on higher education. Knight (2001) offered clarification of the confusion between the two terms of globalisation and internationalisation. The former is understood as a flow of technology, economy and knowledge, people and ideas across borders; whereas, the latter refers to the “process of integrating an international perspective in the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a higher education institution” (p. 229).

Internationalisation of higher education encapsulates many aspects of the tertiary experience, with the recruitment of offshore students being only one activity. In their extensive study on internationalisation Knight and de Wit (1997) argued that there is no simple, unique or all encompassing definition of internationalisation of the university. It is a multitude of activities aimed at providing an educational experience with an environment that truly integrates a global perspective. The OECD (1996) focuses on internationalisation as a means to improve the quality of education. Their work, through the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, reflects a curriculum development approach which encompasses objectives of providing education in an international setting leading to the social and intercultural integration of staff and students (van der Wende, 1996, p. 35).

For Marginson (2000), “the term ‘internationalisation’ describes the growth of relations between nations and between national cultures (in that sense) internationalisation has a long history” (p. 24). The ‘Australian McKinnon Benchmarks on Internationalisation’ (McKinnon, Walker & Davis, 2000) outlined seven activities that Australian universities should use to measure their success in internationalisation. These activities include:

- Internationalisation strategy, that is, the extent to which a university develops a sound strategic plan.
- Fostering a culture of internationalisation.
- Achieving a balanced international student enrolment, across country of origin, faculties and fields of study.
- Having an established base to finance international student recruitment.

- Australian students' exposure to international influences.
- The extent to which Australian students have an international outlook and the opportunity for an international experience during their studies.
- Successful management of offshore delivery.
- Well-developed overseas links and activities, which involve both staff and students.

Critiques of the benefits of international student recruitment in Australia, in areas other than economic gain, have raised issues of cross-cultural relationships and developments in curriculum. One focus is on aspects of internationalisation that are seen to enrich and broaden the tertiary experience for domestic students in our universities. Australian higher education has wrestled with the issue of broadening the benefits of internationalisation since its aggressive marketing drive of the late-1980s. As early as 1992, Smart (1992) observed that the “non-economic benefits of internationalising our education system ... had received scant recognition in the past decade” (p. 5). Simultaneously, Beazley (1992), the Commonwealth Minister for Education, critiqued the success of the internationalisation of our tertiary sector. However, he acknowledged that the ‘great haste’ with which Australia had sought to capitalise on the market for international students had damaged its reputation.

One of the aspects of internationalisation that continues to provide a challenge for Australian universities is the lack of ‘social cohesion’ between Australian students and international students. This is a problem continually highlighted by international students themselves, often through the National Liaison Committee (NLC), a national international student representative body. In 1999, Rebecca Cross, Chief

Executive Officer of Australian Education International (AEI), a branch of the then Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, presented a paper on behalf of Dr David Kemp (1999), the Minister of Education, to the NLC Conference. This paper acknowledged that it had been difficult to bring about high levels of engagement between Australian students and international students, stating that “much can still be done to improve interaction between international students, Australian students and local communities” (p. 1). Kemp kept his promise and in 2000 a report was commissioned by the AEI. Smith, Lambert et al. (2000) concluded in this report that international students were significantly dissatisfied with their interaction with Australian students. The report recommended that “institutions could improve international student attitudes about living in Australia by developing programs designed to increase the interaction between Australian and international students, and the level of tolerance towards international students by Australian students” (p. 5).

Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) and Volet (1997, 1999) carried out extensive research focusing on the experiences of international students on Australian campuses, and how they can be improved, specifically, by ‘fostering social cohesion’ with local students. In a study published by AEI in 2000, they concluded:

We can state confidently that there is a relatively low but accelerating level of official and academic awareness of the problem of lack of social interaction on our campuses. To date, the institutional response has been largely the emergence of isolated and ad hoc initiatives by practitioners to ameliorate the problem (Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000, p. 42).

The report argued that to foster social interaction between local and international students, universities require a ‘whole university’ approach to internationalisation. That is, an approach that co-ordinates efforts involving both Australian and international students, and initiatives that are supported from the ‘top’. However, the problem is not easily resolved. Wells (2003), employed in a large internationalised Australian university, observed that although 22.5% of Australia’s higher education student population is international and we have the second most ‘internationalised’ student population in the OECD, the “level of internationalisation is not always embedded in curriculum, research or academic strategies” (p. 9).

National Influences – The Australian Context

Neoliberal globalisation became the prevailing economic agenda that created the environment for the federal government’s 1985 deregulation of the recruitment of international students in Australia, and its subsequent 1988 White Paper on education. The link between education and the economy became integral to the government’s goals as was evident by the establishment of the extensive Department of Employment, Education and Training in 1987:

Employment was to be the primary focus—and the dominant policy objective of the new Department, as the relative position of the two Es in DEET attested. Education policy-making was no longer to enjoy the relative autonomy of earlier decades, nor was it to remain in the hands of professional educationists to administer. (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2001a, p. 87).

The literature, which reviews this ‘new’ context within Australian education, is one that offers an economic and political critique of the somewhat radical ‘right’

economic and social policies introduced by the Hawke-Keating leadership of the 1980s. The deregulation of international student recruitment was one of many initiatives that characterised the free market objectives of the Labor government in power. Kelly (1992) commented, “Hawke’s commitment to financial deregulation and lower protection was driven by Ross Garnaut ... the most influential economic advisor of his prime ministership” (p. 93). According to Kelly, when Labor took power in 1983 Australia was in a severe economic crisis due to the globalisation of the world’s economy and Australia’s protection from this. The Hawke government took on the policies of the ‘new right’ but adapted them to the Australian context, with a “mixture of the OECD orthodoxy married to the ALP-ACTU Accord ... and in doing so created its own unique model” (p. 30). Inherent in these policies and consistent with the ‘new right’ creed, John Dawkins, the Minister for Trade, in the mid-1980s initiated the reform of public enterprises.

Dudley (1998) argued that the policies of the ‘new right’ created a dilemma for governments, such as the Labor Party, that traditionally placed a high priority on a social political agenda. However, the Hawke/Keating government, according to Dudley, embraced globalisation irrevocably. Kelly’s (1992) account of the 1980s supported this view. Garnaut’s (1989) report stated that rapid market liberalisation was essential if Australia was to take advantage of the opportunities in the Asia Pacific region. Garnaut argued that closer economic integration between Australia and the region would create significant export opportunities, especially in the export of services. His report also urged closer cultural links between Australia and the region, and highlighted the new links that were being forged between Australian and regional tertiary institutions.

National Response – The White Paper

Following the deregulation of the recruitment of international students, the Commonwealth government forged ahead with its ‘new-right’ agenda for the Australian higher education sector. In Jakarta, John Dawkins (1988a), the Minister for Education, while speaking at a World Bank Seminar on the *Finance and Management of Higher Education in Australia and the Region*, signalled the future crisis in the financing of the Australian tertiary sector. He spoke of the:

... significant economic downturns which have forced many of us to exercise restraint in all areas of public sector financing ... our recent experiences do suggest that as far as public sector expenditure is concerned, governments have little option but to continue that restraint. In the financing of education, this presents us with a genuine dilemma (1988a, p.1).

Smart (1991) critiqued ‘The Ministerial White Paper on Higher Education’ (Dawkins, 1988b) as strongly influenced by the ideology of the ‘new right’:

... the incoming third Hawke government showed clear signs of a renewed interest and intrusiveness in higher education policy, primarily because of education’s newly perceived relevance to the task of ‘national economic restructuring’ and because of the growing attractiveness of ‘New Right’ solutions and the ‘successful’ policies of Thatcher and Reagan (p. 98).

Australia had for some time been closely aligned with global organisations, such as the OECD, and from 1971 when it first joined, Australia quickly became a significant ‘player’, especially in the activities of the Education Committee. Dawkins was a spokesperson for the OECD policies and in 1987 chaired an education conference, which issued a report urging universities to play a part in the restructuring of their countries’ economies. Dawkins pursued this direction in

forming Australia's education policy: "Australia's integration into the global economy was the principal rationale shaping Australia's education policies during the 1980s and early-1990s" (Dudley, 1998, p. 21).

The major characteristics of the White Paper signalled a new level of Commonwealth 'intrusiveness' in tertiary education, namely, the new central control through teaching and research profile agreements negotiated between the individual institutions and the government and the use of government determined national priorities (Smart, 1990). The universities' authority was totally undermined (Smart, 1997) in a way that has hitherto not been recovered. It reduced significantly the involvement of the states, especially in the funding of higher education, a move that had taken shape initially under the Whitlam government in 1975. Under Commonwealth financial pressure, a unitary system of higher education was forged, bringing about the amalgamation into universities of 44 colleges of advanced education, resulting in just 36 universities in total (Smart, 1991). According to Meek and Wood (1997), this system initiated a dramatic transformation of Australian higher education with the government seeking to transform an elite system of 19 'older' universities and 44 colleges of advanced education, to a mass higher education system consolidated into efficient economic units through amalgamations and mergers. The White Paper (Dawkins, 1988b) argued that the tertiary sector must play a more pivotal role in achieving the country's economic objectives. This included the need to look to external sources of funding, for example, the recruitment of fee-paying international students. According to the economic rationalism of the time and free market ideology, Dawkins adhered to the policy that, "every commercialisation of education – any movement towards the market 'norm' – will

increase its economic value” (Marginson, 1993, p. 68). This thinking was further entrenched in 1998, when the West Report was released, the Commonwealth’s most significant review of the higher education sector since the White Paper. This long awaited report reaffirmed the focus on market reform, that is, students covering a significant portion of the cost of tuition, with a minor concession that fee capping might be necessary for those in need. Those in higher education were left in no doubt that the government was committed to “further run down the public contribution to higher education funding” (Marginson, 1999, p. 11).

More recently, significant developments in higher education policy reflect ‘more of the same’ approach to the public funding of higher education in Australia. A discussion paper released in April 2002 by the Commonwealth Department of Education, Science and Training, *Higher Education at the Crossroads* (Nelson, 2002), confirmed that increased deregulation of universities was on the federal government agenda. The emphasis of the discussion paper was not on how the government might increase its funding to universities, but rather on how the government might enhance and encourage opportunities for universities to generate their own revenue. One of the questions raised in the section on Revenue Diversification was: “What structural and institutional elements constrain universities from improving revenue flows and net returns” (p. 32).

In October 2003, the Nelson (2002) discussion paper became policy. It affirmed that the federal government’s direction for the higher education sector would be based on requiring universities to achieve their own financial sustainability by allowing universities to increase the HECS (fees paid by students) by up to 25%, and even

introducing full fees for a percentage of permanent resident and Australian students. The ministerial statement relating specifically to international education and training was entitled, *Engaging the World through Education* (Nelson, 2003a). It focused policy objectives on diversification of markets and products, protecting Australia's reputation through the quality benchmarks for provider accreditation and maintaining strong visa regulations for bona fide students, all to protect the economic benefits of the industry, which in 2002 contributed \$4.7 billion in 'export income' from international student fees and living costs alone.

National Response – Education as an Export Industry

In 1985, Prime Minister Bob Hawke and the then Minister for Trade John Dawkins strongly endorsed the deregulation of the recruitment of international fee-paying students. This policy initiative was a response to concern about a ballooning monthly trade deficit of \$1.4 billion (creating an annual foreign debt of \$16 billion) due to a decline in the manufacturing industry and in exports of wool, wheat and minerals (Smart, 1986). This policy of deregulation "signalled a revolutionary shift from Australia's historical 'Colombo Plan' or 'aid' approach, towards a 'trade' rationale in our overseas student policy" (Smart & Ang, 1993a, p. 31).

In 1984, the Jackson Committee reviewed Australia's overseas aid program and was persuaded by Helen Hughes, the Deputy Chairperson, "to go beyond the terms of reference to take advantage of the overseas demand for Australian university education by introducing full fees for overseas students" (Byrne, 2005, p. 2). The Goldring Committee, however, argued for the status quo and many Vice Chancellors of the day supported this latter view believing no demand existed. However, in

July/August 1985 the Hawke Labor government sent an Education Mission to South East Asia to ascertain the demand for Australian education. The report was optimistic, and by October 1985 at a conference on the Export of Education Services, it was Dawkins the export enthusiast, who passionately urged universities to take on the challenge of international student recruitment, rather than the less economically radical Minister of Education Susan Ryan. Universities were left in no doubt as to what was being directed from the government: “The demand exists. The capabilities exist. We need export earnings now ... What the government would say to you is: Don’t be spectators. Now is the time to roll up our sleeves and get on with the job” (Dawkins, 1985, as cited in Smart, 1986, p. 18).

As Smart (1986) commented: “He [Dawkins] exhorted the institutions to take advantage of the entrepreneurial opportunity which his government was making available to them and implied it was their patriotic duty to do so in this time of national economic crisis” (p. 18). Smart summarised the government’s intention of guiding the industry as outlined by John Dawkins:

... education services will be marketed through education units to be set up in major markets; ... no Australians may be enrolled as full-fee students; ... remuneration of staff employed in Australia on marketed services will be in accordance with Academic Salaries Tribunal rates; the Department of Education will handle government to government contacts regarding education policy and Department of Trade will handle marketing activities; Immigration and Health procedures will be streamlined ... the government will completely oppose private institutions, but will give further consideration to ‘hybrid’ proposals (e.g. WAIT-Yanchep) and what safe guards might apply if they are to be approved (p. 19).

The link between this agenda proposed by Dawkins, and what Ball (1998a) describes as a policy that is “articulated to achieve material effects and manufacture support for these effects” (p. 124) is evident.

It seems that by the early-1990s many of the fears held by critics of deregulation were realised, especially those related to the shift from ‘aid to trade’. For example, in 1986 there were 20,000 scholarship students and 2,000 full fee-paying students. However, by 1991 these figures had changed dramatically, with a rapid decline to a mere 6,000 scholarship students and a dramatic increase of 48,000 full fee students (Smart, 1992). Also, by this time it was evident that what was now referred to as the ‘education export industry’ was experiencing significant problems. Australia’s approach to student visa policy was erratic, as it attempted to find a system that could simultaneously regulate the vast numbers of student visa applications and ensure that these applications were from bone fide students. The frequent changes to visa requirements were often not disseminated in time to all key stakeholders, and overseas immigration posts were not given enough time to communicate to potential students and implement new conditions. New visa restrictions after the Tiananmen Square riots in 1989 denied entry to many Chinese students who had already paid tuition fees in advance to private colleges. This led to the closure of many of these colleges and the embarrassed Australian government was forced to pay \$62 million to reimburse Chinese and other students (Smart & Ang, 1993b). Also private English language colleges were recruiting students from China who were blatantly interested in ‘back door immigration’ rather than study, and this caused some colleges to collapse (for example, the Australian Business College in Perth). Smart and Ang reported that Australia was subject to overseas criticism, and that “the over emphasis

on foreign students as a source of ‘export income’ and the short sighted nature of Australian advertising and recruitment overseas has damaged our reputation in the region” (p. 32).

Echoing the above concerns, in September 1992 the Minister for Education Kim Beazley (1992) addressed the issue of narrow commercial focus in a Ministerial Statement entitled *International Education in Australia through the 1990s*. This statement redirected the discourse to areas other than to the economic advantages of recruiting international fee-paying students:

The government recognises that international education is an increasingly important part of Australia’s international relations. It uniquely spans the cultural, economic and interpersonal dimensions of international relations. It assists cultural understanding for all parties involved. It enriches Australia’s education and training systems and the wider Australian society encouraging a more international outlook (p. 1).

Smart (1992) reflected that the focus on non-economic benefits of internationalising the Australian education system was refreshing, as they had received very little recognition to date. The statement (Beazley, 1992) also targeted education values and quality to be achieved through a robust regulatory environment. In addition, it sought to broaden Australia’s international experience. It launched the University Mobility in Asia and Pacific (UMAP), a program in which the federal government provided financial support to Australian higher education institutions to develop student exchanges with their counter parts in Asian and the Pacific, similar to the Erasmus student exchange program in Europe.

Local Response – The Western Australian Context

Western Australia's *local* response to the deregulation of international student recruitment is of great significance to this study. O'Brien (1991) describes the Western Australia of the early-1990s as being involved in a "corporatist political development" (as cited in O'Brien & Webb, 1991, p 15). This portrayal together with Webb's (1991) claim that Western Australia had an "Indian Ocean outlook" (as cited in O'Brien & Webb, 1991, p 45) aptly illustrates the entrepreneurial environment of this state and its positioning towards potential markets for student recruitment. As early as 1985, the Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT), later Curtin University of Technology, was offering full fee offshore Business Studies courses in Singapore, as was Murdoch University in Malaysia. Western Australia was well poised because of its proximity to the region and its entrepreneurial enthusiasm in both the public and private sector:

There has been something akin to a new gold rush in WA as politicians, academics and entrepreneurs have clambered to be first on the education bandwagon. The WA state government has actively promoted this industry through EXIM (a creation of the current ALP government) ... which has offices in Kuala Lumpur (Stone, 1987, p. 3).

The EXIM representative, David Hatt, was the Western Australian representative on Dawkin's Education Trade Mission to South East Asia in 1985 and strongly supported the export of education (as did Premier Brian Burke and the Education Minister Bob Pearce). The private sector also gained momentum in Western Australia, notwithstanding the failure of the Yanchep International Campus. This proposal was for the Japanese Tokyu Corporation, through its subsidiary Yanchep Sun City Pty Ltd, to build a university that would provide teaching and curriculum

with a partner university. The Western Australian Minister for Education Bob Pearce placed pressure on Murdoch University to be the co-operating university. However, Murdoch's Hill Committee (1985) refused this offer because according to Stone (1987) it viewed the proposal as an "application of a market system to education ... it saw not only a threat to the security of the public system of higher education but also possible damage to principles of equality of opportunity" (p. 6).

Like Murdoch, WAIT had been an opponent of the above proposal. However, following Murdoch's rejection of Minister Pearce's overture, EXIM turned to WAIT for the academic support. Pearce offered the incentive that he would legislate for WAIT to become Curtin University of Technology. Stone (1987) comments that this was a calculated decision, on the part of the government, to keep the interest of Tokyu Corporation, and realise the development of a coastal strip that would continue its voting support for the Burke government. Once WAIT produced its feasibility study, however, the Tokyu Corporation made a decision that the project would not be a worthwhile investment.

Accounts of these events already exist. Nevertheless, the important factors emerging in relation to this study on private providers are those that relate to the beginnings of education as a market, and the niche that private providers were able to fill. Stone (1987) and Smart (1986) voiced fears at the time that private institutions would broaden their scope to admit Australian fee-paying students. This had already occurred with the Bond University proposal in Queensland. The White Paper in 1988 realised this fear, albeit by fee-paying taking on a different guise through the HECS.

At that time, it was perceived by many as the ‘thin end of the wedge’, and the analysis of the data in later chapters supports this perspective.

Indeed, private institutions went on to offer fee-paying courses to Australians as well as to international students. However, it was not through Australian fee-payers, but rather international students that private institutions made their mark, especially in Western Australia. Both private and public institutions quite quickly seized on the fact that many international students would not be eligible for direct tertiary entry. Consequently pathway or matriculation courses were already in great demand. By 1986, Western Australia saw the establishment of the Western Australian International College for Years 11 and 12, with a projection of 200 students for 1987; and Tuart and Canning Colleges, part of the Ministry of Education, with a projected 600 students for the same year (Smart, 1986). These institutions quickly allied themselves in marketing activities to the universities they would supply, and they became a great influence on how policy emerged.

This study deals with only one aspect of internationalisation, that is, the recruitment of international students for specific pathway colleges. It also explores the question of whether these pathway colleges have anything to contribute to the broader internationalisation objectives which a university may subscribe to, specifically ‘social cohesion’. This is achieved by an analysis of the global, national and local influences that led to the deregulation of international student recruitment, and pathway programs as one specific aspect of ‘policy in practice’.

Conclusion

There is a broad consensus that since the 1980s higher education policies in Australia have undergone an unrelenting and revolutionary transformation due to neoliberal globalisation. These dramatic changes brought into question the role of the state, the formulation of public policy, and the management of public institutions such as universities. In many cases the sentiments expressed in the early-1990s revealed a hope that the changes would in some way be moderated and this form of political rationality, where the market economy is substituted for democratic politics, would in some way abate (Marginson, 1993). This has not so far been the case and higher education has been further entrenched in an environment where government spending has declined and 'the market' persists as the dominant rationale for Education Minister Nelson's reforms of 2003-2005.

In the following chapters the issues identified in this literature review will be analysed in more depth. This analysis occurs against a background of interview data provided by key stakeholders who were central to the transformation of the Australian higher education sector in the 1980s and the deregulation of international student recruitment.

Chapter 3

Policy Analysis Framework – A Combination of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Conceptual Framework of the Study

As outlined in Chapter 1 the conceptual framework adopted for this study is based on Ball's (1990a) policy cycle analysis, which focuses on contexts of influence, text production and practice. In his paper, 'What is policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes', Ball (1993) discussed policy as text and discourse and defined a number of theoretical concepts that frame his view of policy analysis. It is these concepts that have provided the foci of this study and have informed the methodology.

Ball (1993) described policy within a postmodern context occurring within 'localised complexity', and referred to Ozga's (1990) observation that both macro level and micro level analyses were required, the latter taking "account of people's perception and experiences" (Ball, 1993, p. 10). Through interviews with key stakeholders, this study documents people's perceptions and experiences of factors that influenced the deregulation of international fee-paying students and the subsequent growth of pathway programs and private providers in the tertiary sector. This deregulation is also examined from the perspective that, "policies are also processes and outcomes" (p. 11).

In tracing perceptions and experiences of key stakeholders, the study acknowledges Ball's (1993) discussions of policy as text and discourse. Policy as text is described as, "representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises ...) and decoded in complex ways (via actors, interpretations and meanings, in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context)" (p. 11). In relation to policy as discourse the theories of Foucault are engaged and Ball described policies as exercising power through "a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses" (p. 14). Foucault's (1974) definition of 'discourse' within an analytical framework referred to what is said, thought, who can speak and with what authority. 'Discourse' also embodies meaning and social relationships (as cited in Ball, 1990b). Discourses establish 'truth' and power not only in what they convey, but also, more importantly in the case of policy analysis, in what is not identified or spoken and in what is excluded or included. As stated, "The issue in discourse analysis is why, at a given time, out of all the possible things that could be said, only certain things were said: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another" (Foucault, 1974, as cited in Ball, 1990b, p. 3).

In addressing the 'context of practice', it is necessary to examine how policy is implemented with the recognition that there is both agency and constraint, and what is required is an understanding of the changing relationship between them. Analysis, therefore, must lead to an insight into the overall and localised outcomes of policy (Ball, 1993). Ball (1997) maintained that policy implementation will depend on *local* responses and will display 'ad hocery' as policies do not dictate how they should be enforced: "Policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options are ... narrowed. A response must still be put together,

constructed in context, offset against or balanced by other expectations” (p. 270). One ‘context of practice’ for ‘the policy’ under scrutiny, is the development of pathway programs in higher education through strong relationships with private providers. The implementation of this policy was very much a localised outcome and an ad-hoc response.

Interrogating a Policy Process

Vidovich (2002b), in the article ‘Expanding the Toolbox for Policy Analysis,’ further developed Ball’s theory by focusing on three dimensions of the policy process. These attribute more importance to national and local influences, to state centred control and to different levels of influence (macro, intermediate or micro) that interplay and influence contexts within the policy process.

Vidovich’s (2002b) first expansion was made in response to a criticism that Lingard (1996) levelled at Ball’s (1990a, 1993) theoretical approach. He extended the notion of nation-state to the global context, “understanding the global context would appear to be necessary to understanding the postmodern state and its relationship to contemporary educational policy developments at both national and local levels” (Lingard, 1996, p. 68). In a later article, Ball (1997) conceded that the “national/global relationship is another point of mediation in the policy process: an interface where pressures and constraints are mediated by ‘local’ concerns and preferences” (p. 267). As outlined in Chapter 2, global influences have been integral to this study.

Vidovich's second adaptation was to focus more fully than Ball on the state-centred constraint: "The approach is state-centred to emphasise the central role often taken by governments in policy, but not state controlled which implies a top-down implementation" (Raab, 1994, as cited in Vidovich, 2002b, p. 10). Lingard (1996) noted the debate as to whether power is actually exercised by the state and he observed that a theory granting significance to the state in exercising power in the policy cycle may be at odds with Foucault's concept of power. Foucault had rejected the locus of power resting with agencies, such as the state, and viewed power as something exercised rather than possessed. This study adopts Vidovich's modification because she identified a strong definable central role by the state, which is exercised but not controlled or possessed. This role of the state as one of the actors in the exercise of power is central to the conceptual framework adopted for this study.

Finally, Vidovich (2002b) highlighted more explicitly the continual relationship between the different levels and contexts of the policy process, with a balance between macro constraints and micro agencies. Multiple trajectories are included in this modified policy cycle, including macro, intermediate and micro levels, in an attempt to illustrate that "neither the macro level state nor policy practitioners at the micro level has absolute power ..." (p. 11). This model, therefore, offers both a state-centred, bigger picture viewpoint, together with a microanalysis of policy practitioners within a policy cycle. What was most useful in the implementation of this model was Vidovich's framework for what is termed 'interrogating a policy process'. A menu of questions are proposed that can be used to interrogate a particular policy process grouped according to Ball's contexts of influences, text

production/discourse and practices/effects. It is this fine tuning of Ball’s theories that provided the guiding questions for data gathering in this research. Table 2 provides a summary of the ‘interrogating process’ and how it was adapted for this study, further refinement is presented in the following data analysis chapters.

Table 2 ‘Interrogating a policy process’ – Application to this Study

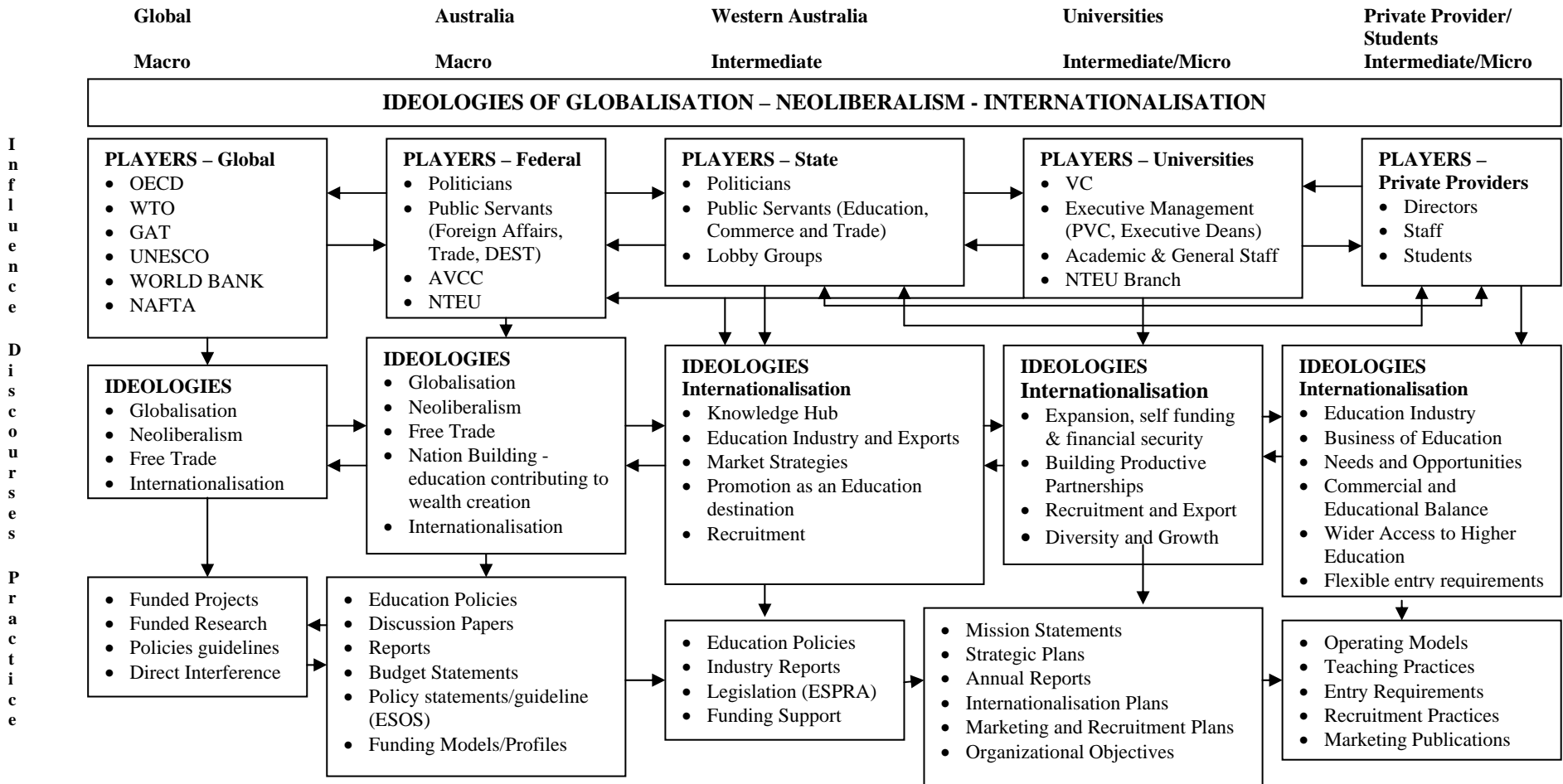
Context	Interrogating a policy process (Vidovich, 2002b)
Influence (Chapter 4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were the global influences and trends evident in higher education policies? • Were there international influences brought to bear? • Which key nation states were involved in this influence? • How were the global and international influences operating? • What were the prevailing ideological, economic and political conditions? • Which interest groups are attempting to influence policy? • Which interests were the most/least powerful and why? • Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?
Practice – Stakeholders’ and Students’ Perspectives (Chapter 5 and 6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels? • Who put the policy into practice? • What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why? • To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted? • Is resistance collective or individual? • What are the unintended consequences? • To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions? • Who can assess the policy and who does assess it? • Are there winners or losers? • How predictable were the policy effects?

The above analysis tool was integrated with Ball’s (1990a, 1993, 1997) theoretical framework, and Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the way in which the model was expanded. Figure 1 provides a synthesis of how Ball’s (1990a, 1993, 1997) trajectory model implemented for schools, was adapted for an analysis of ‘the policy’. The placement and sequence of boxes does not represent chronology of influence and practice. To

the contrary, as data were collected it became apparent that the dichotomy between these two contexts was not clear-cut, and Ball's (1993) trajectory model became an accurate description of policy process. Figures 1 and 2 also include reference to 'discourse' that "is structured by assumptions within which any speaker must operate in order to be heard as meaningful ... [and] emphasizes the social processes that produce meaning" (Ball, 1990b, p.3). Discourse in this sense is depicted as the ideologies that underlay the formulation of 'the policy' and in particular the development of pathway programs. Figure 2 provides an overview of how the data were collected for this research.

Figure 1 Theoretical Framework of the Study (Ball, 1993; Vidovich, 2002b)

**Contexts of Policy Formulation and Implementation
 ‘Glonacal Contexts’: The Australian Higher Education Sector and the Development of Pathway Programs**

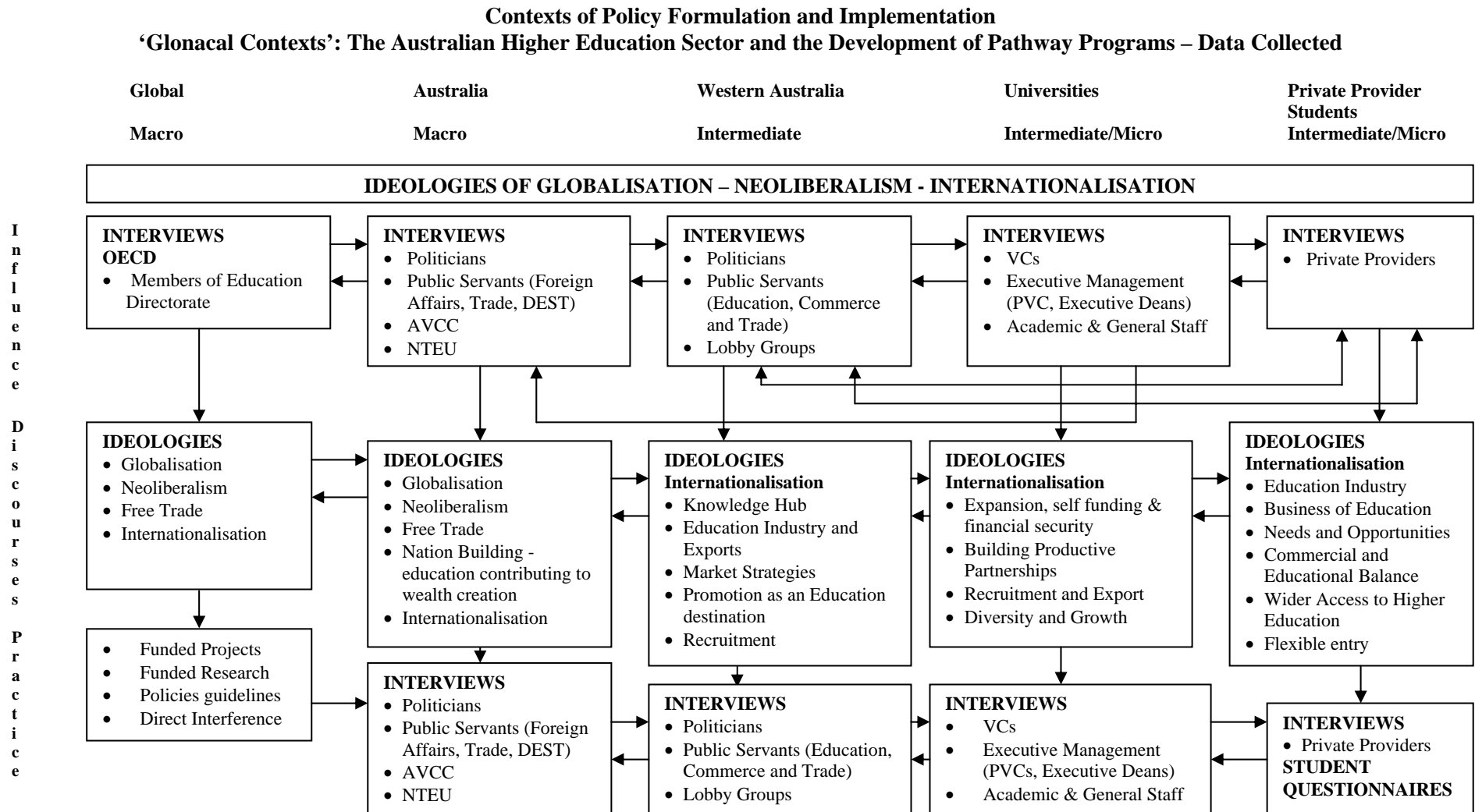


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Figure 2 Theoretical Framework of the Study – Collection of Data (Ball, 1993; Vidovich, 2002b)



Research Strategy

Through the study of one provider this research examines the case of policy making and implementation in the context of global, national, and local influences that led to the internationalisation and commercialisation of the tertiary sector. The private educational provider selected for this research evolved within this context. This provider offers pathway programs in close relationship, and on behalf of a number of universities, and therefore provides an opportunity to examine more than one institution within one case study. This case was selected as it contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of pathway programs and private providers in the recruitment of international fee-paying students, and the overall internationalisation objectives of tertiary institutions in Australia. The study adopts an *instrumental* case study approach, which is defined by Stake (2000) as being undertaken:

... if a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case still is looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps the researcher to pursue the external interest (p. 437).

The issue in this research relates to the development of tertiary pathway programs within the specific model of private provider collaboration with universities. It is scrutinized in order to add to an understanding of the development of a policy that deregulated the recruitment of international fee-paying students, and how pathway programs within this private provider relationship contribute to the commercialisation and internationalisation objectives of universities in Australia.

In discussion of case study methodology, Yin (1984) suggests that a case study is suitable when a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control. The provision of university pathways delivered on behalf of the university through a private provider involves a number of variables and factors occurring within what Yin (1984) describes as a ‘contemporary event’. The ‘contemporary event’ in this study is that of universities choosing to partner with a private provider to develop pathway programs. The ‘how’ component focuses on the implementation of policy through the specific case of the delivery of pathway programs and the ‘why’ probes the economic and political influences brought to bear on policy formulation both on a national and local level.

This case, therefore, allows us to explore why the universities concerned chose a private provider to develop these pathways and how effective the private provider was in achieving the universities’ goals. The variables are those that are specifically related to pathway programs: the overall objectives the university wishes to achieve in the recruitment of international fee-paying students; the quality of the relationship it forms with the provider to fulfil this objective; the fulfilment of the students’ academic goals and the overall quality of the programs. These variables also constitute what Stake (2000) refers to as issues that provide a conceptual structure around which the case study is organised and can provide the maximum understanding of the case.

Stake (2000) and Yin (1984) refer to the importance of verifying, explaining and making transferable multiple sources of data, that is, triangulation. This is “generally considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the

repeatability of an observation or interpretation” (Stake, 2000, p. 443). Yin (1984) explains that a case study enquiry can include many variables of interest and data points, and rely on multiple sources that require triangulation. The multiple sources drawn on to triangulate data in this research are the interviews from a wide variety of perspectives: college managers, entrepreneurs, students, politicians, public servants, and university administrators from two universities, and in addition perspectives from a global organisation, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Stake (1998), in his discussions on reliability and validity, claims that case studies may not be concerned with the generalisable. A case study should be more concerned with understanding a particular case, that is, its idiosyncrasy and its complexity. From Stake’s (1998) perspective, validity is a concept that depends on how the results are put to use, that is, observers in the research process may have different vantage points and some good observations cannot be validated at all. Marshall and Rossman (1999) discuss four alternative qualitative research constructs originally proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The first term is *credibility*, in which the goal is to demonstrate that the inquiry was conducted in such a manner as to ensure that the subject was accurately identified and described. The second construct is *transferability*, which according to Marshall and Rossman (1999), is a responsibility that rests with the investigator wishing to transfer the study rather than with the original researcher. The third construct is *dependability*, a notion varying from the concept of reliability, which assumes an unchanging social phenomenon or setting. The fourth construct proposed is *confirmability*, which Marshall and Rossman (1999) state allows for objectivity and confirms whether another could gain similar results.

In this research, *credibility* was ensured by stating accurately the parameters of the study, describing the setting, and providing an in-depth description of the complexities, variables and theoretical framework (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Specifically, adhering to Ball's (1993) theoretical framework and Vidovich's (2002b) guiding questions ensured that credibility was maintained. *Transferability*, that is, being able to generalize the findings to another setting, was also adhered to by clearly demonstrating how appropriate concepts and models generated from the theoretical framework guided data collection and analysis. Adopting this framework would allow any future investigators to utilise the same questions and policy trajectory theory in a similar setting. Triangulation of data from different actors in two different universities in Australia also contributed to enhancing transferability. In addition, triangulation serves to clarify meaning and contribute to *dependability* by identifying different ways the phenomena are seen, in acknowledgement that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable in changing conditions (Flick, 1992). *Confirmability* or objectivity was maintained by following rigorous data collection and analysis techniques as outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994).

Research Context

The private educational provider selected for this research has formal contractual links with a number of institutions, and the two universities in this study are referred to as University A and B respectively. The provider utilises the same systems of administration, information technology, program development, delivery and quality control in all colleges in Australia and offshore. A characteristic of its operation is to establish colleges within the campus of the university and maintain close relationships with the universities involved in their agreements, including joint

marketing activities. A common feature is the establishment of an academic advisory committee, which is chaired by the partnering university and has representation from the key stakeholders of the college and university departments involved in the delivery of programs. This committee often includes the executive representative of the quality arm of the university.

Collection of Data

Data were collected from interviews with stakeholders, student questionnaires and document analysis. Interviewees and questionnaire respondents selected represented a purposive sample. A total of 32 interviews were conducted, five on a global level with the OECD, and 27 with key stakeholders at a national (four), state (10), and local level (13), both in the tertiary and private sector in Australia. These stakeholders were selected on the basis of their involvement with internationalisation activities from the mid-1980s to the present day. They were either involved at the level of policy formulation (influence) or at the implementation stage. The delineation between policy formation and influence and policy implementation is not separate. As Ball (1993) purports in the trajectory form of analysis, “There is no simple one direction of flow of information” (p.16). In-depth interviews were conducted to explore each participant’s perspective on the research questions. Core questions and specific questions were asked of each respondent (see Appendix A).

Questionnaires were administered to two cohorts of students from Universities A and B. These questionnaires focused on quality issues, that is, the reasons for students choosing the colleges, their academic expectations and whether they had been fulfilled. The majority of questions in the questionnaires were structured with fixed

responses in that they asked students to select from a range of alternatives for their answers, and a small number of questions were open ended (see Appendix B¹). The first cohort was made up of those students who were currently studying at the pathway colleges, and classes were selected on the basis of availability and size. A total of 165 students completed the questionnaire in this category. The second cohort consisted of students who had graduated from the colleges and were currently in the process of completing their degrees (see Appendix B²). These students were invited to complete an on-line questionnaire and a total of 149 responded. For University A 293 emails were sent out to students and about 60 of these returned as failed messages. In total 50 students out of 233 successful emails completed the questionnaire giving a response rate of 21%. The response rate for University B was slightly higher at 34%. In total 350 emails were sent out, 60 returned as failed and 99 questionnaires were completed.

Table 3 overleaf provides a summary of the data collected and the ‘contexts’ (Ball 1990a, 1993) within which they are categorised.

Table 3 Summary of Collection of Data

Contexts (Ball 1990a, 1993)	Data	Themes
Influence (Glonacal)	Interviews with key stakeholders	Influencing factors: international, federal, state and Private Providers. Opposition Lobby Groups Universities' role in policy University positioning in internationalisation
Practice/ Implementation	Interviews with key stakeholders	Pathway models Private providers Local influences (Western Australian context) Profile of the university Effects of pathway programs Quality Commercialisation Internationalisation/social cohesion Future of pathway programs
Practice/ Implementation	Student Questionnaires	Profile/reputation of the university Influences in decision making Student expectations and issues Quality Internationalisation/social cohesion

Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994) define qualitative analysis as “consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification” (p. 10). Data reduction according to Miles and Huberman occurs from the beginning of the project when decisions are being made about the conceptualisation of the project, deciding on a theoretical framework and eliminating and including questions. The conceptual framework adapted from Ball (1993) and Vidovich (2002b) presented in the beginning of this chapter illustrates the process of

conceptualisation and data reduction for this study. At this point it was decided that data would be gathered according to Ball's (1993) contexts of influence, and production through interviews and student questionnaires as summarised above.

The contextualisation of the study is also acknowledged in the gathering of data through interviews. All interviews were conducted in the participant's environment and can be described as being somewhere on a continuum between structured and unstructured. They were structured in as much as all respondents in a particular category were asked the same open questions, however, equally if respondents led to an important topic they were not discouraged to do so as the focus of the interview was to gather as much as possible on the person's "perception and experience" (Ball, 1993, p. 10). There is also much debate as to how interview data can be interpreted, how close they are to 'truth' or reality and the role the interviewer may have in the construction of the participant's knowledge (Fontana & Frey, 2000). This discussion is expanded by Miller and Glassner (2004) as they explain the different approaches to interviews, from the positivist's goal who tries to create an absolutely accurate reflection of the world, to the social constructionist who would suggest that versions of the world are created within the interview.

In this study it is acknowledged that the interviews were "not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645). Furthermore Miller and Glassner's (2004) conclusion that all interviews are 'active' provides a valuable framework for how the data were analysed. Their term 'active interview' reflects that:

All participants in an interview are implicated in making meaning. They are involved in meaning *construction*, not contamination. The leading question should not be whether or not interview procedures contaminate data, but how the interview generates useful information about a phenomenon of interest (p. 157).

The participants' perceptions and experiences of the policy process from influence to implementation led to a better understanding of the phenomenon of interest at hand, the trajectory nature of policy.

Miles and Huberman (1994) provide further guidance for this study in their summary of the analytical practices involved in the process of data reduction, display and verification. The practices that were employed to analyse interviews and the open-ended questions are outlined below:

- Affixing codes to field notes drawn from observation;
- Noting reflections or other remarks in margins;
- Sorting and sifting through these materials to identify ... relationships between variables ... and common sequences;
- Isolating these patterns and processes, commonalities and differences;
- Gradually elaborating a small set of generalizations ... and
- Confronting these generalizations with a formalised body of knowledge in the form of constructs or theories (p. 9).

In particular, a process of data reduction was applied to the interview transcripts, that is, summarising, paraphrasing and coding. Data were then organised by matrices, charts or networks, which then led to drawing conclusions and verification. The use of the qualitative analysis software system provided by Qualitative Solutions Research (QSR) NUD*IST Vivo to code interviews facilitated the data reduction process proposed above by Miles and Huberman (1994). To use the software system, the researcher must sort and sift through the materials, in this case interview

transcripts, to identify ‘coding trees’ which reflect a categorisation and hierarchy of data.

In this study the underlying index system was provided by Ball’s (1990a, 1993) policy cycle analysis. *Stage one* of the process was to read the interviews and follow through the categories of questions related to influence and practice, and reflecting within these two categories on Foucault’s (1974, as cited in Ball, 1990b) underlying analytical framework of what was being said, thought, who spoke and who had the authority to speak. In *Stage two*, the two original ‘parent nodes’ of the contexts of influence and practice were further refined into the following ‘tree nodes’. Figures 3 and 4 show the coding trees used in *Stage two*.

Figure 3 Stage 2 Coding Tree – Context of Influence

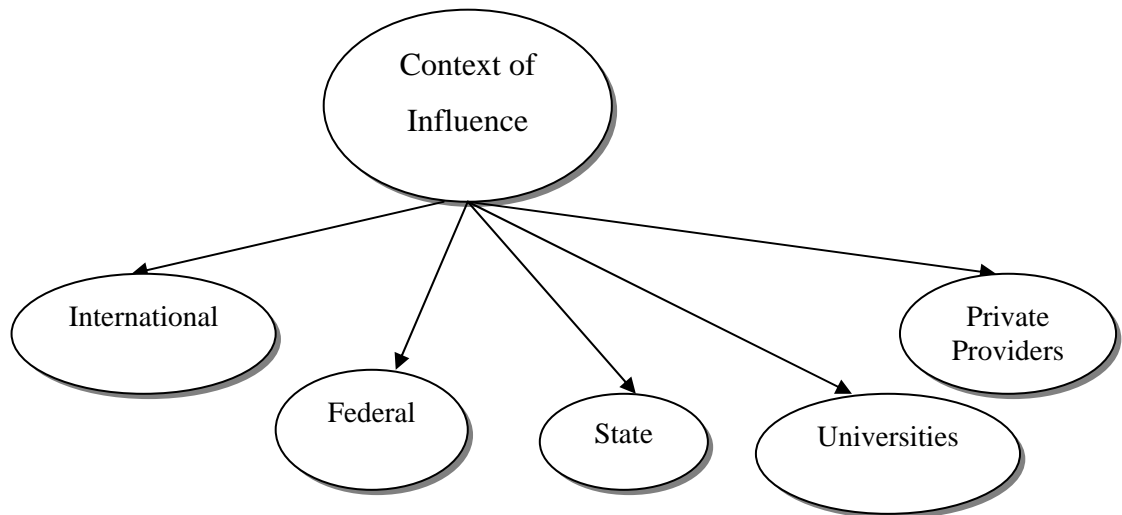
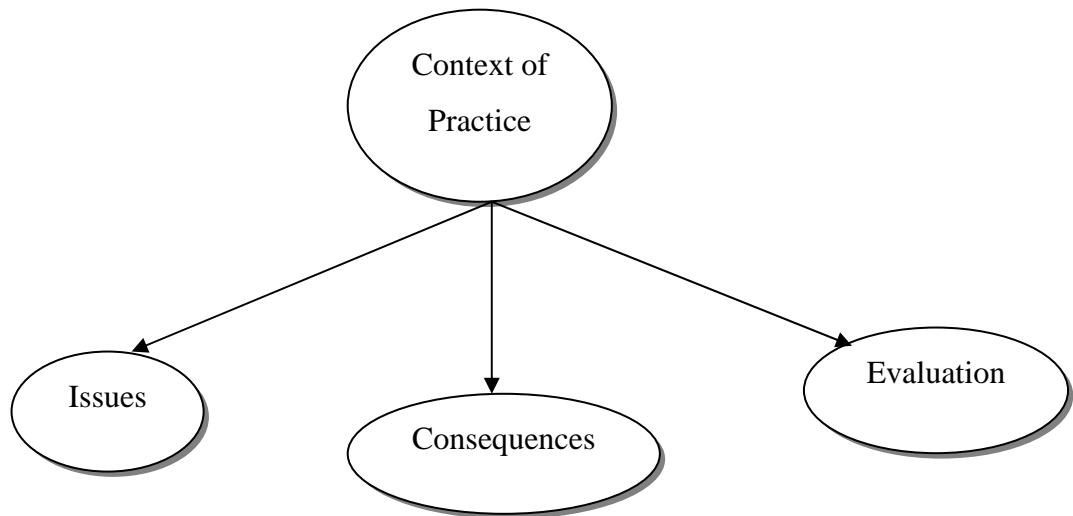


Figure 4 Stage 2 Coding Tree – Context of Practice/Implementation



From the Stage 2 analysis, each of the ‘nodes’ was further sorted to identify commonalities or themes identified by interviewees. Then the interviews were sorted in NUD*IST Vivo according to these categories as illustrated in Appendix C.

The data collected from students took the form of a mostly structured questionnaire with 23 questions in total and six open-ended questions. These questionnaires were both paper-based and on-line, and provided quantitative data through SPSS analysis. The SPSS program was used to generate frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for all mainstream and pathway respondents. This was done for all variables including the multiple response questions relating to problems students may have experienced. This statistical analysis of student surveys was used to bring about an understanding of: what expectations students had of pathway programs; whether these expectations has been met; whether the profile of the college or university was more important to them; and how they assessed the 'quality' of their courses.

Ethics

In conducting any type of research, ethical considerations and guidelines are relevant throughout all phases of the project, (that is, in the preparation to gather and collect data, in the analysis of the data and finally in the writing stage). These guidelines relate to the full disclosure to the respondents of the objectives of the study, their full consent and maintaining confidentiality when the data are reported. Stake (2000) suggests that "something of a contract exists between the researcher and the researched" (p. 447) requiring a moral obligation to protect those being researched.

Miles and Huberman (1994) discuss various ethical theories that can guide what action is right and appropriate in conducting research. They cite Flinders' (1992) ethical framework, which incorporates utilitarian, deontological, relational and ecological types of research and the ethical considerations for each under the headings of recruitment, fieldwork and reporting. The utilitarian approach best

defines this study, which is a pragmatic approach that “judges actions according to their specific consequences – benefits and costs – for various audiences: the researcher, the researched, colleagues, the public” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 289). Flinders (1992, as cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 290) suggests the following parameters for utilitarian research:

Table 4 Ethical Considerations – A Utilitarian Approach

Utilitarian Research	
Recruitment	1. Informed Consent
Fieldwork	2. Avoidance of Harm
Confidentiality	3. Confidentiality

The above guiding ethical principals as outlined in Table 4 were adopted throughout this study. That is, all respondents involved in this research both interviewees and students were made aware of how data would be reported before agreeing to take part in the study. The key stakeholders, that is, the private provider and the universities involved in the study all granted written approval for their involvement in the project, as long as their anonymity was ensured. All interviewees were invited to participate via correspondence that outlined the objectives of the study, and identified the institution where I was studying, and the names and contact numbers for my supervisors. The letters also outlined the ethical guidelines to be followed, in particular, that no interviewee would be named and if cited would be referred to as someone belonging to a generic category, for example, university administrator or public servant. However, some interviewees, especially those who had been in the public arena, indicated that they did not mind being directly quoted. The

interviewees who are directly quoted in the following chapters gave their permission after reviewing their interview transcripts and reading their quotes in the context of the chapters in which they were quoted. Interviewees were asked if the interview could be recorded and all agreed. Upon completion of the analysis, tapes and transcripts were transferred to a locked cupboard where access was restricted to the researcher.

Similarly students were given a letter of introduction which outlined: the objectives of the study: that participation was voluntary, that all information would be kept confidential and that no information would identify students. They were then asked to sign a consent form if they agreed to continue with the study. These forms were kept separate from the questionnaires and therefore students could not be individually identified. Completed questionnaires were also transferred to a secure place where access was restricted to the researcher. These procedures were given ethics approval by the Murdoch University Human Ethics Committee.

Chapter 4

The Policy Cycle – Contexts of Influence

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the influences on policy formulation at a macro and micro level, that is, the context of influence as Ball (1990a, 1993) outlined. The subsequent two chapters address the context of implementation or practice. Although I analysed these two concepts separately, at this point it is important to reconfirm the trajectory nature of Ball's (1990a, 1993) model where influence and implementation are often not clearly separate processes but one emanates from the other.

This study on the deregulation of international student recruitment in Australia that began in 1985 (subsequently referred to as 'the policy') includes international influences that created external contexts as well as the 'localised complexity' referred to by Ozga (1990). The significant localised contexts were identified as 'actors' and policies from federal, state agencies, and university and pathway providers, and their stakeholders. These offered an "account of people's perception and experiences" (Ball, 1993, p. 10), which were subsequently analysed and reported. Importantly, this interweaving of the macro and micro analyses of the policy cycle provides a basis on which to pursue Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) *glonacal* heuristic where the global, national and local 'realities' have an impact on each other, revealing the influence and significance of the layered contexts.

Data Collection

As outlined in the previous chapter, the interview schedules reflected Ball's (1990a, 1993) policy cycle, where core questions were divided into those that sought recollections and perceptions of factors that influenced policy and those which related to implementation or practice contexts of the policy cycle (see Appendix A). All interview questions were specifically framed according to Vidovich's (2002b) model of 'interrogating a policy process', which included categorising and analysing the 'contexts' on a macro, intermediate and micro level. Interviewees were categorised according to these levels depending on their immediacy to influencing policy. This decision was made on the basis of the positions and contexts of the interviewees at the time of policy formulation and implementation, and this was confirmed by the interview data. The influence of one person could also be considered in more than one level or area, for example, a state located Vice Chancellor may have had influence at a federal level, and in both the formulation of a policy and its implementation.

The questions relating to 'context of influence' pursued a common thread and the 'interrogation' focused on the following key themes:

- What were the global influences and trends evident in higher education policies?
- Were there international influences brought to bear? Which key nation states were involved in this influence?
- How were the global and international influences operating?
- What were the prevailing ideological, economic and political conditions?

- Which interest groups were attempting to influence policy?
- Which interests were the most/least powerful and why?
- Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?

A total of 32 interviews were conducted to investigate the influence phase of the policy cycle. These represented key stakeholders in the international; federal; state; university and pathway provider arenas (subsequently referred to as ‘contexts of influence’). Although data are reported according to these groupings, the delineations are for the purposes of representing data clearly rather than to represent completely distinct areas. Whilst those interviewed can be easily categorised according to positions held at the time of policy formulation, their influence and perceptions clearly affected areas across and beyond the above categories.

Where anonymity was requested or necessary, a coding system was used to distinguish interviewees according to positions held at the time of the implementation of the policy in the late-1980s and early-1990s. Many of the respondents still held similar positions at the time of the interview. The following table provides a summary of the number interviewed and the categories to which they belonged. The numbers following the code when respondents are cited refer to the month and year the interview took place, for example, SUAd-1, 6/03 was a senior university administrator interviewed in June 2003.

Table 5 Respondents Interviewed

Category	Code	Number of Respondents	Range of Influence
International Agency – Administrators and Researchers	IA	5	Macro
Former Senior Federal Public Advisors Ross Garnaut – Directly quoted David Buckingham – Directly quoted Michael Gallagher – Directly quoted	N/A	3	Macro
Senior Union Administrator	SUnA	1	Macro
Senior State Politicians Bob Pearce Minister of Education (1983-1988) Directly quoted Hendy Cowan Minister for Trade (1993-2001) Directly quoted	N/A	2	Intermediate
Middle State Public Servants	MSPS	6	Intermediate
Senior State Educators	SSE	2	Intermediate/Micro
Senior University Academics	SUAc	3	Intermediate/Micro
Senior University Administrators Don Watts – Directly quoted	SUAd	6	Macro/Intermediate
Private Providers	PP	4	Micro
Total		32	

Data Analysis

The analytical practices outlined of data reduction, display and verification (Miles & Huberman, 1994) were employed to sort and sift the data. The evidence of this appears in the NUD*IST Vivo analysis (see Appendix C). Within this process I categorised the data according to ‘the contexts of influence’ and then further refined

these by identifying and categorising major ‘trees’ and ‘nodes’ within those key contexts.

The NUD*IST Vivo ‘trees’ represent a hierarchical structure. However, this diagrammatic representation does not reveal the complexities of how ‘contexts of influence’ impacted on the formulation of policy. That is to say, participants’ perceptions and experiences of influence were often triangulated by many of the respondents, but these perspectives depended on the positions held by the interviewees. Similarly the interviewees do not always neatly unravel the impact or importance of any one influence or its chronological place in the evolution of ‘the policy’. To the contrary, their accounts affirm the phenomenon of policy formulation and Ball’s (1993) position that it is indeed a trajectory and messy process.

International Context – Economic

In Chapter 2 the literature review provided evidence from the international and political context where the decision was made to deregulate the recruitment of international students in Australia. As outlined in the review, economic rationalism, economic development through nation building, and ‘small government’ created the context or background that led to the changes and subsequent internationalisation of the tertiary sector. To explore and confirm how the key players perceived and experienced this evolution of policy, all respondents were asked what they believed were the global, economic and political factors that influenced the formulation of ‘the policy’. From the interview data the major international influences on the formulation of ‘the policy’ that were identified were global economic influences,

existing models in the United States and United Kingdom, and socio economic conditions in the South East Asian region.

In response to the above question, one key university administrator summarised the international influence on Australian tertiary policy as follows:

There were numerous factors. It was the post-Keynesian era so that was concerned with government deficit and the ‘take’¹ of government was uppermost in the American, British, and European minds. Also, in the Australian context there were global economic and political movements in the ‘Western’ world that said that scaling back of the size of the government, and the size of the ‘take’ it gives its citizens, was on the agenda. So it was about governments not running deficits anymore but turning them into surpluses. That backdrop is terribly important when looking at the Whitlam years, the way he was dismissed, and the subsequent concern about Labor governments not being able to manage the economy. We had a Prime Minister coming in absolutely committed to that agenda and his treasurer picks it up. (SUAd-4, 3/03)

One significant factor that emerged from the interviews was that this economic management was also dependent on an outward-looking approach. In the minds of those close to the federal government of the time, the Hawke agenda was focused on internationalisation and globalisation that sought stronger links to the region. A former senior federal advisor to the Hawke government explained that:

Advisors to the Prime Minister at the time had very strong background links to Asia ... And the key judgement that was made in the 80s by those advising on the national level was that Australia had high quality education that could be internationally competitive in the global market place, and that Australia should be prepared to move onto such a footing. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

¹ Australian colloquialism, meaning to receive by way of payment or charge.

International Context – United Kingdom and United States

The movement of international students was already evident in the United Kingdom and the United States, and interviews confirmed that what was happening in those countries influenced the government of the day. David Buckingham commented, “We were very aware of the involvement of the British Council ... it was clear that other countries were in the market and not sharing some of the reservations we had.” (David Buckingham, 9/03) From a different perspective the United States also offered a model:

Those of us who thought through these things were very much aware of the contribution that top international students made to the world’s best universities in America ... we were aware of the role top international students played in raising the quality of those universities. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

The union administrator also believed that the American model influenced “the debate about the domestic higher education system and the overseas student segment ... and was a significant factor” (SUnA-1, 9/03) in the evolution of ‘the policy’.

International Context – South East Asia

Overwhelmingly, a strong international influence also came from the region itself where the rising middle class of Chinese descent in Singapore and Malaysia was unable to access higher education. Over half of the respondents commented on this factor and concurred that Australia was well positioned to move from the scholarship-based system of the Colombo Plan (later AusAID plus ‘subsidised’ fees) to one of attracting full fee-paying students. A senior university academic who had

been involved in international education even before the formalisation of ‘the policy’ commented:

It became clear that the big countries in South East Asia were not going to be able to provide the places required for what were really booming student numbers in that age group and there were some political processes in some countries, like Malaysia. It was pretty clear that there was going to be a significant undersupply for the demand that was coming and that Australia actually had the resources to fill some of that demand. (SUAc-1, 5/03)

International Context – OECD

As discussed in Chapter 2 there was a view that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) had a great deal of influence on the Hawke government at the time of the major tertiary reform agenda in the mid to late-1980s. Certainly, it was in that era that the OECD formed a view on education that was linked to nation building. In their own words in a promotional publication, the OECD (2004) states that from “the 1970s, when many OECD countries faced high unemployment rates, particularly among young people, the OECD’s work on education was more strongly connected with the Organisation’s work on employment” (p. 4).

At the time of the research, the OECD had 30 member nations and contact with 70 other countries through its Work with Partner Countries (PC) in the Education Directorate. The Directorate in its current form was established in 2002 to raise the profile of the education research undertaken by the international institution and in recognition of the increased importance of educational policy by member governments. Its varied and significant research into higher education can take the

form of: country reviews (when a country volunteers to be reviewed in this area); thematic reviews in specific areas across countries; work carried out by the Centre for Education Research and Innovation (CERI); and the Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE).

The debate over OECD influence continues in Australia through more recent studies. For example, Henry, Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor (2001) and Lingard and Rizvi (1998) provided useful critiques for this research. Although it was not possible to interview the 1980s members of the OECD, I decided that for my own understanding of how the organisation operates interviews would add value to the research. The questions put to the members of the Directorate of Education (See Appendix D) were informed by the above study and sought to resolve how the Directorate viewed its own influence in higher education.

It was clear from the interviews that the Directorate recognised the importance of the higher education sector and its rapidly changing nature:

As far as higher education, we don't have a line and I'm not so sure that we are going to have one soon because the sector is evolving very rapidly and for the time being I tend to think that we are in an unedited phase. We are trying to understand better how things are working rather than saying we think things should be done this way instead of the other way. (IA-5, 7/04)

This respondent, however, did say that the OECD had done work proving that in higher education the private return is higher than the social return. Thus, it recommends that the student should pay tuition fees: "This line is quite important in our work." (IA-5, 7/04) In addition, the following six major trends occurring in

higher education were identified (in no particular order of importance): massification or the ‘democratisation of education’; competition between universities or ‘what is called managerialisation’; the need to sustain quality and efficiency with a robust research agenda; privatisation or the involvement of the private sector in higher education; commercialisation; and internationalisation.

The first question respondents were asked to comment on was a description offered by Lingard and Rizvi (1998) as to whether the “OECD is actor, arena, and instrument” (p. 271) in educational agenda setting and policy development. There was agreement that the organisation did have this complex relationship with its members and that it would be increasingly so as the membership became larger and more diverse. Another dimension was seen as crucial to the way in which the OECD performed, that is, the interaction between member nations and the diversity evident in responding to common agendas:

The purpose of the OECD is to really serve as a catalyst for policy discussion and policy debates, with member countries and in fact to influence legislation and have an impact that way. The diversity is a factor that throws issues to the surface – different countries approaching similar problems in very different ways. (IA-3, 7/04)

The issue of whether the OECD leads or is led in policy development was also explored with the respondents, and I believe their responses were influenced by the areas they represented in the Directorate. Most believed they were not led, although responses illustrate a convoluted role where the international institution emerges as an entity with its own agenda. Whether it constrains or acts as an agency depends heavily on the country in question evaluating the agenda, its power and status within

the OECD and how it wishes to use the support or otherwise of the international body.

One respondent agreed that the OECD leads and is led:

Well both. The OECD can't get too far out in front. On the other hand, if it just waits for the countries to say we want you to do this or this, it won't be as fast as we'd like it to be. Some of the areas are now well-established, routine and important processes like education of the clients and educational policy analysis. So the OECD leads in that we will pretty much decide in house what the content of the next educational policy analysis is going to be. But obviously if we start publishing EPAs² that nobody recognises in the countries, people will start saying 'What are you doing?' It is a two-way process. (IA-1, 7/04)

Another respondent also agreed that there was an element of both roles in OECD policy development:

What we should try to do is steer a path between the two. I think it is clear that there are examples of countries that use the OECD to help them make difficult decisions. I don't think they do that in a cynical way. There is a certain area of reform that they want to pursue. (IA-2, 7/04)

Equally there was a view from one area of the Directorate that in research the Directorate did take a leadership role, "If we don't influence the research agenda I assume that people aren't reading what we do or are reading it and discarding it." (IA-1, 7/04)

² Educational Policy Analysis.

A differing perspective was also offered on this question in relation to the OECD's integrity in providing reports of its research. The respondent held the view that the organisation was never led by its member countries in terms of report outcomes and recommendations, and importantly the OECD maintained its independence in these matters:

No, we are never led by them. Being the only major organisation that is not a global organisation or financial organisation allows us to be a little more honest. We do have to be diplomatic, but we don't have to be as nearly diplomatic as UNESCO has to be, where everybody is right, nobody could possibly be wrong and everybody has the right to their own views. They ask us what we think and we tell them what we think. (IA-4, 7/04)

This position was endorsed further:

We are never led by our members because we have a particular methodology. The methodology that we have is very simple. What we are saying to countries is that tertiary education is facing some crossroads and is facing many challenges. We don't know what the right answers are in terms of the trends. We don't say that we have all the solutions in our pocket, nor do we say that some countries have all of the solutions or some of the solutions. We just try to identify the main questions, which are similar in all the countries that we are examining, and then we try to identify the best practices. (IA-5, 7/04)

In identifying best practice, the OECD also endeavours to understand the conditions under which certain practices have been successful and under which "those practices can be exported." (IA-5, 7/04)

It is in the export of these best practices that the role of the OECD can be further critiqued. Although the following notion was impressed upon me during the course

of one interview, there is an emergence of the OECD as its own entity, as an institution and its own 'line': "The OECD per se as an institution was nothing and it is the OECD as a group of countries that is successful, not the institution, the Education Directorate is nothing if you don't have the group of countries." (IA-5, 7/04)

As mentioned above there is a 'line' followed by the OECD, firstly that higher education produces more private gain than social gain, and that "there is a changing relationship between public and private sectors, a growing role for the private sector, which has existed very strongly in some countries anyway." (IA-1, 7/04) Therefore, the extent to which the Education Directorate pursues problems or issues brought to the table by member nations, as opposed to taking the initiative, was not so clearly defined in the interview data. As mentioned above, each area had slightly different ways of operating. It was reported that there was no compulsion among the countries to accept or initiate any of the Directorate findings, although the same respondent did concede that countries "feel peer pressure, if you see that most OECD countries are introducing some reforms, and if you don't, you have some peer pressure." (IA-5, 7/04) In addition, the institution identifies best practice within parameters that specify that OECD countries are all democratic, market economy-oriented and "are always seeking greater economic development, not only for their own countries but for the world in general." (IA-4, 7/04) So their influence is apparent on two levels: they are a separate entity and simultaneously the voice of their member countries. The 'line' is seemingly reinforced and self-perpetuating in both 'camps'. In some cases it can be envisaged that the OECD acts on behalf of their member nations.

However, it can also be said that there are times the institution takes the lead, and there are also times when these two scenarios are not so easily distinguishable.

Lingard and Rizvi (1998) suggest that the OECD is an important instrument in furthering globalisation and therefore United States hegemony. This claim was viewed as exaggerated by a respondent, “I think it’s because we’re the organisation for economic co-operation and everything we do is seen through economic eyes and the consequences.” (IA-5, 7/04) Another respondent, however, did concede that the United States was one of the most powerful nations in the world and therefore not surprising that its influence is felt. This same person countered with the following: “Actually, it is not necessarily an influence that we endorse ... To the extent that the US is a powerful player in the world and in the OECD, yes that is true. But the notion that it depends upon what is going on here is not true.” (IA-1, 7/04)

It is significant to note at this point that in the 1980s Australia was not responding to specific educational policy through a purpose focused Directorate. However, it was responding to the OECD economic policy development that linked unemployment and education. From these guidelines, the Hawke government fashioned a comprehensive and hitherto revolutionary educational policy in the form of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS). This is an interesting cycle to ponder when all the OECD respondents took the opportunity to point out that the way in which Australia had responded to the massification of the higher education sector, through HECS, was one of the most egalitarian and ‘best practice’ models in higher education. As one OECD respondent commented, “The HECS system within Australia has been a relatively successful instrument. The evidence suggests that

there has not been a huge tail off in applications and the equity issue has not been as significant as projected.” (IA-1, 7/04)

It is not in the parameters of this study to delve deeper into the way in which the OECD operates. The purpose of this phase of the research was to gain an understanding of how this context of influence could have impacted on decisions that were made in relation to ‘the policy’. There were limitations as I was not able to interview those involved in the 1980s. Although, I believe the data illustrate the complexity inherent in the relationship between member countries and the institution, the fundamental ideologies at play and how the global in the *glonacal* paradigm is a significant reality.

Federal Context – Rationale for ‘the policy’

The federal context of influence was the core arena for setting the rationale for the policy and its subsequent implementation. The analysis of the data relating to federal themes led to three major groupings, that is, the evolution of the policy, the rationale or reasons for its implementation and the implementation of policy issues. I first discuss stakeholders’ perceptions of the rationale behind the government’s initiatives, the evolution of the policy and then finally the implementation issues which emerged in the early phases of ‘the policy’.

The interview data analysis revealed five major reasons that were cited by all respondents to have influenced the federal context. These reasons can be subsumed under the overarching umbrella of macro economic reform that was ultimately guided by the economic rationalist paradigm: trade liberalisation; reduction in public

spending; scaling back the size of government; nation-building through education; expansion of the tertiary sector through reform; and internationalisation. As the data unfold, it is clear that each of the above themes was interrelated with each facet forming part of the overall reform agenda. Interviews with the three senior federal advisors of the time provided rich data and confirmed the view that the 1980s was a period where the federal government had a strong and focused reform agenda. Their accounts of this period offer one view of how policy is formed, that is, a rational and well-ordered process demonstrating clear goals and outcomes. Alternate views emerge and will be discussed in a later section on the evolution of 'the policy'.

One of the senior federal advisors to the Hawke government summarised the key issues of the time:

The first was the commitment that evolved slowly through the 70s into the 80s to liberalise Australia's trade regime ... The important thing about that was that you're talking about the international competitiveness of industry. This linked to the second point, which was that you also had deregulation of the Australian financial system and the floating of the Australian dollar ... A further factor that was critical was that the Australian aid program was under close scrutiny through the late-70s and into the 80s. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

It was the perception of all interviewees that the strengthening competitiveness of the economy and trade liberalisation were twin foci of the Hawke government. It was the most significant influence on the formulation of 'the policy', a view supported by Ross Garnaut, Senior Economic Advisor to Prime Minister Hawke 1983-1985:

One dimension was that Australia needed to be a more open economy with a much higher level of export of sophisticated goods and services, with high knowledge content if it was to succeed as a

modern economy ... So internationalisation of the economy as a whole, to raise incomes, raise productivity, strengthen exports of sophisticated goods and services, was very much a part of that general strategy. The education industry was one industry with potential as a major export. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

A majority of the respondents also referred to Australia's shift from 'aid to trade' through Dawkins' initiatives as Trade Minister. One senior university administrator's view was that the government not only "wanted to have a directed foreign aid program and thought it would be better delivered through AusAID," but that the "decision was supported by the prospects of universities recovering more funds." (SUAd-2, 6/04) The Colombo Plan had been successful in building 'very strong regional links' but the Australian aid program was under close scrutiny through the late-1970s and 1980s. The most important element of this enquiry was the Jackson Committee review of the aid program, concluding that many within the Asian context who were currently sponsored would be prepared to pay for access to an Australian university. David Buckingham explains:

It was not simply a matter of tariff liberalisation, floating of the dollar and deregulation of the financial position, but it was also a case of recognising those sectors where that competitiveness might also be generative of significant export returns. I think it was important that it became apparent fairly quickly that those assumptions were real ... By 1989 the export earnings from education were well above 300 million dollars per annum. People noticed that. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

As part of the economic rationalist agenda, the tenet of nation building through education is well documented and this was also established in the interview data. According to Ross Garnaut, this notion was also a strong ideology of the Hawke government:

The improvement of education as an element in a strategy to raise economic performance was discussed from the early days of the Labor government. The middle of 83 would have been the first discussion. The larger context was the raising of the quality of education within Australia. That was a major theme of the government. Hawke in his early period made a number of speeches about improving education as part of improving the technological base of the economy. The very large increase in retention rates in high school and the transition from high school to university were a reflection of that. There were huge increases in university student numbers through the 80s. We're all part of that story, upgrading the education base in the community. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

Many of the respondents confirmed that the funding limitations to tertiary education in the mid-1980s were a severe problem and that something had to be done: "They [universities] were fairly static in terms of the funding they were getting ... I think there was pressure on the universities in terms of who they could get and the government wasn't increasing their funding." (Bob Pearce, 6/03)

There was, however, concurrently, urgency as part of the economic rationalist creed to reduce government spending. A senior university academic explains that the Hawke government had to find a way to support its nation building and egalitarian objectives:

We had the ongoing Labor commitment of opening up education and extending egalitarian Australian values to higher education, which had been for the wealthy and middle class. But no government could have an open chequebook for insatiable higher education, and I think that was recognised by Keating and Dawkins. So how do you continue to open up higher education and continue to fund it with probably less government money than before? Keating and Dawkins were struggling with previous government overspending creating deficits and damaging Australia's international credit rating. So that was the frame within which they had to operate. (SUAc-2, 9/04)

Michael Gallagher's (former federal advisor) response to the above dilemma was that a whole set of structural changes were well thought out and planned in a way that would allow the government to achieve expansion of the tertiary sector without increasing public spending, that is, the deregulation of international student recruitment:

So there was a whole set of structural adjustment reforms to industry policy to enable Australia to engage in what was seen by the Hawke government as the big stage that Australia had to play on for its long-term sustainability. Dawkins saw the education industry as one of those industries needing structural adaptation and he set about a fairly far-reaching set of reforms to the structure of higher education. Through amalgamations, he set about changes to the scale of that sector from an elite to a more mass system, financed that by a balance of sums between general taxpayers and students as beneficiaries, and he sought that industry to become more internationalised. In doing that, it moved from a culture of international relations, through aid, to a culture of international services through trade. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

As an aside it is worth noting that Gallagher uses the same concept of 'structural adjustment reform' that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) employ with Third World nations. Another indication of how globalising practices move from international agencies to national bureaucracies.

It is interesting at this point to introduce the notion of how 'the policy' evolved in discussing the federal context. There was a marked difference (which will be discussed in greater depth below) between senior federal advisors and how they perceived the evolution of 'the policy', compared to the perceptions of senior academics and university administrators who had been involved in international education even before activities were sanctioned by 'the policy'. Many of these 'pioneers' believed that the need to fund the growth in demand for domestic tertiary

places was the key objective of the Dawkins' initiative, and that the introduction of 'the policy' and its evolution was a secondary part of the key reform package. It was the same academic quoted previously (SUAc-1, 5/03) who viewed the decision to deregulate the recruitment of international students as something that was implemented as very much a secondary component to the overall education reform package, which was announced three years later in the form of the 1988 White Paper: "I don't believe there was a lot of vision or high expectation about full fee-paying places for international students. I think that was a relatively secondary part of the reform package. I don't think anyone visualised what potential there was." (SUAc-2, 9/03)

Another academic and 'veteran' of international education supported this view:

HECS caused the student consumer to carry more cost themselves ... however, it increased the flow of money but it wasn't really adding any new money ... the only way that an emerging institution that didn't have the established track record could make a lot of extra money quickly, was by going down this entrepreneurial path ... so full fee-paying places for overseas students was an easy one politically. Nobody was going to vote them out of government for that. (SUAc-3, 6/03)

A different perspective is illustrated by Ross Garnaut, who explained that the rationale for 'the policy' was integral to an overall initiative to improve the quality of tertiary education:

If you could significantly increase the number of good students, especially at the graduate level but also at the undergraduate level, it would strengthen our capacity to provide a wide range of specialised teaching at a high international standard. So it was seen as a means of putting more resources into raising the quality of the tertiary education sector ... it was thought that if they had

additional resources from fee-paying students that would increase the scope for universities, especially the best universities, to offer a wide range of world class teaching. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

The issue of how well thought out ‘the policy’ was and how long before it was formalised is better told through the varying perspectives discussed in the following section on the evolution process.

The last factor to be discussed in this section is whether internationalisation beyond economic goals or increasing multiculturalism was a reason for introducing ‘the policy’. It is well documented that Australia had formed valuable regional relationships through the Colombo Plan scheme, and all respondents confirmed this. When respondents were asked whether there was an internationalisation objective other than an economic one for deregulating the recruitment of fee-paying students, many of the academics emphasised that ‘the policy’ “went beyond increasing the revenue for Australian universities ... building links and probably a greater political perspective” (SUAd-3, 9/03) and that it was also a federal government objective. Another interesting view expressed was that through ‘the policy’, the Labor government was fulfilling a multicultural agenda:

From a broader policy perspective of attitude to multiculturalism and the contribution that international students would make, we were actually well equipped ... Mick Young had actually taken a very aggressive view in that no country would be successful in multiculturalism unless there was very strong affirmative action because individuals tend to be very racist and nationalistic. (SUAd-2, 6/03)

Whether this is an evaluation with the benefit of hindsight is something that will be debated further in the chapter on implementation. Although there was consensus that

the government was very interested in strengthening its links with the region, there was no evidence in the interview data that, the social and cultural aspects of internationalisation were seen as a direct reason for its implementation at the early stages of policy evolution.

Federal Context – Evolution of ‘the policy’

This section on the evolution of policy focuses on the following three questions posed to the interviewees:

- Which interest groups were attempting to influence policy?
- Which interests were the most/least powerful and why?
- Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?

The data on the evolution of ‘the policy’ were divided into two key themes. The first and major theme that emerged in this analysis on the context of influence was the types of influences that were evident on the development of ‘the policy’. Individuals were the most significant influence on the evolution of the policy. To a lesser extent lobby groups were an important influence. The second theme that emerged was processes, which included consultation and reactions to ‘the policy’ in its early stages of evolution and implementation.

Whilst ‘the policy’ was constructed and announced in 1985, the data analysed in this section include the early-1980s through to 1988 when the Dawkins’ White Paper on higher education was released. This span provides an awareness of how the policy

evolved, its subsequent construction and the significant influences in its direction through to the White Paper. Although the deregulation of the recruitment of international students was implemented in 1985, it was part of the strategy of the major education reform package.

The 'influencing' individuals can be grouped into four categories: federal politicians; federal bureaucrats; Western Australians (who included senior university administrators, academics and politicians); and those involved in what was known as the 'purple circle'. This order is by no means one that denotes level of influence or any chronological order that led to the ultimate release of 'the policy'. Whether these individuals are seen as initiators or supporters of the developing policy is dependent on the perspectives provided by the varying stakeholders, that is, on the "account of people's perception and experiences" (Ball, 1993, p. 10). It is essential to note at this stage of the discussion that there are also varying perspectives and beliefs on how 'the policy' evolved. Interview data from the state players showed a strong belief that activities related to international education, especially in Western Australia, were taking place before the federal government conceived of 'the policy', demonstrating the 'localised complexities' (Ozga, 1990) and the *glonacal* framework (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). It is in fact the perspective of these individuals that activities within what was then the Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT) (subsequently Curtin University of Technology) were the catalyst for the evolution of the policy and its eventual implementation.

It is quite obvious that those in the federal arena had a crucial role in the making of 'the policy'. However, the question is whether it was a policy that had its genesis

within this arena. According to David Buckingham, when asked ‘who would you say is the group or people that had the most influence in bringing about ‘the policy’, he responded:

My personal view is that a number of key politicians were persuaded by the merits of this approach. I would say it was the Labor Cabinet view led by the Prime Minister Bob Hawke together with people like John Dawkins, Paul Keating and John Button. They were moving to see the Australian economy build those industries around which could be regarded as internationally competitive. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Ross Garnaut endorsed this view, suggesting that it was an initiative that “was driven really in the early days of the Labor government, in 83, from the Prime Minister’s office. There was support for it from the Department of Trade.” (Ross Garnaut, 10/03) The view that the Prime Minister and his cabinet were very positive about and were influential in formulating ‘the policy’ is endorsed consistently in all the interviews concerning those in the federal arena. To probe further, the respondents were asked whether they believed it was a public service led initiative or one that came from the politicians. Responses to this question were varied: “there was a powerful view being put to the Prime Minister I suspect. It was a mixture of the political imperative, the professional appointee, and the public service.” (SUAd-4, 3/03) This university administrator went on to name Ross Garnaut, David Buckingham and Helen Hughes (Australian National University – ANU) as influential public figures, who had a “great sense of the Australian economy and what was going on in education.” (SUAd-4, 3/03) This view that public servants were a significant influence is further endorsed:

There was a heavy push from the Department of Trade ... It was also active behind the scenes in talking about how large a trade sector this could become and how they thought it was an important way to mesh our institutions with not just higher education institutions in South East Asia but with the broader business and government elites in those countries too. (SUnA-1, 9/03)

The senior advisors interviewed provided the same perspective on the major role they played in the evolution of ‘the policy’:

We as a group brought conviction to the government that it wasn’t just a theoretical case of international competitiveness. We believed, on the basis of what we had seen in Asia, that there was a genuine interest in accessing Australian higher education and a willingness to pay. But there was actually quite strong resistance to this way of thinking. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Well this story begins before 85, from April 83 until about October 85. I happened to hold the view that internationalisation of the education sector and the strengthening of the tertiary sector, raising quality and standards and increasing the scale of tertiary education in Australia were very important to everything else we did. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

Respondents also mentioned public servants, such as Fitzgerald and Hobba, who were in Dawkins’ Ministry of Trade and then followed him to the newly formed Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET). This occurred after 1985 when ‘the policy’ was formulated, but the delineation between when ‘the policy’ was formalised and when it was implemented is a blurred one. Those who worked for DEET and the Minister obviously had a critical part to play in how the policy evolved to its implementation stage:

You had the formation of a new department or portfolio [DEET] and that actually put education into a more utilitarian framework. There was a big culture shake up within that department [DEET],

education for interest and education for its own sake culture within the education portfolio. A lot of the internal push came from the mixing of education bureaucrats and their culture with employment bureaucrats and their culture. Some of the people in Dawkins' office, who had been with him since the trade portfolio, were quite influential in his thinking. Some key players like Paul Hickey were quite strong in this move from aid to trade as that portfolio developed. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

Apart from the bureaucrats providing guidance on this matter, it was reported by many of the respondents that Dawkins and Hawke were receiving advice from an informal group referred to as the 'purple circle'. This group, formed in 1987, did not operate as a lobby group but rather as a group of like-minded colleagues who acted in an advisory capacity to John Dawkins as Minister for Education when the higher education reforms were being mooted and subsequently introduced in 1988. Its members included the Vice Chancellors Mal Logan (Monash University), Don Watts (Curtin University), Brian Smith (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology – RMIT), Jack Barker (Ballarat College) and Bob Smith (University of Western Australia – UWA):

This was a group of people like Don Watts, Mal Logan and other key education players that acted as an informal advisory group. Many of the people who were associated with that group were broadly sympathetic to the marketing of international education services. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

These individuals were also described as a group of “non-conservative Vice Chancellors who saw the need for reform.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) As mentioned above, another individual mentioned on a number of occasions, as an influence and support to the government agenda, was Professor Helen Hughes from the ANU. She

was Deputy Chairperson of the Jackson Committee that reviewed the Australia's Overseas Aid Program and recommended the introduction of fee-paying students.

It was crucial to have key individuals in the education sector supporting and guiding the government agenda. The element of support was certainly present in Western Australia, where the data indicated strongly that the *local* realities or contexts had significant impact on the policy and the market. It is well documented that Don Watts as Vice Chancellor of WAIT had already commenced activities in South East Asia before 1985. Respondents spoke of his 'energy' and the willingness to 'break down barriers' and the fact that Western Australia was 'ahead of its time'. David Buckingham summarises this influence as follows:

I think a lot of that depended upon where you stood and the time you saw it. We certainly saw a person like Don Watts as being important as he had already entered the field and established links particularly into Singapore that were important illustrators as to what was possible ... Western Australia was a bit ahead of the rest due to the role Don and WAIT were playing. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Michael Gallagher offers a slightly different perspective and tempers the above comments on the Western Australian influence:

I would have thought though, that that was not the strong group at the time. The strong group were still the eastern states' Vice Chancellors ... I am not denying there would have been some influence from the West and that Don would have had some influence. But I think the credibility would have been enhanced by others advocating that position. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

As mentioned earlier, Western Australia, and in particular WAIT, had explored educational activities with South East Asia before 1985 and “prior to the government permission to do so.” (SUAc-1, 5/03) The perspective from academics involved in these activities was that the government was put into a position where it had to listen:

In some ways our experience influenced the government rather than the other way around, because Dawkins was made aware of how profitable this could be through the revenues that we raised and he decided there was an opportunity here to provide some resources to higher education without the government paying. I would say that was encouragement. We were running a strange program through our alumni group that provided us with donations. So Dawkins became aware of the fact that there was a demand and recognised that this was a way to bring resources ... I think that policy decision were very clear from Dawkins’ perspective. (SUAc-1, 5/03)

The extent to which the policy was well conceived by the federal players is in question and certainly from the perspective of those at WAIT at the time there is a persuasive argument put forward to the contrary: “I think to say that it started because of a deep thinking policy is to exaggerate the position.” (Don Watts, 6/03) The account of events provided through the interview with Don Watts (the then Vice Chancellor of WAIT) tells a story of WAIT deciding that there was an opportunity to expand the institution and provide it with resources that would not leave it so dependent upon Canberra funding. There was no avenue under the Education Act to charge fees for the use of accredited programs and so this was done through an agency formed offshore by WAIT alumni. The then Minister for Education, Susan Ryan, was adamantly opposed to the move and it was believed, according to Don Watts, that she arranged for the ABC to go to Singapore to do an exposé on WAIT’s activities. According to Watts, when the ABC interviewed the people involved “it was quite contrary to what she wanted to hear and it created a marvellous momentum

for what we were trying to do.” (Don Watts, 6/03) Although this account can be perceived to be dramatic, it is a good example of the ‘messiness’ and tangential nature of policy development. The story provides only one *local* context of influence and perspective; however, it suggests that it is a perspective that needs to be considered as significant to the policy process in question.

The discussion now turns to whether lobby groups were a significant influence in the formulation of ‘the policy’. Those groups identified in the research that could have potentially influenced the evolution of ‘the policy’ were individual universities, individual colleges of advanced education, unions and the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee (AVCC), and the corresponding national group representing the interests of the colleges of advanced education. Individuals from particular universities have already been mentioned such as Helen Hughes from ANU, Don Watts from WAIT (later Curtin University of Technology), Mal Logan from Monash University and later Brian Smith from RMIT. However, there is no evidence from the data to suggest that influence was brought to bear by these universities as lobby groups, rather it was a case where personalities worked with the government. The senior federal advisors noted that there were many tertiary institutions quite hostile to the idea of ‘the policy’, although respondents were unanimous in suggesting that the AVCC was a very divided group: “Hawke was not prepared to run to the AVCC because he was convinced that the disparate views there would remove any coherent movement in that direction.” (Don Watts, 6/03)

In terms of union influence, no respondent other than the union representative mentioned the union as a significant influence on the evolution of the policy.

According to this respondent, there were two notable issues they were concerned about: firstly, to maintain the aid-based quota for tertiary education, and secondly, controlling the position of private institutions. On the first issue, the respondent believed they had had short term success, and on the second, “Where we were more successful in the longer run was in putting maximum pressure on the government to oppose private institutions being a platform for delivering these full fee places, and that did become a benchmark element of the policy.” (SUnA-1, 9/03)

Overall the data indicated that lobby groups were not a significant factor in the evolution of this policy. It was more a matter of the ‘cult of the individual’, which proffered support, and opposition was not consolidated in any way. It was reported that concerns were also raised by academics about the pressures of commercialisation on quality and standards, but again there was no evidence that this opposition was mobilised in any way.

It is well documented that the then Minister for Education, Susan Ryan, was opposed to this entrepreneurial move. This was supported by the data, where many respondents suggested that this was the reason for her removal from the education portfolio. A senior union official was adamant in pointing out her position, “It’s important to know that the policy wasn’t driven by the Education Department. It was driven by Trade and Foreign Affairs. Dawkins at that time was the Trade Minister not the Education Minister when this was occurring.” (SUnA-1, 9/03) David Buckingham explained Susan Ryan’s position thus:

Within the education portfolio, the overseas student program was being reviewed by Jack Goldring in 84 to 85. The Goldring report

was an articulation of what I would call the traditional view of the foreign student interest that Australia might have, and emphasising very strongly Australian links to the region, through those links the forging of political links, and that we had an obligation to the region through which we could benefit. The then Minister for Education, Susan Ryan, was quite strongly disposed towards the Goldring view. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Respondents were also asked about the consultation that took place. Although there was a recollection that this did occur, all but one had no recollection of specific cases. This one respondent did say, that at a formal level, there was consultation because this was a hallmark of the Hawke government and that peak bodies such as student and staff organisations were involved in the early stages, especially the government missions overseas:

A positive view of that is that they had a genuine commitment to consultation, and a cynical 'take' would be that it was the best way of co-opting potential opposition to policy proposals ... as to the extent of consultation further down the chain, I don't think there was substantial consultation at the institutional level with staff. (SUnA-1, 9/03)

In terms of the policy evolutionary process and consultation, the data have shown that perceptions and recollections are very much determined by the position of the respondent at the time of the policy process. When asked whether there was any opposition by universities or Vice Chancellors to 'the policy', Ross Garnaut encapsulated how those in the federal arena perceived the making of policy and described the period from 1983 to 1985 when it was constructed:

Not in the stages where the crucial policy breakthroughs were made. But the Hawke government was known for its policy innovation in many areas. The way you get big changes in policy is first to talk generally about an innovation, about the advantages of

it and about the shape of the reform. It's usually a relatively small number of people that are interested in that. Then gradually the number of interested people, both for and against, expands. That number reaches a maximum at around the time the key detailed policies are being worked out. Then people lose interest again. If you plot that course, I suppose 83 would be the year when the possible changes were being discussed first, and when you're dealing with a relatively small number of people. Then you start getting public statements from Ministers, you get the debate in 84 about the Jackson Committee report and wider public discussion. Then you get the high points of general interest when the details of the policy are being worked out late in 85. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

The data suggest that the evolution of policy was very much influenced by individuals in the political, bureaucratic and academic arenas. Those 'players' were convinced by the economic environment that prevailed at the time to deregulate the recruitment of international students. Their influence can only be evaluated within the context of the positions they held and together with other influences that were brought to bear on the decision-making process. In terms of chronological order and impact, it is difficult to speak in terms of a 'domino effect' that gives sequence and hierarchical structure. Overall, 'the policy' was conceived to meet a funding need but how the stakeholders perceived this differs markedly. The impact of the *local* on the *national* agenda was evident in the data, which also illustrated the 'messiness' and trajectory nature of policy making. The result was a collection of mixed influences of varying importance creating an environment for change.

Federal Context – Implementation of 'the policy'

When considering recruiting international fee-paying students, it is important to note that one of the influencing factors that had impact on politicians, bureaucrats and academics alike was that the Australian university system in the mid-1980s was in good standing. It was the view of all of the respondents that "Australia had a high

quality system that could be internationally competitive.” (David Buckingham, 9/03) When issues of quality, regulation and accreditation came to be considered for the launch into the global market, Australia was positioned with an “education system that was built on a good reputation over the past 50 years.” (Bob Pearce, 6/03) This view was endorsed by many of the respondents who admitted that services needed to be put into place for international students, but that Australia had “good teachers, good lecturers, good products in degrees and a high average standard of universities, not the spread that you find in America or the UK.” (SUAd-4, 3/03) Even though this level of quality was evident in 1985 when the international education industry was made official, like all industries, certain matters of regulation and control arose very early in the implementation phase.

The consensus view that emerged from the data was that there were no systems put into place. In fact the early thinking on the matter was that deregulation and opening up the market would facilitate access for students. As discussed above, universities already had regulatory systems and frameworks and at one time this was considered to be adequate: “There was concern that undue regulation would stifle the market before it started to develop. There was constantly a balancing act as to what could be done in a self-regulating way.” (David Buckingham, 9/03) Michael Gallagher was quite scathing about the way in which ‘the policy’ and its related activities were being managed in the early days. When asked whether Australia was well equipped to deal with the industry in the mid-1980s, his response was:

No, it was an infant industry; people were amateurs; the scale of it wasn't really well understood; there wasn't a concept of it being a professional activity; people couldn't cost sufficiently to know what the break-evens were with the deals they struck, faculty-by-

faculty, school-by-school, or individual players within universities would crack deals; rarely would they form deals at the institutional level (Monash is probably an exception to that). I think it was a very infant and immature stage of industry development lacking the sorts of market analysis you would normally expect and lacking the professional skills. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

One thing that emerged very early in the life of ‘the policy’ was that a divide occurred fairly rapidly between the university and private providers. The view from a private provider who was involved in the industry from the outset was that he did not believe there was any policy *per se* and that tertiary institutions were operating badly:

I think the government changed the rules about students and full fee-paying students but there wasn’t any real policy. In the early days it really was a ‘dog’s breakfast’³, there were people out there falling all over each other, and Australia did have a reputation of being a bunch of cowboys. In particular, university people, heads of schools and faculties were trying to deal out of the market place and that clearly created an impression of Australia that to some extent wasn’t positive. (PP-3, 5/03)

Another private provider concurred with the above view, suggesting that there was not a lot of attention paid in those days “to best practice as far as risk management; there was no requirement to protect student fees, there was no real accountability.” (PP-4, 5/04) The university view illustrates a different perspective where they could operate on their already existing systems, whereas regulatory problems arose in the private English language centres and business colleges:

I think the government’s general view always for the universities was as large, well-established institutions and a self-regulatory regime about entry standards, finance and the like was reasonable

³ Australian slang for messy and disorganised.

because that's the way they did the rest of their business ... Basically there were quality standard issues and lack of security of finance, which were two key regulatory issues that weren't dealt with in the early days. (SUnA-1, 9/03)

The absence of any regulatory framework did embarrass the Australia government in the late-1980s. In 1989 private business colleges and English schools collapsed with evidence of 'unscrupulous manipulation', resulting with students losing fees and inevitably in bad press for Australia overseas. Through these collapses, the federal government went about establishing the Education Services for Overseas Student (ESOS) Act in 1991. It introduced basic minimum registration and requirements for both sectors, including the requirement for private providers to keep a trust account for its student fees:

That's where you start to see discrimination between the two. Up until that point, there hadn't been any. So, from that point on, it was quite evident that the government was viewing public and private quite differently and that has continued to this day. (PP-4, 5/04)

It was, however, also the federal government itself that was not prepared for the unparalleled interest that arose in South East Asia for Australian education and the resources required to manage it. An academic who was working with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in the Bangkok embassy from 1987 to 1989 remarked that there was no one appointed to counsel students nor resources, for example, materials about Australian universities:

I remember coming to work one morning to find the car park totally full of cars and when I asked what was going on, I was told that there was a huge number of students all lined up trying to get information about places in Australia. They eventually appointed a

wife of an Embassy official who had been involved in teaching and she sat there and counselled them on a volunteer basis for a number of months. The Ambassador was quite upset because he had been unsupported and eventually they provided some materials. The universities were very unprepared to cope with this. Within 12 months the *Bangkok Post*, which was an English language newspaper, and *The Nation*, which was another one, both had fairly prominent stories about Thai students that had gone to Australia around about 89 on the promise of high quality education to find that they had been duped in these views. (SUAc-3, 6/03)

There was consensus with all interviewees that no one expected the pace and scope for growth. This left all the players, governments, universities and private providers alike unprepared. It was also the view that some universities put support mechanisms in place fairly rapidly and some did not, the former using the “opportunities to build world class programs.” (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

The single most contentious issue relating to ‘the policy’ once it became enacted, which currently remains the case to this day, are the immigration laws regulating the industry. Federal immigration laws control the recruitment of international students and those in education often complain about the unworkable nature of these laws. These sentiments clearly emerged in the interview data. David Buckingham admitted that this had been a problem from the inception of ‘the policy’:

In terms of criticisms, I think that we never got a clear view on how to handle the visa issues. That was a problem from ‘day one’ and I think that part of the problem lay in the culture of our Immigration Department and the assumptions they brought to this category of entrant. They did, on occasion with good reason, look very critically at the steady stream of student flow this program created. There is no doubt that out of China and some of the South East Asian countries this program became a vehicle for illegitimate entry. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

There was undoubtedly cause for concern in the early days of the policy in 1985 and 1986. No one could have predicted the way in which Chinese students responded to the opportunities 'the policy' offered, "It was a very exaggerated reaction where potential students flocked to see an Australian entrepreneur who had set up at a Beijing hotel causing near riots leaving hotel staff and the Chinese authorities totally unprepared for the onslaught." (Bob Pearce, 6/03) Bob Pearce explained that the reason for the visit was "because some people had been tapping into the Chinese market with English language courses, and what they were really doing was selling visas." (Bob Pearce, 6/03) Both federal and state respondents explained that the Chinese education authorities were very anxious and wanted the Australian government to institute some proper legislation and protocols. Clearly there was a lack of resources allocated to embassies in the early stages of 'the policy' and the rapid scale of expansion caught the government totally unprepared, "I think it is fair to say that in some instances the regulatory regime, in terms of visas and the providers, was fairly poorly developed in the first phase." (SUnA-1, 9/03)

Controls were enacted through legislation, but since then those in the industry have been at odds with the Department of Immigration accusing them of actually controlling 'the policy'. The following comments reflect the depth of feeling amongst the whole range of those involved in the delivery of education to international students: "Immigration has always run Australia, and to have the state successfully lobbying about it is very hard ... it is basically difficult for the education sector to make immigration understand where they are coming from." (MSPS-3, 6/03) "I believe it is part of the culture of the organisation. To me it is another extension of the White Australia Policy." (PP-3, 5/03)

Get rid of the Minister for Immigration and put in someone sensible. Because this department controls the giving of visas to students, it actually controls the student flow and it often works at odds with other parts of the system. It is one of the very few areas in international trade where a government department has such control over international trade. (SUAc-1, 5/03)

The federal context of influence was undoubtedly powerful and instrumental in the evolution and implementation of the policy. This influence was created by: international circumstances, both economic and social, federal politicians, federal bureaucrats, university administrators and academics. The intense and often passionate zeal of those who took part in forming this radical change to Australian tertiary education was created by an economic rationalist environment that dictated that governments follow particular economic policies. As the data also illustrate, much of the impetus came from individuals from Western Australia and the next section analyses this context of influence more closely.

State Context – Evolution of ‘the policy’

The data on the state context of influence were gathered in Western Australia and overlaps the early phases of implementation because it was each state’s responsibility to implement ‘the policy’ and to ensure its success. This discussion commences with the types of influences particular to Western Australia that were at play in the evolution and early days of the implementation of ‘the policy’. Those respondents who were interviewed were state politicians, public servants and private providers.

In exploring the evolution of the policy and the way in which state stakeholders perceived their influence on ‘the policy’, there was consensus that this was definitely

a Commonwealth initiative, with the qualification, however, that there had been significant influence at an institutional level from WAIT, led at an individual level by Don Watts:

We were pushing this from about 84 on. It probably required some agreement between the Commonwealth and individual institutions that wanted to do it. But they were certainly taking overseas students a long time before 1985. My recollection is that the Commonwealth policy actually followed the reality. That is to say that it was happening and the Commonwealth policy was put together in the end to try and get a handle on what was going on. (Bob Pearce, 6/03)

Respondents believed the state government had ‘no influence’ at all on the formulation. (Although it must be said that Dawkins was a member for the federal seat of Fremantle in Western Australia, and it is possible that he conferred with his Labor party colleagues the Premier of Western Australia Carmen Lawrence and the Minister for Education Bob Pearce).

Nevertheless the state government certainly had a significant influence on the early phases of ‘the policy’s’ implementation, “I think in the beginning we were one of the first places to recognise the importance of international students.” (MSPS-1, 6/03) Bob Pearce the then Minister for Education was cited many times as a driving force at a state level and someone who encouraged and supported the entrepreneurial activities of the universities and state colleges. The enthusiasm of the Labor Party in Western Australia resulted in the state embracing ‘the policy’ “quite aggressively, more than the other states.” (PP-4, 5/04) As further stated, “I was on a Ministerial advisory committee with Carmen Lawrence, and she was Premier at the time, and we

had a young lass that had been appointed out of her Cabinet ... It was obviously a high priority area of her portfolio. (PP-4, 5/04)

Bob Pearce was seen by the respondents as taking a very proactive role, familiarising himself with the stakeholders and the markets. As early as 1996, he approved two government senior secondary colleges, Tuart and Canning College, to recruit international students: “Bob was happy that Canning and Tuart were ‘in’ because he saw us leading what the quality would be.” (SSE-1, 7/03) In 1987, he established a marketing arm within the Commerce and Trade portfolio that was to become Perth Education City, specifically established to co-ordinate the marketing efforts of the state: “My clear recollection is that Western Australia, we were almost the only ones that were pushing it, and the governments and Ministers were nervous about it.” (Bob Pearce, 6/03)

An emerging theme from both the federal and state contexts of influence is the ‘cult of the individual,’ that is, individuals in the state government, public service, universities and other educational institutions that took the initiative in the early phases of the policy and enthusiastically followed the recruitment path. The involvement of Tuart and Canning Colleges was very much the initiative of a few individuals who believed there was a great opportunity for them:

I approached Don Watts with this colleague of mine and said I was interested in the concept and wanted to get international students into the secondary sector. Then I persuaded the college council to extend our recruitment into Asia so a colleague of mine and I decided to go to KL. So I phoned five agents and they all turned up. The one that impressed us was an entourage of a dozen and we eventually agreed, and that was a very successful partnership. (SSE-2, 7/03)

Hendy Cowan, the Minister for Trade from 1993-2001, also endorsed the importance of the individual in the implementation of ‘the policy’ at a state level:

So we are talking in personalities now rather than structured developments. It was the personality of the individual within the institution that pushed it, particularly in the government sector. In the private sector, the drive was the dollar. So it wasn’t a government push at all, it was individuals. It was personality-driven rather than a push focus from any arm of government. (Hendy Cowan, 5/03)

At this point it is interesting to deliberate on what is policy, when does influence end in the creation of policy and when does implementation begin? The influence of the *local* in Western Australia was significant. That is, the early input from Don Watts, the support of the state government and Bob Pearce, and then the rapid involvement by state educators and private providers meant that there was influence on ‘the policy’ in this early phase of implementation:

We were fortunate at that time that the Commonwealth policy was pretty limited and it was free. We were lucky in this state in a way because in 1987 Bob Pearce set up what ultimately became Perth Education City. He decided that institutions should self-judge themselves, self-regulate by dialogue ... gradually by 1990 there were two directions, the policy direction and the marketing direction. (SSE-1, 7/03)

State Context –Implementation of ‘the policy’

As there were implementation issues at a federal level, there were also very practical issues at a state level that had to be addressed. The federal government had handed ‘the policy’ to the states to implement with an initial attitude that a free and self-regulating market should prevail. The view from the state players was that from the mid-1980s to the early-1990s there was basically nothing in place to protect students

and the industry: “The federal government had a limited legislative base at the time and we needed to pick up the legislation into the State Act.” (MSPS-4, 6/03) At this stage the state and the Education Department put institutions through an application process for registration, but there was no formal process “with only flimsy guidelines and casual forms for the institutions to fill in.” (MSPS-2, 6/03)

By the late-1980s many private providers were taking a large number of students and the collapse of the ABC College in Perth found the federal government bailing out the students. This collapse acted as the catalyst for both the ESOS Act by the Commonwealth government and the Education Services Providers Registration Act (ESPRA) at the state level in 1991. Western Australia was the first state to bring in legislation that protected student money and set quality assurance benchmarks for the private sector. It was the view of public service respondents that the Commonwealth had always intended the states to fill the legislative gap with their own acts:

The Education Department in Canberra said that the states are the best to set up the regulatory body and operate it. At the time there was a Commonwealth education office and there was strong collaboration between the Commonwealth and the state on those matters ... they wanted primary registration to rest with the states but through immigration regulations the Commonwealth would have final control. (MSPS-5, 8/03)

There was agreement amongst the state public servants that the Commonwealth did not want this registration process so that they could distance themselves from it, so that if “something fell over they could blame the states and not have to pick up the dollars and cents that go with it.” (MSPS-3, 6/03) As further commented, there was also agreement that in the early days of ‘the policy’ Western Australia was more exposed because “they had more visible players and Victoria and Queensland had

pre-existing higher education legislation which gave them more control.” (MSPS-3, 6/03)

This early period of ‘the policy’ was, for Western Australia, a ‘boom time’. History shows that in the early-1990s Western Australia had “almost 30% of Australia’s market share in the export of education.” (MSPS-2, 6/03) These statistics indicate that very early in the implementation of ‘the policy’ in Western Australia some key decisions were made. For example, all state respondents commented that a key factor for the state’s success was giving the responsibility to market international education to the Department of Commerce and Trade, as the state would do for any other export. Another significant strategy was to co-ordinate the efforts of all institutions, both public and private, into one marketing effort. The respondents gave credit for this early initiative to Bob Pearce, who apparently “brought people around the table to talk about the services that we provided” (SSE-1, 7/03):

At the time there seemed to be a recognition that if Western Australia was going to succeed in this area, one of the ways to do that was for the Western Australian institutions to work together as a group otherwise they would get eaten up by the ‘big boys’ in the east. I think that proved to be a highly successful strategy in the early days. (PP-3, 5/03)

This level of co-operation did not continue in the long term, although it did establish a way of operating in the early phase of implementation. These activities provided influence in presenting a model to other states and brought success to Western Australian education institutions.

The state context of influence beyond the activities of Don Watts and WAIT could be described as having an intermediate effect, in that the state government had very

little influence in the formulation of the policy. However, it was the strong support of the state government subsequent to 1985 that formulated a legislative and marketing model for the implementation of the federal policy. As was described in the literature review, the government also created and nurtured an entrepreneurial environment in which public and private institutions alike were given support to take part in the industry. As with the federal context, the data from this state analysis attest to the major role played by individual personalities who recognised opportunities, showed initiative and were creative in establishing new systems. The respondents often spoke of an energy and willingness to take on new challenges, and “although it was a seven day a week job, it was challenging and exciting.” (SSE-2, 7/03)

University Context – Rationale for ‘the policy’

The data on the university context of influence were gathered in Western Australian universities, with many of the respondents having had experience outside the state. These respondents were university administrators and academics, all of whom had had experience of international education since its inception. Interviews with university administrators and academics revealed there was a common thread through their accounts of the university system in the mid-1980s. It was described as a sector severely starved of federal funds and handicapped in undertaking expansion activities. There were many anecdotes describing difficult conditions such as lack of basic resources and tight restrictions in hiring staff, especially in business schools. According to a senior business academic, their field of study was not valued highly and they were funded poorly on a formula that had its origins in the 1940s:

They calculated that all you needed to teach business was an accountancy lecturer, a flat floor classroom and chalk. This scale

was set in stone and so when Dawkins opened the safety valve, I asked my colleagues why were we bashing our heads against the wall basically begging for peanuts when it was much easier to generate our own funding. (SUAc-2, 9/03)

Other respondents also alluded to the funding system and how this was a rationale for ‘the policy’ and a direct lure to Vice Chancellors in this funding crisis. The money from international students created an opportunity for the sector to expand the infrastructure of the university both in terms of capital works, services and staffing:

We found that we had money and money was useful in enabling people to go to conferences, meet others, to benchmark themselves nationally and internationally. We were able to bring in high quality staff and attract them from other parts. I saw very early on the economic advantages of this and I suppose that’s one of the reasons I have been a strong proponent of this since. (SUAd-5, 10/03)

Similar to the analysis of the federal context data, there was no strong evidence that university stakeholders believed internationalising campuses was a persuasive rationale for the formulation of ‘the policy’. The topic was brought up many times in the course of the interviews as a reflection and in hindsight, as an evaluation of the implementation phase rather than the context of influence: “I would like to think that our thrust going international is about higher motives. The reality is that the driving force is revenue. But let’s not apologise for that and give great quality service, great pedagogy, and that is well worth the investment.” (SUAd-4, 3/03) From the university perspective, apart from the economic rationalist agenda, an overwhelming need to improve the financing of the tertiary sector was an all-pervasive rationale for the construction of ‘the policy’.

University Context – Evolution of ‘the policy’

Universities seemed to have an influence on the evolution of policy as individuals working in them rather than as a lobby group. It was the belief of a senior academic who had been involved in international education from its inception that universities were major players in influencing the policy:

The universities I think had a big hand in it because they looked at this policy change, realised HECS was coming and realised deregulation of the system meant that they had an opportunity. In Canada they didn't do this, but in Australia they gave the VCs the opportunity to retain the money, whereas in Canada when they brought in full fees they weren't allowed to keep that money for current expenditure. So in Australia it gave VCs the opportunity to suddenly increase their income over and above the standard fixed amounts that they already got. (SUAc-3, 6/03)

The overall data from the university context, however, also confirm that if there was any influence from universities, it was on a one to one relationship with the federal government and not collectively through the AVCC: “I am certain there were some VCs who had influence, but I don't believe the AVCC, for a number of reasons, largely structural and the wide diversity of institutions in Australia, has had much influence on educational policy at all.” (SUAd-3, 9/03)

Another very senior academic concurred when asked whether universities were consulted in the formulation of ‘the policy’ responded with an adamant, “No, it was almost like the government has agreed that we can have offshore students, so let's go and get them.” (SUAc-1, 5/03) This view resonates with the view of the union representative (SUAn-1, 9/03) who believed on a formal level universities were

consulted and may have been an ephemeral influence, but this did not include staff within the universities.

The view was also expressed that in the context of influence and in the early days of the implementation of 'the policy', some universities "remained somewhat indifferent depending on tradition, and how sought after their courses were." (Hendy Cowan, 5/03) This indifference in the early days was seen as "passive resistance" (SUAd-3, 9/03) and some universities or individual schools chose not to go down the path of internationalisation. These universities were opposed to the notion of education as trade and believed it would be the thin end of the wedge in terms of opening up payment by Australian students:

The opposition was that they were there to teach Australian students and why are you loading us with all these extra students, this is unfair. I didn't think all of that was healthy incidentally. Some of that debate was healthy and some of it was quite unhealthy. (SUAd-5, 10/03)

The opposition and choice was not resounding because as one senior university administrator commented there was no real alternative way to increase funding, "Their choice was constrained by the resource position that most universities found themselves in ... some of them wouldn't have been inclined to do it but most would have come to the view that this is the way to grow and develop." (SUAd-6, 5/03)

University Context – Implementation of 'the policy'

Having made the decision to embark on the export of education, the question remains whether universities in the early implementation phases were well equipped to deal

with the influx of international students. In terms of quality assurance, it was a consensus view from all respondents that universities had these measures in place. This was not an issue that came to the fore in the early stages of the implementation of 'the policy' except in discussion with the state government on the drafting of ESPRA. The universities lobbied with the government that they be excluded from quality benchmarks as they had mechanisms of control in place already. According to the public servant responsible for constructing ESPRA (MSPS-5, 8/03) the universities were a powerful lobby who had their concerns addressed regarding the Act fairly early in the drafting process, and after that "they were very much silent because they saw that a lot of the things in the legislation they could easily accommodate." (MSPS-2, 6/03)

In relation to resources and teaching capabilities, some respondents believed that universities coped well because there "was a huge amount of excess capacity" (SUAd-2, 6/03) and "an excess of supply in Australian universities at that point." (SUAc-1, 5/03) Another view was the students were coming in slowly so institutions had time to put services and administration into place, and many commented that those universities who had large numbers of Colombo Plan students had infrastructure in place. There was, although, an alternative view put forward suggesting that universities did not have sufficient support services available to international students and the campuses were not ready for their specific needs.

Where universities had to gain experience in this new venture was the marketing of courses overseas. There were comments made that universities were ill equipped in this area and their marketing strategies had little co-ordination. It is important to note

that these adverse comments often came from the private providers, whose interest it was to market with the tertiary institutions. Many of the university respondents certainly agreed that mistakes were made in the areas of marketing, and “Australia was not well equipped at the time.” (SUAd-4, 3/03)

An important point to be made about the university context is that through the introduction of ‘the policy’, these institutions were faced with operating in a new entrepreneurial culture that had hitherto been foreign to them. One university administrator describes this as a ‘big issue’ where overnight they were:

Dealing with government, dealing with commercial undertakings, other companies, agencies and infrastructure. Rather than the government-to-government or bureaucrat-to-bureaucrat dealings, it was much more of a private sector arrangement and that had some challenges. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

The university context of influence was perceived to have intermediate/micro influence in the formulation of the policy. Apart from the individuals already mentioned, universities, as institutions, were not proactively involved in the influence, evolution or early implementation of ‘the policy’ to any great extent. Universities appeared to be waiting for changes to be made to their financial situation and acted accordingly when the opportunity arose to implement ‘the policy’.

Pathway Provider Context – Implementation of ‘the policy’

Pathway providers and the implementation of their courses is a focus of this study and although their influence was categorised as having a micro effect on the construction of ‘the policy’, it is important to trace their early involvement in the

process of policy making, however minimal. Respondents included in this context were those private and public sector pathway providers who seized opportunities early and were pioneers in implementing a specific aspect of ‘the policy’: two senior colleges and one private college.

The public sector pathway providers were very influential in setting models of how ‘the policy’ could be implemented. In 1983, the Education Department of Western Australia established two senior colleges, Tuart and Canning. These colleges were initially established as senior colleges to cater for students who had either failed the Tertiary Entrance Examination (TEE) or for mature age students who did not want the regimentation of a traditional high school. Both Canning College and Tuart College played an integral role in the establishment of pathway programs in Western Australia, as they expanded their role to attract international fee-paying international students to their programs:

It was an experiment by the Labor government at the time. We had no funds for the college so it was my role to develop a little bag of gold in order to develop programs. The state government had no problems with that and we were to find it ourselves and in a sense that was the catalyst for getting involved in international education. (SSE-2, 7/03)

Soon after they were established, the principal of Canning College presented a proposal to the government to offer the International Baccalaureate to students from Europe and Asia, “However the Education Department and the state government at the time thought it was too early to engage in that. It would suggest that there was some consideration given in education circles to international education as early as 83.” (MSPS-5, 8/03)

The principal was insistent in his efforts and, with the support of Don Watts, was eventually successful. The College was allowed to recruit international students in 1986, making it one of the first institutions in Western Australia (SSE-1, 7/03) and Australia. There is no doubt that the stakeholders of these colleges were an early influence on the evolution of pathway programs and, as reported in previous cases, worked enthusiastically as individuals in something that captured their imagination:

The government never got involved in international education until it was pushed by the success of Canning College and later Tuart College because they had these huge sums of money coming in and didn't know what to do with it ... We came back from KL and that was a fascinating experience in itself because we had gone without tacit approval from federal or state government ... The federal government had not even considered secondary education and were wondering 'how the hell' Canning College got to KL to sell secondary education. So we were the first in Australia to pioneer this pathway. (SSE-2, 7/03)

These activities had been noticed at a federal level and were considered as “very strong pre-university training providers” (David Buckingham, 9/03) and used as models for what should be achieved by private providers as well:

When we were looking at issues of accreditation, a particular focus was to do with what was happening with those players. Canning and Tuart College were very early on and they were quite good actually. I think if I went through the files they would figure quite strongly as models to be emulated. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

It was not too long before private colleges, many originally business colleges like Alexander in Western Australia, commenced English language schools and then later pathway programs. It was recognised quite early that English language training was an important vehicle for the marketing of education services and rapid growth of

both private English language centres, as well as those associated with universities ensued:

Jane Munroe at the University of New South Wales was running an English language centre and she was personally very strongly associated with the early administrative discussion of what was involved in putting the marketing of education services into place. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

One of the earliest private providers associated with a university was the Australian Institute of University Studies (AIUS). They realised very early that an articulated relationship with a university was essential, and in 1991 implemented a co-operative financial model where students were directed to Curtin University after completing their courses.

Private providers had to co-operate both with government and the universities alike to survive. This private enterprise imperative meant that their involvement was essential if they were to shape policy and the thinking of both government and the tertiary sector. Many public sector respondents, when alluding to the private providers, spoke of their enthusiasm and proactive involvement in working with both the government and the tertiary sector. When asked to comment on the influence of private providers on the development of policy in the early phase of implementation, Hendy Cowan confirmed their impact:

They were very keen to make sure that everything was properly coordinated because they were in the middle. In the main, the choice made by the international student would be about going to a particular university. So the private education suppliers, particularly the colleges, were very much an instrumental part of the process. They were probably the ones that needed a lot more support, needed greater coordination, needed universities to

provide the places and courses, and needed to promote their colleges in terms of just improving English skills. (Hendy Cowan, 5/03)

An example of their collaboration with government and significant influence through co-operation and lobbying is evident in the late-1980s and early-1990s, when private providers worked very closely with the Western Australian government to draft the ESPRA legislation. This was an important Act for them, as it would affect their operation directly. So they worked as a lobby group to enforce changes to the Act. They worked through the Western Australian Education and Training Industry Association and “there was quite a bit of input from private providers in the development of the legislation.” (MSPS-3, 6/03) Also, the government opposition of the time “thought they could get some political mileage by assisting the private providers” (MSPS-5, 8/03), and so it was delayed in the upper house. In the end, they agreed to fairly rigorous measures to be put into place in terms of quality assurance and the registration of private providers, but this early lobbying meant that the private sector had to be taken seriously and were working successfully as a group.

So although there was minimal influence on formulating ‘the policy’, the growth of pathway providers in the public and private sector acted as a catalyst for the development of the industry. Once again there is evidence of the role and impact of the individual, but importantly evidence of a strong lobby group emerging within the state sector. The financial imperative is evident with both public and private pathway providers because, at the end of the day, they were both operating self-funding operations. There is evidence from the interviews that the private providers brought entrepreneurial expertise and enthusiasm to international education in Australia,

which led to many fruitful relationships with the tertiary sector. This is an area to be discussed in a later chapter.

Conclusion

The deregulation of international student recruitment in the mid-1980s was a dramatic change to the Australian tertiary sector. The interviews confirm that there were many influences that were brought to bear on the Hawke government's decision. The overwhelming ideological influence came from an economic rationalist global environment set the scenario for unprecedented macro economic reform in the country. The reform framework was provided not only by the United States and the United Kingdom but also the international organisations, such as the OECD, whose role it is to offer 'advice and direction' to its member nations. The political context of Malaysia (and its affirmative action in providing a tertiary education for indigenous Malays) left Chinese Malaysian families looking elsewhere for access to a university education. Australia's position on the doorstep of South East Asia was, therefore, a significant influence creating a perfect opportunity for international student recruitment. Australia had put in exemplary groundwork with its aid program through the Colombo Plan, and in many ways, this philanthropic experience provided the credentials for Australia's involvement in what was to become a very lucrative industry.

Much has been written regarding the economic imperative through which the Hawke government operated in the 1980s. The ideology of neoliberalism was the mantra of the Anglo economies of the United States, United Kingdom and Australia. These countries pursued a neoliberal agenda with vigorous enthusiasm, especially in the

tertiary education sector. Respondents readily recalled these economic prerogatives of the government but they did not, in general, offer the broader objectives of globalisation as a rationale for introducing ‘the policy’. Marginson and Considine’s (2000) reference to the impact of globalisation beyond the economic need to recruit students was, I believe, something that matured beyond the 1980s. The introduction of ‘the policy’ was only one of the early influences that launched the Australian universities into a globalised context.

Another major influence for the policy came from federal politicians, their senior advisors and some key university administrators and academics who perceived this path as inevitable. Their recollections on how ‘the policy’ evolved were imbued with a creative energy that could not be ignored. Aside from any evaluative exercise regarding ‘the policy’ and its ramifications (to be discussed in a later chapter), the collective creative energy of respondents who had been involved from all contexts, federal, state, universities and pathway providers, was palpable.

Federal politicians and bureaucrats in the mid-1980s were overwhelmingly convinced in what they believed to be a program in Australia’s best interests. This was obviously a very powerful *national* influence, but the interviews revealed that this collective pressure was made up of equally powerful individuals who had clear objectives in keeping with the federal government’s neoliberal ideology. Equally, history reveals that on a state level the Western Australian government operated on a similar entrepreneurial platform. This entrepreneurialism ultimately brought about its demise (O’Brien & Webb, 1991). Whether one views the state ‘players’ of this era as ‘cowboys’ or ‘inspired leaders’ is not for discussion here. However, in evaluating

local influence there cannot be any doubt that this entrepreneurial zeal created a ‘can do’ attitude within the public service and educational institutions. For example, the pathway providers who seized opportunities very early in the life of ‘the policy’ were from the public and private sectors. It is interesting to note that it was those individuals from the public education sector who took the lead and provided the models by which providers could fashion courses appropriate for international students and who could work co-operatively with universities for mutual gain.

In drawing together the findings on the ‘context of influence of ‘the policy’ and the links that can be made with the theoretical framework of this study, the following observations were made. Firstly, the findings established that ‘the policy’ under discussion was brought about by a number of global, national and local influences. In this context, Marginson and Rhoades’ (2002) *glonacal* heuristic offered an invaluable paradigm. The ‘multiple realities’ essential to the paradigm provide explication for the varied and numerous roles of each context of influence. These were: the international context as the perpetrator of ideology; economic imperialism, contributor of paradigms and opportunity; the federal context as initiator, lobbyist and legislator; the state context as bystander, entrepreneur, supporter and legislator; the university context as instigator, lobbyist, entrepreneur and onlooker; and the pathway provider as entrepreneur, creator of models and lobbyist.

The role of these respondents and their multiple realities from multiple contexts is linked to Ball’s (1993) theoretical framework and discussion of policy as text and discourse. It was evident that the respondents’ involvements can be described as ‘actors whose “interpretations and meanings, in relation to their history, experiences,

skills resources and contexts” (Ball, 1993, p. 11) brought rationale and meaning to the evolution of ‘the policy’. There is acknowledgement that these ‘actors’ conveyed ‘truth’ and power in their perceptions and beliefs about the major influences that brought ‘the policy’ to construction, and that this can only be analysed within the contexts that were conveyed by ‘the players’. There was evidence through the interviews that influences worked in what Ball (1997) describes as ‘ad hoc’ responses, and this is well illustrated in the activities in Western Australia as early as 1993, prior to the sanction of ‘the policy’.

Secondly, the policy process through this study reveals that it is difficult to trace influences in a sequential and hierarchical progression. The process was rather more a cyclical one, with the point of departure perhaps being pinpointed as emanating from ‘neoliberal’ ideology created within a globalised world. The undisputed influence of the *global* in formulating a ‘new right’ economic policy, in the construction of ‘the policy’, confirms another vital link to the theoretical perspective of this study. Ball (1990a) contended that education policies in the United Kingdom could not be understood without reference to globalisation and the ‘new right’ agenda. The federal government of the mid-1980s pursued a ‘new right’ economic policy that would allow Australia to operate in an international market. A market that was guided by deregulation and trade liberalisation through reduced government spending. Further understanding of how the government behaves in a globalised managerial model is pursued in Chapter 5, where implementation is analysed and ‘steering from a distance’ through regulation and legislation is evident.

Lastly, there is the question of the locus of power and the role of the 'state' in the formulation of policy, an issue that is core to this study. It was projected in Chapter 3 that this research adopted the view that the 'state' exercised power but did not possess or control it. In following Vidovich's 'interrogation of a policy process' in 'the context of influence', there is evidence to support the Foucauldian view that "power is not unitary and centralised but it takes decentralised, plural forms as it disperses throughout institutions and processes" (Vidovich, 2004, p. 5). The findings reveal that whilst the federal government was seminal to the construction of 'the policy', its ultimate evolution and consequent implementation was one that depended on a range of macro, intermediate and micro contexts of influence. The 'players' of these contexts exhibited differing powers (Vidovich, 2004) within multiple realities, which attests to the theory that policy is a process that is ad-hoc and trajectory, that is, with "no simple one-way direction of flow of information between them" (Ball 1993, p. 16), and thus inherently complex.

Chapter 5

The Policy Cycle – Contexts of Practice

The Stakeholders' Perspectives

Introduction

It is the context of practice that draws the focus of this study towards pathway programs. The development of these programs is an example of the implementation of 'the policy' and it provides an interesting opportunity to analyse a specific context of practice at a micro level. Ball (1997) argues that policy implementation depends on *local* responses, since policies do not dictate what should be enforced, but rather "create circumstances in which a range of options are ... narrowed" (p. 270). As a result of deregulation, the way in which pathway programs evolved in Western Australia through private providers offers an example of a localised response, where particular options presented by 'the policy' were vigorously pursued.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this chapter include 27 interviews with key stakeholders in Australia, and these were also framed according to Vidovich's (2002b) 'interrogation of a policy process' (see Appendix A). This analysis of 'the policy' in practice produced three main categories: issues, consequences and evaluation. Table 6 provides a

summary of the overarching questions that guided the interviews and the way in which the data were categorised.

Table 6 Context of Practice Analysis

Interrogation of the policy process	NUD*IST Vivo Analysis/‘Trees’	
1. Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels?	Issues	Federal and State Quality Assurance
2. Who put the policy into practice?		Export and Marketing
3. What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?	Issues/ Consequences	Federal and State Quality Assurance
4. To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted? 5. Is resistance collective or individual (Divisional responses)? 6. What are the unintended consequences?	Consequences	Export and Marketing Development of Pathway Programs
7. To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?	Consequences	Commercialisation Internationalisation
8. Who can assess the policy and who does assess it? 9. Are there winners or losers?	Evaluation	Overall Assessment of ‘the Policy’ and Pathways
10. How predictable were the policy effects?	Evaluation	

Analysis showed that as soon as ‘the policy’ was established the key issues were those of establishing a quality assurance framework for all institutions offering courses, and the co-ordinated and efficient export and marketing of those courses. The specific consequences of ‘the policy’ that were examined in depth were those of the development of pathway programs, commercialisation and internationalisation.

This chapter explores the findings in each of the specific areas of issues, consequences and evaluation, and then discuss conclusions that can be drawn as part of the ‘policy interrogation process’. To some extent the next section on issues overlaps with the earlier discussion in Chapter 4, where early implementation concerns were examined as influences on the formulation of ‘the policy’. Within the context of practice, these issues are considered in more depth by addressing the underlying questions of: What global or international influences were evident in practice? Who put ‘the policy’ into practice? What processes were used and why?

Context of Practice – Issues – Quality Assurance

In Chapter 4, I illustrated that early in the life of ‘the policy’ the Commonwealth and the state had confidence in the existing high standards of the tertiary education sector and favoured deregulation, therefore, preferring the option of self-regulation for the export of international education. However, the rapid growth of the private sector meant that this part of the industry was growing without prior ‘quality guidelines’ in place. In the early days of ‘the policy’, the then state Minister for Education recalls that his advice to any private provider who wanted to set up a college was to “go and get a link with a tertiary institution” and that it “was only when the English language thing began to fly that it wasn’t so easy to do that.” (Bob Pearce, 6/03) As suggested, the establishment of English language schools created a more precarious environment.

It was the embarrassing experience of the collapses of these private English language schools that gave impetus to the Western Australian government to introduce a legislative framework in the Education Services Providers Registration Act (ESPRA)

in 1991. According to a public servant (MSPS-3, 6/03) who was involved in its drafting, the Education Department was “trail blazing from a state perspective” because there was no other legislation in Australia to model it on. The same person suggested that both the state and federal government looked to the United Kingdom and Canada for models of regulation, but that the most important learning experience was the “collapse of the colleges.” (MSPS-3, 6/03) Once the Act was passed, the Western Australian Education Department had its own policy committee that met regularly with the providers, disseminating information from Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) or the Department of Immigration, “so that providers were well informed of what their obligations were under those Acts, and also what they were obliged to do under the new Western Australian Act.” (MSPS-5, 8/03) It is interesting to note that a representative from the Department of Commerce and Trade, the arm responsible for marketing education, was on that committee, demonstrating a model of co-operation that evolved early in the life of the industry.

A specific section of the Department of Education Services (DES) has administered ESPRA since 1996, and one of its important functions today is ensuring that the agreements between universities and the private providers of pathway courses are ‘sound’:

We have to establish who should be a registered provider and who should be held responsible if anything goes wrong. Also we are concerned about entry requirements and the lowering of standards. The universities obviously see that linking up with private providers is a way to broaden the base of students brought into the university. But we want to ensure that standards are maintained. (MSPS-3, 6/03)

A senior state educator views DES very positively, stating that they “are a bureaucracy but they don’t seem like one; they help institutions in every way.” (SSE-1, 7/03) He goes on to describe Western Australia’s quality measures:

I think we are very fortunate in the way things are regulated. The other thing we have in Western Australia, which no one else does, is a conciliator. That was a way to give students who are unhappy, particularly in private institutions, another ‘way out’ when institutions say ‘No you won’t get your money back. Get lost!’. (SSE-1, 7/03)

However, it is also the Commonwealth Education Services for Overseas Student (ESOS) Act and National Code which strengthens the role of DES in Western Australia. Whilst ESPRA is a strong act in monitoring the activities of private providers, it is the Commonwealth ESOS legislation and its accompanying National Code that allows them to be “proactive in making sure that standards are being met rather than reactive.” (MSPS-4, 6/03)

ESOS was established in 1991 and the supporting Code of Practice in the Provision of International Education and Training Services (National Code) in 1994. As time progressed, ESOS has become a more stringent act. Its initial focus was ensuring the financial protection of students but its revisions have included strong quality assurance measures. ESOS was originally viewed as interim legislation with a sunset clause set for January 1994 by which time it was expected the States and Territories would develop their own legislation. This position was reviewed because, according to a state public servant, “There wasn’t complete stability in the industry.” (MSPS-2, 6/03) By the late-1990s, “The Act was reviewed two or three times, growing from 19 pages originally, to over 100 pages in the 2000 Act and the National Code sits off

that.” (MSPS-2, 6/03) State public service respondents viewed the National Code as very prescriptive in a positive sense, allowing DES to pursue quality measures in institutions in great detail (for example, the level of service provided to students, such as counselling and welfare support).

This analysis of how the quality assurance framework evolved and is continuing to evolve illustrates a *local* response to ‘policy in practice’, and the processes that were used to do so. The Commonwealth and state legislation and the processes discussed are both comprehensive and distinctly Australian, for example, to this day the United Kingdom does not have a comprehensive national code that controls registration of private providers or monitors their activities.

Context of Practice – Issues – Marketing

Very early in the life of ‘the policy’, the exporting and marketing of international education was the other single most important area of concern. The promotion of international education on a federal level commenced with AUSTRADE, “the trade arm of the federal trade ministry, which very early on embraced the value of education services as a marketing priority.” (David Buckingham, 9/03) This arrangement was changed in the mid-1990s because, according to David Buckingham, there was a strong view that AUSTRADE was recruiting inappropriately:

... without regard to orderly processing of applications that would follow or the subsequent experience of the students. I don’t think that was a fair criticism of them. There was definitely tension between those arguing for a trade liberalisation agenda here and those who, for a variety of reasons, believed that tight regulation and management was required. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

According to a private provider, AUSTRADE offered excellent services in “market expertise, infrastructure, support, advice, assisting us to bring agents in, and assisting us when we were going to international fairs to have an Australian presence. It was working beautifully.” (PP-4, 5/04) A tighter regulation agenda prevailed with the federal government and so the responsibility for marketing on a national level was given to the Education Ministry under the new agency of Australian Education International (AEI). The Australian International Education Foundation (AIEF) was launched in 1994 and later became the self-supporting AEI in 1998. The move to take marketing away from AUSTRADE was seen as a negative one by many in the industry, both private and public players, “I really don’t think to this day they know what their [AEI] reason for being is” (PP-4, 5/04), and “I think the AVCC [Australian Vice Chancellors Committee] has always been in arrears as has the AEI ... the cutting edge has been driven by individual supply side initiatives ... it’s clearly the case that policy has been post hoc rationalisation.” (SUAd-2, 6/03)

A reason given by many of the respondents for the confusion or inability of the AEI to deliver recommendations from the industry is that the regulation of immigration and the restriction of student visas is the Commonwealth government’s dominant objective. Respondents believe that the government is directed by these intentions rather than any recognition of what was required for marketing the industry:

They do take it into consideration but there are other political realities. The review of higher education recently is an interesting indication of what happens in Canberra. Nelson [Minister for Education at the time of the interview] and Gallagher [Director of AEI at the time of the interview] have just come back with a set of recommendations on international education, which are completely different to what the whole system says. So you have to ask yourself what the lobbying powers of universities within the states

are because Gallagher in his own right seems to be able to turn the whole system on its head. (MSPS-2, 6/03)

A further Commonwealth assistance to marketing the new education industry was their Export Market Development Grant (EMDG), which was administered by AUSTRADE, and given to both universities and private institutions on a regular basis. A private provider bemoaned the fact that unfortunately international education no longer qualifies for this grant, but that in the past this grant was of “assistance, especially to the private sector.” (PP-4, 5/04)

From a state perspective, respondents’ comments on marketing activities revealed a *local* response as to how ‘the policy’ was put into practice. There was consensus amongst respondents that early state government support of marketing activities in Western Australia was strong, co-ordinated and focussed from the beginning when ‘the policy’ was implemented. This direction firstly came from the Department of Education and later the marketing role was passed on to the Department of Commerce and Trade. Below a public servant explains how, from the onset, the state government brought together the marketing activities of the different education sectors:

Basically universities were off ‘doing their own thing’, private providers were ‘doing their own thing’, and they were working against each other. So the Education Department got together with the Ministry [Education] and decided that something needed to be done. So they developed the Education Minister’s Coordinating Committee in the early 90s. Essentially that was chaired by Carmen Lawrence. Through that forum plans were discussed for having marketing fairs overseas, doing promotional campaigns and lobbying government about certain issues that were emerging. After this in about 1991/1992 the responsibility for marketing was transferred to the Department of Commerce and Trade. (MSPS-2, 6/03)

It is evident that the state government, through its Education Minister, gave the fledgling industry high profile support. Respondents, however, viewed the early initiative from the Department of Education to distance itself from marketing and to hand over to the Department of Commerce and Trade as a positive move. Equally, another early marketing initiative by the government was to establish Western Australian Education Offices (WAEO) to recruit students in Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, which proved to be very successful for Western Australia at that time.

Once the Department of Commerce and Trade took responsibility for the marketing portfolio a Western Australian Education International Marketing Group (WAIMEG) was established and this took over the work of the Minister's Coordinating Committee. Essentially this group was made up of those responsible for the marketing of education in both public and private institutions. They were also 'thrown together' frequently at fairs and other promotional activities. WAIMEG was supported financially by the government and was described as 'having humble beginnings':

It was a case of a group of individuals that worked together frequently and who thought it would make their working life easier if they actually branded themselves together, pulled together and worked as a team collectively to get students to WA. And then, when the students arrived in WA, they [WAIMEG members] could fight amongst themselves as to where the student went. (MSPS-6, 6/03)

The early success of this group meant that Western Australia quickly developed an 'edge' over its competitors. It was seen as a leader in Australia because it was working "together as a harmonious group overseas and envied by the other states." (MSPS-1, 6/03) In 1996, the state government withdrew funding from the offshore

offices and the institutions making up WAIMEG were forced to take over their funding. It was at this point that the WAIMEG became incorporated as Perth Education City (PEC).

The private sector also consolidated their influence in the early days of 'the policy' through the lobby group, Western Australian Private Education and Training Industry Association (WAPETIA). This group's members are also in WAIMEG and later PEC, and worked through the Department of Commerce and Trade "to lobby our federal counterparts." (MSPS-1, 6/03) In Chapter 4, it was reported that a strong influence in the early life of the marketing aspect of 'the policy' came from the private sector. This sector brought to WAIMEG and PEC, a 'private enterprise' urgency for marketing to be done so that it gave the best possible returns. Their public counterparts did not directly depend on international students for a livelihood and so did not have as much at stake. The influence of the private provider through PEC and WAPETIA meant that they often gave shape and direction to the way in which marketing activities and policy were put into practice.

In terms of practice there was a strong view from the respondents that Australia, and specifically Western Australia, had established their own models with little influence from overseas:

I think everything that we are doing here, we have led the way. The fact is now that everybody, the Brits, are following us. We followed the British to go into the industry, but nobody has established regulation, protocols and quality systems. Not one country in the entire world has come anywhere near the Australians. (PP-4, 5/04)

This view was largely endorsed by Buckingham, who believed that Australia learnt from the British Council's integrated approach to the presentation of British cultural and education interests, but that "the Canadians and Americans had not really organised in a way that maximised the possibilities the markets represented." (David Buckingham, 9/03)

The data strongly suggest that *local* influences and circumstances on a national and state level led to an education industry that was uniquely Australian in character. The three features that contributed to this were the:

- Legislative frameworks controlling quality.
- Immigration policies restricting and monitoring visas.
- Growth of marketing fashioned by both the government and the private sector.

The development of the ESOS Act and ESPRA demonstrate a *local* response that evolved through a 'trial and error' approach once 'the policy' was launched. The most vivid example was the collapse of the English language schools. This *post ad hoc* response was also influenced by a strong immigration agenda, which sought to control the flow of students into the country, especially from China where as early as 1986 problems had emerged. Ross Garnaut, Australian Ambassador to China from 1985 to 1988, explains why 'the policy' had to be accompanied by stricter regulations:

From our observation at the post [Beijing], a lot of people were lining up who wanted to spend time in Australia rather than learn English. That seemed to us not to be a proper use of the program. The numbers involved were huge. The commercial interest of some of the schools played on this mixture of motives of people going

down [to Australia]. As a result of our representation more elaborate processes were put in place to screen students to ensure they were qualified to do the courses being proposed. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

Equally, the response of the Western Australian government is well documented and supported by the interview data. Both in issues of quality control and the development of an industry through co-ordinated marketing strategies, a proactive approach was employed. There is no doubt that this *local* response took advantage of the ‘circumstances and options’ that were presented by the ‘the policy’. As a result, Western Australia was launched into unprecedented growth in the export of international education during the first decade of the life of ‘the policy’.

Context of Practice – Consequences – Pathway Programs

The data analysed in this section on consequences allow an in depth examination of the development of pathway programs as a specific example of the implementation of ‘the policy’. Through the perspective of key stakeholders, this section traces the evolution of one of the key aspects of Australia’s international education – pathways.

As early as 1986, pathway colleges were established. However, these involved offering secondary school university entrance courses, for example, the Tertiary Entrance Examination (TEE) rather than specifically designed Certificates and Diplomas that would articulate to a university course. The establishment of these colleges was discussed in Chapter 4, that is, Canning and Tuart colleges from the public sector and the private Western Australian International College (WAIC). Shortly after this, the number of private colleges grew and by the late-1980s the list included Perth Finishing College (which subsequently collapsed), Beaufort College

and Edwards, followed by Alexander College in the early-1990s. All these colleges were recruiting international students from Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia who intended to take the TEE and then proceed to a university, preferably in Western Australia, and in so doing, “Perth put itself on the map.” (PP-4, 5/04) At this point, a private provider explains that there was “... no environment for the private provider to offer anything other than the secondary studies courses because universities were doing it themselves and didn’t believe that they needed anything or anybody other than themselves to market their products.” (PP-3, 5/03)

The ‘trail blazer’ in developing articulation courses other than the existing TEE for international students was a private provider by the name of UniSearch, which linked with the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). As commented, “UniSearch was well ahead of its time and they were right at the front, but not much was made of that over east.” (SSE-1, 7/03) UniSearch had introduced greater “flexibility through offering courses on a trimester system, providing advanced standing and being linked to a university.” (PP-2, 7/03) Parallel to this development, in the early-1990s universities in all states, led by New South Wales and Victoria, were developing and accrediting their own Foundation Study programs specifically to recruit international students who had not met matriculation standards and who wanted to access Australian universities. This type of recruitment meant that universities were creating a guaranteed pipeline for their mainstream programs.

In Western Australia, the momentum was also building to produce specific alternative entry programs for international students. At the end of 1992, the then Western Australian Minister for Education, Norman Moore, commissioned George

Strickland (MLA), an ex-teacher, to examine and make recommendations on: the scope of international education, the quality of the provision and future initiatives for the industry in Western Australia. The report was realistic in its assessment of the industry and recognised that Australia's, and specifically Western Australia's, advantage over the United Kingdom and the United States was proximity to South East Asia, cost of living and security. The report acknowledged that there was a perception in South East Asia that the United Kingdom and the United States offered the best universities internationally and so bolstering Australia's industry was foremost in the Strickland Report: "One of the big things that came through in the report was that continuity of education should be provided to international students." (MSPS-5, 8/03) According to a public servant involved in the report, the issue of articulation was already on the agenda and had been taken up by Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges and the Canning and Tuart senior colleges. By 1991, Curtin University of Technology was offering its Curtin Foundation Program, and in 1992 the two senior colleges were offering a Western Australian Foundation Program, which upon successful completion articulated students to the University of Western Australia, Curtin University of Technology and Murdoch University depending upon students' scores.

The breakthrough in Western Australia, however, came later in 1994 when a private provider decided to develop further the UniSearch model. They accredited with the Western Australian government a Certificate IV and Diploma stream. Upon successful completion of the Diploma, an international student was allowed to enter the second year of the university degree. This accreditation was possible because the Diploma year was modelled exactly on the first year of the degree, and so the

university in question assured the intellectual property and quality: “If you look at the articulation models that were designed in Western Australia, the major one, the Certificate IV/Diploma stream into second year of the university, this was developed into an art form in this state.” (SSE-1, 7/03) According to this senior state educator, the importance of articulation programs was recognised and supported very early in the implementation of ‘the policy’ in Western Australia by both the public and private sector. When asked whether Australia looked to the United Kingdom or the United States for pathway models, a senior academic endorsed the view that the impetus came from the private sector:

I don’t think anybody looked for the models anywhere because the reality is that these pathways came from the commercial people to the universities and not vice versa ... I don’t think you could argue that universities actually went out and developed these. These came almost because of the nature of international education and because there was this large potential demand for a pathway type entry. The commercial people saw this before the universities did. (SUAc-1, 5/03)

Although private providers could see the potential demand, persuading universities was in reality a difficult task. In 1994, when University A was approached to implement a model similar to the UniSearch one on the university campus it was a challenge for both parties:

It was quite difficult in the sense that universities were quite suspicious of private institutions and concerned about standards and quality, which in many cases was legitimate. Also trying to establish an institution on a university campus, it was the first time it was done in Australia, and trying to convince a university was quite a difficult process. (PP-3, 5/03)

This initiative was before the Australian Qualification Framework (AQF), established in 1995, and so it was up to the state to manage the accreditation process. A public servant responsible for accrediting the courses at the time explained that the quality issue was the most significant concern:

The courses were outside the bounds of the Education Department but on the edge of secondary, yet they are nearly first year study ... so it was only when we got an agreement from the university that there would be quality assurance on those units of study that we allowed it to proceed. (MSPS-5, 8/03)

Once this university agreed to take a risk, but also become responsible for monitoring the quality and all academic results in the Diploma, a new and very successful model was established with 400 students being recruited in two years. It was not an easy path for the provider or the university, as even 10 years after the introduction of 'the policy', "the business of education had a flavour about it that wasn't appealing to all" (PP-2, 7/03), and the university in question had taken a risk with a yet untried concept. Although the Diploma is a college award and not a university one, which eliminates some element of risk for the university, the close association of the college with the university "may involve a reputation risk." (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) This view was endorsed from the university's perspective:

Although the university had relationships with one or two franchise operators offering its products, it wasn't an easy decision at all because no relationship had been so close. It went to Council on a number of occasions before it was approved. Concerns focused on the reputation of the university and that the student interests would be provided for fully in the long run. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

It is valuable at this point to examine in more depth the evidence that emerged on the acceptance or resistance of this model within the universities involved, and how such a proposal was received within the existing culture. One significant factor that was evident in interviews from both Universities A and B was the way in which the university 'centre or administration' had to convince the individual divisions within the institution of the worth of a relationship with a private provider. One academic from University A claimed that, "there wasn't a big fight because it was a recognition that it was a good opportunity and it would ensure an ongoing number of students" (SUAc-1, 5/03) and that senior people within university were driving the proposal. Similarly in University B it was seen as a central, rather than divisional, proposal because there was concern for "the cash flow within the university and it was backed by a good financial plan." (SUAc-2, 9/03) The 'centre' at University B was very proactive and supportive of the proposed college, but it then had to persuade the divisions, which had hitherto initiated activities in international education to follow suit. This thrust from the 'centre' to take on the initiative was described as "counter to the existing culture and represented a change, and the fact that the university had reached a growth point in the terms of size, maturity and risk." (SUAd-2, 6/03)

The significance of the central administrators initiating partnerships and the tension it generated within the university was not lost on the private provider:

Our philosophy has always been to go right to the top, selling them the concept, and having it driven down from there ... you get people in the faculties resenting not being involved in the initial discussions and being precious about the product. In every institution we have dealt with, there have been these tensions in the

faculty despite the fact that they are working for the university and not the faculty. (PP-3, 5/03)

The providers observed that the relationship with the universities, and the rate of progress of the proposal, was dependent on the “Vice Chancellors working closely with Executive Deans or Faculty Heads to ensure that they were supportive of the model.” (PP-2, 7/03) When asked what made their model so successful, the providers emphasised the importance of maintaining a strong working relationship with the universities in question, especially with the executive, and it was their view that “all existing relationships continued to flourish.” (PP-2, 7/03) This rapport and trust was cemented in the first instance at the negotiating stage where it was established that the university: sets both the English and academic entry criteria for the Diploma, is responsible for the academic content and assessment, and has the final say over quality control, moderation and who is qualified to teach on the program.

There was recognition that the students who were recruited to the colleges were in most cases “presumably weaker, either academically, and/or, with respect to English.” (PP-2, 7/03) However, the pedagogical model adopted by the providers offers smaller classes and more personal contact with students in relation to academic matters as well as class attendance and overall pastoral care:

... for the students who go directly to university, many fail. With our students, the fact that they didn't make some cut off score doesn't mean the door should be closed on those students. We believe that we are providing a slightly different learning environment that allows them to catch up so they can progress on to where maybe their peers got to a little earlier. (PS-2, 7/03)

It was evident from the data that a cornerstone of the private provider and university relationship depended on the financial gain to the university in tandem with students achieving academic success. Respondents from all sectors referred to this: “People began to see that these were good students, they did well, and then they became committed to this pathway themselves and thinking why shouldn’t they take advantage of this.” (SUAd-5, 10/03) A provider explained it as follows:

The key to this thing working was providing the university with the money. There has to be a flow of students into second year that would create additional money, and there had to be no compromise of quality and standards. So students that moved forwards had to have been successful. We had to be seen as having success levels that matched the universities. If that hadn’t happened, then it wouldn’t have continued. (PP-3, 5/03)

This focus on academic quality and monitoring the progress of students was also enshrined in the agreements with the universities and characteristic of the model. Both universities had established academic advisory committees chaired by a member of the university executive and representative of divisional stakeholders and the provider. These committees met regularly to monitor content, standards and oversee academic tracking of students’ progress within the college and in degree programs.

The pathway model described above is uniquely Western Australian and has been exported successfully both nationally and internationally. This micro level analysis as suggested by Ozga (1990) has provided data on one example of the ‘localised complexity’ in the practice of ‘the policy’ in question, and the unplanned ad-hoc response to it. It has illustrated that this model was not dictated by ‘the policy’ but emerged from a local environment where particular stakeholders in the state,

universities and pathway providers seized opportunities. The initiative was only successful because of the way in which each of the key stakeholders responded. The providers offered financial investment and infrastructure and the universities took the risk, provided space, and the profile of their university, intellectual property and quality assurance processes. The state was willing to use its legislative framework and quality controls to enable accreditation. This accreditation was subsequently nationally reinforced in 1995 when the AQF was established. This national accreditation is also an important feature in the export of Australian education, which is not found in its strong competitor the United Kingdom. This is further reinforced that international influences on this policy implementation were minimal.

This microanalysis now turns to the further exploration of the consequences of ‘the policy’ and the pathway model, in particular, commercialisation and internationalisation.

Context of Practice – Consequences – Commercialisation

Although the commercialisation of the tertiary sector has been well documented, I thought that as a significant consequence of ‘the policy’, it was fundamental to the study to seek the respondents’ perspective on this issue. The questions posed narrowed the topic specifically to canvass views on the:

- Overall contribution of ‘the policy’ to commercialisation.
- Contribution of pathways to that commercialisation.
- Role of the private providers and their relationship with universities.

- Obstacles or challenges that had emerged through ‘the policy’ and private partnerships.

There was agreement from David Buckingham that from the outset the “very strong commercial focus ... did attract criticism” (David Buckingham, 9/03), but that universities could not afford to ignore the opportunities ‘the policy’ offered. He commented:

Firstly, I think that since 1985 to 1986 more and more institutions have seen the relative success of the programs in drawing numbers ... and there has been a judgement that they cannot afford not to be in there. Secondly, there has been a judgement that there is a rapidly growing market out there, and one around which they can enter with a degree of security and confidence, and it is a sustainable market. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Ross Garnaut offered a perspective that quality in the tertiary sector is closely linked with financial security and, therefore, “saw no conflict between the two.” (Ross Garnaut, 10/03) However, he did make the distinction between financial independence and being “commercially short-sighted and making the quick buck.” (Ross Garnaut, 10/03) For Garnaut, the emphasis must always be on quality, and he was scathing about how commercialisation has negatively impacted on some Australian universities. The example he gave was a marking scandal where students have been passed essentially because they were international students. The following comments summarise his view on the impact of commercial choices in international education for some Australian universities:

It is commercially dumb and also academically damaging. Some Australians have what we could describe as a shortsighted commercial attitude and some institutions have paid for that.

Probably the system has been damaged by not being transparent enough about that, because we all know that universities are not of equal standard, and some but not others have been corrupting standards to get commercial benefits in the short term. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

One academic (SUAc-1, 5/03) made the observation that non-traditional universities, such as the universities of technology, had grown and become heavily dependent on international student enrolments. However, he noted that there was still amongst university administrators an uncomfortable feeling about the commercial aspects of this, and “they have not come to grips with dealing with the entrepreneurial side of universities and so they tax it heavily ... I think there is a duality going on, that the traditional university should not be commercial.” (SUAc-1, 5/03) Another academic was adamant that the commercial success of ‘the policy’ had brought a failure in other respects:

On the whole I think it has been commercially successful but a failure in some respects. I don’t think that it has transformed the academic environment. I don’t think culturally, intellectually or academically that universities are richer as a result, but poorer in other areas. I think a lot of academics are embattled. (SUAc-2, 9/03)

This person went on to explain that academic standards had been lowered because of plagiarism and poor quality of postgraduates and that ‘the policy’ had “dragged down academic integrity.” (SUAc-2, 9/03) Another academic, who believed that managerialism had crept into universities and commercialisation caused even more reduced spending from the government, endorsed this negative perspective: “Business bottom line profit becomes more important than academic currency and

that the more successful the system is at going out and finding its own money through international education, the more the public sector retreats.” (SUAc-3, 6/03)

It is interesting to note that a contrary view was held by most university administrators, who were, on the whole more positive about the effects of commercialisation. One administrator emphasised the “economic advantages” which enabled the university “to attract high quality staff”, and argued that the recruitment of international students “has a very broad focus and the commercial focus was one aspect of that.” (SUAd-5, 10/03) Another administrator said:

I’m sure that most universities now have built up the infrastructure and resources that give them a much more commercial focus. I wouldn’t really class it as an issue. I think it is probably pretty comfortable for people right across universities. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

The comment below probably summarises the broader goals that most universities are hoping to accomplish through the recruitment of international students. However, at the same time, the respondent expressed some uncertainty about what had been achieved:

Should we apologise for being commercial enterprises is probably more the question. It troubles educators and faculty members that we are involved in internationalisation. I’m not saying it is a bad thing. What’s wrong with it? We adopted a definition of internationalisation through academic pools that nobody had a really good look at. You could say that having students from a wide range of countries is going to force elements of internationalisation. You could argue that good commercial operators also go into arrangements that aren’t just the dollar focus. (SUAd-4, 3/03)

The view from a state educator endorses the commercial focus, but is more positive about the long-term non-commercial outcomes through practice of ‘the policy’:

There is no doubt that the dollar has been a significant driver ... but there were benefits in the different work we are doing with the students, the work ethic it has generated with staff and cultural benefits. All of those non-commercial concepts are very important. We have eventually developed a mission statement that encapsulates those qualities. (SSE-2, 7/03)

In this section on commercialisation of the tertiary sector, we now turn to explore the contribution of pathway courses and the role of the private sector. In Western Australia, at the time of the interviews, approximately 55% of the international students were enrolled in the higher education sector. (MSPS-4, 6/03) Many of these students had come via the private pathway pipeline, and in the words of a public servant:

The larger providers had been a success story in Western Australia ... but it is a very competitive industry and if you haven’t got those agreements with the universities then it does become a difficult market to operate in, particularly when you are competing with the eastern states. (MSPS-4, 6/03)

A respondent from the private sector expressed the view that those private pathway providers who were in agreements with universities were there solely as ‘revenue raisers’, and that “pathway programs will be adopted by those universities that have a funding deficit and will be a continuing trend if the government continues to reduce higher education funding.” (PP-1, 9/03) Another private provider also argued that the driving motivation for universities to be interested in ‘them’ was simply because of the universities’ desperate economic circumstances, but that the private provider had

brought to the industry “a respect that you can do business in education but also preserve the integrity of the products you are delivering.” (PP-2, 7/03) This same person expressed the view that private providers were the most significant contributor of funds to most of their host universities: “I guess they value us and we value them.” (PP-2, 7/03) It was certainly the view of another provider that he and his colleagues had changed significantly the way in which universities operated internationally in the recruitment of students, “A lot of their strategies now are based around working closely with us. We’ve had a huge influence in changing the personalities and direction.” (PP-3, 5/03)

Perhaps a more objective voice in the assessment of the private provider comes from Michael Gallagher (a federal advisor at the time), who also raises the issue of unforeseen consequences of ‘the policy’:

I don’t think it was necessarily seen to be as big as it has emerged to be. Part of that private sector has been commercialisation activities by public institutions, particularly universities ... What’s been one of the unforeseen advantages is that the nature of tertiary education delivery in Australia is being radicalised by the new forms of service that the private sector is delivering, either by itself or in partnership with public providers. That is powerfully going to reshape the structure of higher education in Australia. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

Comments from academics and university administrators confirmed that private providers have brought more than financial gain to the universities. There were many observations that the private provider was able to achieve recruitment into pathway programs more efficiently in ways that universities could not. For example, one academic stated that “in most cases the private providers were the ‘pushers’ and the

universities were the ‘receivers’ of suggestions.” (SUAc-1, 5/03) A university administrator expanded this view further:

Basically, I think universities have been slower, had less initiative, less access to capital and less risk taking, so the gap has been filled by nimble, proactive and cutting edge thinking. I think the higher education sector, dominated by the government, has been slower to respond and probably lacks the drive that the private sectors has. (SUAd-2, 6/03)

The theme of private enterprise being more responsive and the limitations of the university in these activities was a common theme amongst university staff: “I think universities have seized that opportunity and private providers are much more responsive to student needs. In other words, they can respond more quickly to student needs because of their structure and decision-making processes.” (SUAd-3, 9/03)

If you want to get going fast and make sure it happens in a limited time in a very competitive environment, then you could say that universities that are less driven from the top are going to find it very difficult to get through all the channels, schools, structures and committees to achieve it. I think it is all about effectiveness and speed of response (SUAd-4, 3/03).

Apart from efficiency, another issue raised was that providing pathway programs was not the ‘core business’ of the university, “Our view was let’s bring in the experts and we’ve pretty much decided it is not our core business, it is for somebody else. You can make it your core business, but then you have to invest in it.” (SUAd-5, 10/03) This view that private providers were the experts in this type of delivery was endorsed many times, for example:

Some of the franchise groups that are the best in the country have small group intensive teaching, which is difficult for universities to provide, particularly in first year where you have large number of students. But it is a very effective way and a good transition for overseas students into first or second year university studies. I think it is a range of factors that give private providers the edge. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

The interview data suggest that the role of the private provider in the provision of pathway programs has been a key component of the commercialisation of the tertiary sector. The parties, universities and providers have developed a symbiotic relationship where the commercial attributes of the provider are evaluated in broader terms by the universities. The efficiency the private partner brings in the provision of infrastructure, quick decision-making and sound pedagogy to the pre-tertiary sector has become part of the universities' attraction and profile.

The final issue to be explored in this commercialisation section was whether there were any challenges or obstacles in introducing pathway programs into the university via a private provider. Many of these challenges have been mentioned above in other contexts but the following comments summarise the issues. From both the private provider perspective and the university perspective, the interviews revealed that the initial college established with University A provided the greatest of challenges, as it had hitherto been an untried model in Western Australia:

Universities were suspicious of private institutions ... they were concerned with standards and quality, which in many cases was legitimate. Also trying to establish an institution on a university campus, it was the first time it was done in Australia, and trying to convince a university was quite a difficult process. (PS-3, 5/03)

University B, however, did have its own issues that had to be resolved. According to a university administrator, the most difficult issue was introducing programs through the college that would compete with existing university pathways. Negotiations with the faculty offering these courses were difficult and the university, at large, had to be persuaded that the private provider would out-perform the existing programs. Secondly, there was the view that the provider would be “scraping the bottom of the barrel for students and thirdly, the notion of the private provider was difficult.” (SUAd-2, 6/03) This same university administrator explained that there was also a cultural shift that saw the relationship with a private provider on the campus as unpalatable, “I think there was a general negative reaction because of the culture at the university, that this was actually counter cultural. So everybody was slightly repulsed by the idea because it was so contrary to the culture.” (SUAd-2, 6/03) Another administrator from University B summarises the obstacles as follows: “They seemed to dwell on whether there was the space, the cost, whether it’s a good idea to have non-university students on campus and what were the financial advantages of this.” (SUAd-5, 10/03)

This analysis of commercialisation through the viewpoint of pathways implementation has provided a micro perspective on ‘the policy’ in practice. Commercialisation is a significant consequence of ‘the policy’, and the exploration of the role of pathway courses and private providers contributes a sharper focus. Strong views were expressed that Australian universities have not benefited from ‘the policy’ beyond the commercial. In fact, some academics believed the focus on the financial imperatives had lowered standards and put pressure on academics to pass international students. These views are also well documented in the relevant

literature. Contrary to this position, most university administrators could see the overall benefits to their institution and were more positive in their views.

There was a fairly strong consensus about the importance of the role of the private provider in the goals of commercialising the universities. There was also agreement about the efficient infrastructure and pedagogy the provider brought to the tuition of first year students and below. The agreed efficiency of the private providers, to move quickly in their decision-making processes, highlights the difference in the mission of the public and private sector institutions. Universities must be accountable to the public and therefore their processes of accountability, consensus and thorough consideration may seem to be inefficient to the outside community. There is already a robust debate on the need for greater efficiencies countered by criticisms of the increasing managerialism within universities. However, in a venture such as providing pathway programs, the private provider may still have the advantage. At this point, it is interesting to note that no-one mentioned the private provider's advantage concerning flexibility of employment and the financial advantages that this brings ultimately to the university. Perhaps it was an issue too sensitive to raise even with anonymity.

Context of Practice – Consequences – Internationalisation

This section explores one consequence of 'the policy' beyond the commercial, that is, the potential positive benefits of internationalisation. Although there was not a specific focus in this study on the benefits of internationalisation beyond the commercial, all respondents were asked to comment on whether 'the policy' and, specifically, pathway programs contributed to more than just financial gain. Quite an

altruistic perspective was presented by Michael Gallagher who extolled the broader objectives in the export of education, for example the “advantage to Australia’s profile in diplomacy and our efforts to help sustain peace and avoid conflict.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) However, Gallagher continued to say that Australia had missed some opportunities to do it well and position itself in the better parts of the market because:

... we’ve developed an approach to international students that comes across to those students as being industry exploitation rather than international education. The students themselves complain that they don’t get an international experience and they don’t have the interactions they would like with Australians. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

A private provider also believed strongly in the more philanthropic objectives of ‘the policy’:

The world is global now and you can’t just sit, especially in Perth the most isolated city in the world. We would be going nowhere. All of the future relies on us talking to each other across countries, across languages and cultures. (PP-4, 5/04)

Many of the university administrators emphasised the point that the prime focus of pathway programs was especially about providing access to students who would otherwise be denied a place in the university. However, it was often not completely clear as to which objective came first, the commercial or that of providing access, and whether there was in hindsight a rationalisation beyond the commercial. The following, perhaps contradictory quote, illustrates the there was often uncertainty in talking about motives beyond the commercial in the development of pathway programs:

The motivation wasn't commercial, it was a by-product. I would like to think that our thrust going international is about higher motives. The reality is that the driving force is revenue. But let's not apologise for that and give great quality service, great pedagogy and that it is well worth the investment. (SUAd-4, 3/03)

The question of whether pathway programs contribute to diversity and social cohesion was also raised with respondents. There were no strong data to suggest that this was the case. Most respondents were not aware of "a lot of mix between the college and degree students, but I don't think it is creating any less harmony." (PS-1, 9/03) Another private provider agreed that social cohesion was an issue and that universities should monitor the proportion of international students on the campus, although not to the detriment of the commercial objectives:

I think a lot of universities have lost track of the social impact of having too many students from any one country within their faculties. They tend to ignore it and I think they should be careful. We should have a diverse range of students within our student population. In a commercial sense we do not limit our numbers from any one country but we are always trying to get new markets. (PP-2, 7/03)

A university administrator believed that the pathway college was successful in meeting internationalisation targets, and "of course it contributes indirectly to our learning about international students ... my sense is that it probably doesn't make an enormous difference to harmony, but it certainly contributes to diversity." (SUAd-4, 3/03) Another administrator was adamant about the non-commercial focus of internationalisation:

I think we would be in this even if there wasn't a dollar. I have said that publicly many times. I think the best thing we've ever done for Australian students is to educate them alongside students from other cultures, and the broader that has become, the better that has been. (SUAd-5, 10/03)

One insightful perspective was that students not mixing was a function of the scale and concentration of the activity rather than internationalisation per se, "It's the way it is happening ... in some cases students are just sitting with their fellow countrymen, and there is no international dimension at all. I think that is regrettable and I don't think it sustainable even." (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

An academic believed that very positive aspects of internationalisation were evident on many levels, although it is worthy of note that the comments below refer to postgraduate students and not undergraduates or pathway programs. The two universities referred to below are those researched for this study:

I think it is different between different universities, but without the resources the two universities couldn't have provided the depth and breadth of experience that students have gotten from the programs ... The students who have really benefited are those who have interacted with international students and gained international networks. You see that here all the time at a very micro level. I have no doubt that all our students' experience has been expanded. (SUAc-3, 6/03)

The interview data indicated that pathway programs provided institutions A and B with the opportunity to diversify further their international student population, enabling recruitment in countries where students could not otherwise access the Australian university system. So, from this perspective of diversity, pathway programs were assisting the universities to meet one of the internationalisation

objectives established by the McKinnon, Walker and Davis (2000) benchmarks. The data, however, did not suggest that there were any proactive programs within the colleges to integrate students or link them with any of the universities' existing initiatives for mixing with Australian students. Nor was there a view, either from the universities or the colleges, that this should be an objective of the colleges. This issue of diversity and social cohesion from the students' perspective is also explored in Chapter 6 and the broader evaluation of internationalisation will be presented in the next section.

Context of Practice – Evaluation of 'the policy'

Respondents in the latter part of the interview were asked to reflect on how they might assess or evaluate 'the policy', in an attempt to address the questions posed by Vidovich (2002b): Who can assess and who does assess 'the policy'? Who are the winners or losers? What are the outcomes and effects? The sorting and refining of the data led to three major themes:

- An evaluation of 'the policy'.
- An evaluation of pathway programs as 'policy in practice'.
- The future prospects of 'the policy' in specific areas.

Respondents were asked specifically to consider the advantages and disadvantages of 'the policy' and whether there had been any unintended consequences. As the discussion unfolded it is evident that stakeholders had very different views of what the advantages and disadvantages were, and whether consequences were intended or otherwise.

When making their assessments, respondents used a range of criteria to evaluate the internationalisation of the Australian tertiary system. The discussion commences with the advantages or benefits and reveals that what some respondents believed to be advantages others viewed as unintended consequences. David Buckingham offered a commercial or market perspective on the initial objectives of the federal government and a broader appraisal of how the deregulation of international student recruitment was integrated with other national policies:

Firstly, I think the policy has been very successful in its fundamental assumption. I feel the insight we had in the 80s has been vindicated and we do actually have a very strong base for the marketing of education services in this country. That having been said, I think that there were important initiatives mounted throughout the period, such as the establishment of Australian education centres abroad and the role of the federal arm of international education, that theoretically should have provided the vehicle for integration of national policies. I don't think it has quite worked out that way, but the concept was a good one. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Michael Gallagher summarised the commercial benefits as universities being able to “obtain revenue flows that they otherwise wouldn't obtain and therefore can put that back into improved facilities and services or maintain course choices they otherwise wouldn't be able to sustain.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) This view that the academic quality of Australian tertiary education has been enhanced by ‘the policy’ was echoed by some academics. Ross Garnaut cited the Australian National University (ANU) as one such university that in the last fifteen years has been able to attract the top graduate students from around East Asia:

Some of our good institutions have become great institutions at a time when they wouldn't have had the resources to make that break otherwise ... That has led us to be able to maintain large programs

that can justify specialised courses in a wide range of areas. At the same time as having very high standards, the Australian student base wouldn't be big enough to do that ... At a time when resources have been constrained, it has allowed some good parts of our system to become better when otherwise they may have corroded away, and it has led to a substantial expansion of academic employment. (Ross Garnaut, 10/03)

A private provider offered a different commercial perspective to illustrate the success of 'the policy'. The provider recounted a case study cited in a report for the Western Australian Technology & Industry Advisory Council, 'Export of WA Education and Training: Constraints and Opportunities' (as cited in Smart, 2000, pp. 26-27). Significantly, the 'successful case study' commenced with the Colombo Plan, which met its demise with the introduction of the deregulation of recruitment. The story is of two men attending the University of Western Australia (UWA) as recipients of the Colombo Plan scholarship and having had a very positive experience. When they returned home they eventually rose to the positions of president of a bank and financial advisor to the Prime Minister respectively. Each of these men had three children whom they sent at the age of 13 to the provider's English language school in Western Australia and subsequently to private secondary schools to board for four years. These six children attended UWA as their fathers had done and progressed to Master's degrees. Their fathers bought properties in Western Australia and travelled to Perth three times a year to play golf (PP-4, 5/04). There were other similar anecdotal accounts that emphasised not only the commercial gain but also the 'goodwill' and social advantages that had emanated from 'the policy'.

Michael Gallagher gave a further example of the non-commercial aspect of the policy:

Hopefully it has helped create a more robust democracy that is hopefully more tolerant of pluralism ... a flow into our labour market of people from overseas and taking back skills to their own countries ... students taking up positions of influence in the civil service able to assist our trade and diplomacy ... ultimately there is an advantage to Australia's profile within the world and our ability to do things to sustain peace. (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

Ross Garnaut remarked that the great value of 'the policy' has been the "increased scale and quality of our immigration program, especially in recent years ... it has added a very valuable component to our population ... it has strengthened our wider cultural, social and economic links with Asia and I place a lot of value on that." (Ross Garnaut, 10/03) Garnaut also remarked that this had always been a long-term goal of 'the policy'. Whereas another respondent (PP-4, 5/03) viewed this immigration issue as an unforeseen but positive consequence of 'the policy' and was very enthusiastic about the recent relaxing of immigration laws, which made it possible for international students to apply for migration without having to return home. This respondent went on to describe international students as, "perfect migrants, they love the country, the culture and they have already paid for their own English classes and tertiary education." (PP-4, 5/03) David Buckingham cited another aspect of immigration as an unintended consequences, that is, the entry of large numbers of Chinese 'English Language' students who had no intention of studying, who were simply recruited by unscrupulous providers, and became a "very serious problem at different times." (David Buckingham, 9/03)

A final comment on the advantages of 'the policy' is the voice of the union representative who summarised these:

I think the Australian higher education system has benefited substantially from having a larger and wider number of students from overseas being in it. Inevitably there are significant cultural, social and economic benefits that flow from that situation. In that sense, it has been a very good thing. Whether or not it is the policy that is responsible for that is a separate question because one could have expanded the pool of overseas students without necessarily doing it in this way. I think that I would have to conclude that it has been a success, but that it has also brought a fair share of significant problems as well. (SUnA-1, 9/03)

Although respondents believed there had been many advantages to the internationalisation of the tertiary sector, many took this opportunity to point out the disadvantages or problems. All interviewees saw at least some advantages, but only one claimed that there were no disadvantages at all. Thus, overall, balanced views were presented.

Whereas commercialisation was cited above as an advantage, many of the respondents believed the balance had been tipped in a negative way and universities were becoming overly dependent on the commercial benefits that ‘the policy’ had brought to them. This theme was taken up by David Buckingham, who inferred that the current dependence was not the intent of ‘the policy’ but an unforeseen consequence:

The intent was that a properly structured international education program could be a critical ingredient in growth strategies available to institutions. That’s a very different proposition to one that says you need your international students for survival. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Similarly, a university administrator cited this issue as an unintended consequence, “both the universities and the government have put themselves at risk because the

Australian higher education system has become so dependent on international students.” (SUAd-3, 9/03) Again, a former senior state public servant argued that a significant outcome was that governments were retreating further from funding and this had an implication for domestic funding also: “We [states] have been given the idea that we ought to be paying more than we are.” (MSPS-5, 8/03) In fact, a number of respondents asserted that the international fee-paying students “were the thin end of the wedge” (SUnA-1, 9/03), and the public is being prepared for full fee-paying domestic students. This, in fact, occurred after these interviews were recorded. The former Commonwealth advisor predicted that the move to domestic full fee-paying students was to be expected:

While there wasn't the intention at the time the program [‘the policy’] was instituted, I would suggest that there was a logical progression between the mindset that informed international education, and that was now apparent in the domestic arena. That is, education services was something which people were prepared to pay for. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

‘The policy’ disadvantage of not having a balanced approach to commercialisation was a reoccurring theme. Ross Garnaut supported the view that “the bad things are mostly associated with this short sighted commercialism.” (Ross Garnaut, 10/03) The comment was made that some universities relied on their income from international students for up to 30% of their budget. As such, this heavy dependence had negative effects:

The commercial incentive to soften standards, even unconsciously is there. It is no surprise to me that the question of marking, plagiarism, and quality assurance is now a much bigger issue as a result of the scale of this ... and that the same quality assurance issues would arise if the domestic student market was deregulated. (SUnA-1, 9/03)

This same respondent went on to express the view that 70% of the international students were in about half a dozen institutions and the staff in these universities were under extreme pressure with higher workloads. Equally, those universities that did not have access to the market could not blame 'the policy' as they had encountered other difficulties for "all sorts of reasons." (SUnA-1, 9/03) Significantly, this respondent believed that it was "not easy to establish a correlation between the 1985 overseas student policy and the relative disadvantage today experienced by some universities" (SUnA-1, 9/03), as the tertiary environment had changed dramatically.

Former advisors and administrators generally reported that quality had been enhanced by 'the policy', whereas some academics blamed the declining academic standards and the quality of staff on 'the policy': "I think the whole big business of commercialisation has dragged down academic integrity in a way that is hard to articulate, but has become a culture with pressures that individuals find hard to withstand." (SUAc-2, 9/03) One academic claimed that because of the rapid increase in international students, additional contractual or sessional staff were employed and that many of these staff would not have normally followed an academic career. This resulted in the "running down of the academic currency of an institution." (SUAc-3, 6/03) This same academic, however, did go on to say that quality could be benchmarked in different ways and that "quality is in the eyes of the beholder and we don't have a sufficient definition or discussion on it." (SUAc-3, 6/03)

The long-term prospects of this 'export industry' are clearly part of the overall evaluation of 'the policy'. Therefore, in the final component of the interview

'players' or stakeholders were asked for their comments on the 'future prospects' of 'the policy'. The interviews took place prior to the October 2004 federal election. Thus, the comments made about what the Nelson reforms might bring are further sustained by the success of the Liberal Party in winning another four-year term. 'Immigration' was cited as the area where respondents, from all policy backgrounds, wished to bring about some change and flexibility. However, all respondents were fairly realistic and argued that neither the AVCC nor private provider groups would be likely to have much lobbying power with the then, and now continuing, Liberal government.

Again, the issue of 'quality' emerged strongly in discussions about the future of 'the policy'. Many respondents believed that unless universities focused on quality, rather than market returns, their recruitment of students would be unsustainable: "I think there has been a complacency in the approach of the higher education sector in the last five years or so that is very dangerous." (David Buckingham, 9/03) Buckingham went on to explain the competition that Australian universities would face from neighbours such as Malaysia and Singapore who had openly declared their intention to establish themselves as learning centres in the region:

It's interesting that the type of provision that Malaysia is focussing on is that they can offer a quality education product in a cultural context that is sensitive to the particular religious and other needs associated with the student group, and they will provide a measure of student support and security that is absent in societies and markets such as our own. (David Buckingham, 9/03)

Another example of the competition Australian universities would face in the future are the developments in Singapore: "Ten of the leading universities in the world have

their offices in Singapore and they are encouraged by the government ... we are in a marketplace of countries that are moving rapidly to catch up to us.” (SUAc-3, 6/03)

This same academic went on to explain that Australia had a “comparative advantage” in that we could offer, for example, geographical proximity, low cost of living and a quality university system built upon a “public purse over a long period of time” (SUAc-3, 6/03), a point made emphatically by Marginson (2001). However, what is now required to sustain ‘the policy’ is “competitive advantage” and “The only way to keep it competitive is to invest in the real capital, which is academic currency. That comes from high quality research and ‘leading edge’ teaching. Any university that can’t understand that is doomed to long-term decline.” (SUAc-3, 6/03)

There was a general consensus among the stakeholders that ‘the policy’ had been successful but that, equally, it had generated problems for higher education that are continuing to challenge the sector. They agreed that there was no turning back on the commercialisation of the sector, as full fee-paying students in universities both international and domestic were a reality. The diversity of views reflected the varied contexts of practice of each of the stakeholders (policy advisors, university administrators, academics and public servants). Academics, for example, focused on how internationalisation had impacted on teaching and research, whereas administrators focused on more macro level assessments, and they had a broader view of the impact of commercialisation and the benefits it brought to the university. These personal perspectives are a testament that policy in practice is complex and changing constantly. Once ‘in practice’, policy takes on a character that is dictated by and impacted upon by key players and stakeholders and above all is shaped by the changing economic and social environment in which it operates.

Context of Practice – Evaluation of Pathways

Although pathway programs are part of ‘the policy’ in practice, it was necessary for this study to refocus the respondents on this particular aspect of ‘the policy’. They were therefore asked to consider the success or otherwise of pathway programs offered by private providers. The first step was to determine the criteria by which the programs were assessed. Senior administrators from Universities A and B were very positive in their evaluations. They were able to succinctly describe the criteria by which an evaluation was made:

We set ourselves specific targets for the recruitment of students, for generation of capital and for academic performance. We defined what our success criteria would be and we define ourselves against that. I would say that they have been successful. (SUAd-2, 6/03)

One participant listed the criteria by which to judge pathway programs: “financial success ... enhancement of reputation for the university ... the flow through of students to mainstream programs and the knowledge international students bring to the university” (SUAd-6, 5/03), and on all counts the programs were deemed highly successful. Another administrator enthusiastically described the delivery of pathway programs as a ‘young industry’ where “demand at this stage far outstrips the vision and ability to supply.” (SUAd-4, 3/03)

Interestingly, it was the observations on the negative aspects of pathway programs that highlighted the nature of the relationship between the private provider and the universities. Those not closely linked with their provision were more forthright in their criticism. Michael Gallagher was very critical about universities setting up colleges as “cash cows ... [they] are milking them and don’t want to stop milking

them because they need the dollars.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) He was especially critical of the level of students that were recruited from Hong Kong. These students did not qualify for access to their own high schools but were being taken by Australian pathway colleges. The problem, as outlined by Gallagher, was that universities had a “short-term commercial view” where Australia “went out aggressively to take low hanging fruit and went for cash.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) This type of marketing, according to Gallagher, had to be balanced with the “longer strategic view of the government”, otherwise “Australia would keep going for low quality volume which would not help the country in 20 years time in trade or diplomatic networks.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03) However, Gallagher tempered these comments by referring to ‘best practice’ and other advantages of the Australian pathway system that allowed articulation to university from a number of different pathways: “Other countries don’t have such well articulated systems so that is a marketing advantage, but then universities have gone ‘down market’ to make that the bulk of their business.” (Michael Gallagher, 9/03)

All key stakeholders involved in the delivery of pathways were asked about the ‘lower entry standards’ in their overall assessment of the colleges and their response was often that ‘outcomes’ were the key. University administrators focused on maintaining quality control procedures such as ‘moderation’ and ‘tracking student results’. They monitored outcomes and ensured comparability with students who had entered directly: “We know the students are achieving at a slightly lower level than some other students. But in expanding our recruitment, it might have been the case that we would have gotten those students, eventually, anyway.” (SUAd-2, 6/03)

One unforeseen consequence of the ‘practice’ of pathway colleges was the recruitment of domestic students who after completing the college Diploma expected a ‘guaranteed’ university place, just as was offered to international students. This ‘guarantee’ was often difficult to give to domestic students as they were competing with other students wanting ‘Commonwealth Supported’ places in the second year of the course. This often caused ill feeling amongst domestic students and one university was forced to ask the provider not to recruit domestic students as they could not guarantee places. A university administrator described the issue as follows:

Something we are examining in more detail now is that as the pathway programs start to develop a domestic component (as well as an international component) you start having an issue with access to places. I think that’s the main issue we’ve seen as negative. It’s mainly about Australian students coming through the pathway and expecting a guaranteed place. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

From the perspective of the private provider, there were no disadvantages except that they were linked with the university and relied on their prestigious profile to recruit students. Therefore, when the university did something that they believed compromised that profile the pathway college and relationship was in jeopardy: “The university has done some things in China that concern me a lot. But you have to have a level of trust. The problem is that because they have used our image and have linked us to the university people think it is us.” (PP-3, 5/03)

This is an interesting ‘role reversal’ comment because with most university stakeholders and public servants there was usually a tenor in the interviews that it was the university that might ‘suffer’ in profile through the ‘bad’ behaviour of the private provider. On the contrary, this illustrates that, in fact, the private provider has

much more to lose in the compromise of their university partners' profile because their colleges' survival relies so heavily on that university's reputation.

Predictions relating specifically to pathway colleges were on the whole optimistic. The universities' funding plight was cited as an environment where the private provider and university relationship would flourish, and with Australia's quality assured articulation system, the environment was a healthy one for continued assurances to international students.

The future of the private provider, whether in offering pathway programs or other courses, was predicted to be a very healthy one. Private providers themselves discussed the setting up of private universities where "teaching is the focus and putting together a high quality teaching institution." (PP-3, 5/03) Another provider predicted that first year courses (in the guise of the Diploma in pathway colleges) would eventually take over the teaching of all first years, both international and domestic:

It's going to go down the American way ... like their community colleges ... the private sector in Australia will provide the first year equivalent for almost all university programs apart from engineering and sciences. They [the universities] need us because we feed thousands of students in and we carry the cost, we do all of the marketing, they don't pay us commission. So, they give us the first year but they are going to move up higher. We all know where it is going and it fits in with everyone. (PP-4, 5/04)

University administrators unequivocally supported the view that private providers were important to the university, as these following quotes attest:

Collaboration with the private sector will be absolutely fundamental in the next 20 years in the provision of international higher education. ... I think collaboration will be very strong in terms of investment of capital, strategies in getting students here, marketing, channelling and modes of delivery. (SUAd-2, 6/03)

I think they are here to stay. I think the challenge for us as Australian universities as we go down the deregulated path is to retain partnership arrangements. I'm sure that we will see, over time, that some of our partners will establish themselves internationally and franchise intellectual property from somewhere else in the world. So I think the challenge for us is to develop and nurture the relationships. (SUAd-6, 5/03)

Undeniably, the pathway program model analysed in this study is an exercise in the commercialisation of the tertiary sector. This opportunity was provided through the formulation of a policy that allowed the recruitment of international fee-paying students. In narrow terms, the interview data indicate that this particular manifestation of 'the policy' in practice can be deemed a success, in that it is meeting its key objectives. Universities are increasing enrolments of international students, earning an income and, as results will show in Chapter 6, are not sacrificing quality. Disadvantages that were cited by respondents were those that, in fact, are part of a more extensive challenge facing universities. That is, understanding and managing the commercialisation of their sector. Overall, the assessment of the 'practice of pathway programs' is only one of the many facets of the commercialisation of the tertiary sector through the recruitment of international fee-paying students. The broader analysis for any university in such a relationship should lead to a myriad of questions. Not least of which is, how is the income from pathway programs and internationalisation, overall, being used in this university? Is the income sustaining and nurturing the quality of the tertiary system on which it depends so heavily, or is it depleting the foundation on which it rests?

Conclusion

This chapter has tracked the interrogation of the policy process from a macro or national level through to a micro ‘localised’ perspective. The interrogation led to three major themes, namely, issues, consequences and evaluation, which emerged from a range of key stakeholders who were involved at the inception of ‘the policy’ through to the present day. The investigation into significant issues allowed exploration of these questions: which influences were evident in ‘the policy’ practices; who put ‘the policy’ into practice and why?

In the key issues of quality assurance and the marketing of international education, both the Commonwealth and the state government of Western Australia provided frameworks that allowed a fledgling export industry to flourish. Although there were examples of similar practices in place in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada, these two tiers of Australian government learnt from *local* circumstances, albeit as a *post ad hoc* response. In addition, the existing ‘climate’ or ‘culture’ both in education and immigration provided the basis on which decisions were made to implement ‘the policy’. Australia, in the mid-1980s, had a public tertiary education system that was of a high standard, and it was ‘a given’ with those stakeholders making early decisions that this excellent standard would prevail. When it did not prevail in the private sector, immediate measures in the form of ESPRA initially and then ESOS were put into place to make accountable public institutions and, to a greater extent, private institutions. This research demonstrated that tension existed and continues to exist with the Commonwealth government’s ‘steering’ role in quality control and its immigration policies. Australia’s history of ‘strict’ immigration guidelines has influenced, to this day, the requirement for obtaining a

student visa, and continues to frustrate both the public and private education providers. This ‘culture’ for strong immigration surveillance was, and still is, very much characteristic of Australia’s export of education services. The events of September 11 and subsequent terrorist bombings have exacerbated the situation.

In relation to marketing, the Commonwealth and state governments responded quickly to implementing a marketing strategy. As discussed in Chapter 2, compared to the United Kingdom and the United States, Australia is regarded as being far more aggressive in its marketing of education. Initially, Australia looked to the British Council model, but the generic marketing of Australian culture has never matched that of the British. Australia has never pursued this aspect of marketing in the same way as the British Council and to this day there is debate as to whether Australia should refocus on that lost opportunity. As markets become more competitive and students more sophisticated in their assessments, a British Council model may need to be resurrected. What did develop, however, was a uniquely vigorous Australian model that depended heavily on: its own agents through International Development Programs (IDP); private overseas agents; AUSTRADE and IDP trade fairs; state agents in the form of Western Australian Education Offices in key markets; and in Western Australia road shows specifically planned by WAIMEG and later on PEC. This study also showed that the development of marketing strategies was, and continues to be, significantly influenced by the private sector, not only in the pathway courses they have to offer but also in the expertise and private enterprise culture they bring to the export of Australia’s higher education.

The study reveals that the pathway model discussed in this study is distinctively Australian and quintessentially a *local* response to the possibilities a policy created (Ball, 1997) but did not dictate. This articulation model has been able to flourish specifically because international students can be confident in a system that is nationally accredited through the AQF and nationally monitored for quality assurance through ESOS. Through this microanalysis of ‘the policy’ in practice, I have highlighted the development of the co-operation between the private and public tertiary education sector. In exploring to what extent the policy was actively or passively resisted, the interviews revealed that the implementation of the model “was contrary to the culture” (SUAd-2, 6/03) and required a shift in the management culture of both universities. This was a *local* response and decision to persevere with the challenges this presented. Unlike many proposals related to international education that had hitherto grown from a ‘divisional’ initiative, this pathway model required ‘central’ control and approval in the first instance. Divisions had to be persuaded of the benefits to the whole university in ‘franchising’ their intellectual property and that quality would prevail. Equally, they were concerned about allowing a private provider on campus. Although the proposals went through the standard committee system to Council for approval, the process created three negotiating groups, the university administration, the divisions and the private provider; or interestingly in some instances only two, the university administration with the private provider and the Divisions. One university respondent (SUAd-2, 6/03) described the process of central ‘initiative’ as one that indicated maturity and readiness to achieve the necessary commercial outcomes for the university.

There is no doubt that the commercialisation of the tertiary sector through ‘the policy’ has produced a ‘double edged sword’ and some unintended consequences. Australian universities have been able to supplant Commonwealth recurrent funding, but simultaneously this financial dependence on international students has “brought its fair share of significant problems as well.” (SUnA-1, 9/03) Interviews revealed considerable difference in the assessments of administrators and academics of ‘the policy’. There was consensus that international education had provided Australian higher education the opportunity to internationalise its campuses with all the cultural and social benefits that involves. However, academic concerns highlight the challenge for the future. That is, to continue to develop the now entrenched and indispensable commercialisation activities with the imperative to retain quality and academic integrity.

Finally, there remains the question of overall evaluation for one particular aspect of the implementation of ‘the policy’, that is, the pathway model in this research. It can be said that this implementation by Universities A and B is an example of ‘the policy’ not being ‘transformed’ as Vidovich (2002b) might suggest, but it was extended and ‘interpreted’ in a distinct way to accommodate commercialisation objectives. In terms of these objectives, the assessment by both university administrators was that they have been ‘winners’ in this policy implementation. They were very clear in the criteria used to assess the pathway courses, “recruitment of students, generation of capital and academic performance” (SUAd-2, 6/03) and “financial success, enhancement of reputation for the university, flow through of students ... and the knowledge international students bring to the university.” (SUAd-6, 5/03) Those who were more removed from the financial benefits and

decision makers of the universities were less effusive about pathway programs and emphasised commercialisation and the possible lowering of academic standards. The next chapter will take up this latter point. What is worthy of note is that all respondents acknowledged that collaboration between universities and private providers would be a significant feature of Australian higher education in the future.

In conclusion there remains the final question of the interrogation process outlined at the beginning of this chapter. That is, whether there have been any predictable effects or consequences of 'the policy'. The interviewees indicated certain positive and negative consequences or effects, which have been discussed, for example, the focus on commercialisation, the overdependence on international students and therefore the threat to academic standards. On the positive side, respondents reported the internationalisation of campuses, the ability to attract top students from all over the world, and the contribution Australia makes to the international arena, politically and culturally, as a result of international education. However, from the point of view of this study, what is more revealing is the effect the private provider has had on the context of practice for 'the policy' cycle. From the inception of 'the policy' the role of the private provider in Australia, and specifically Western Australia, has been both significant and their success unprecedented. The study has traced only one provider, but in Australia there are many more that could have been studied, that have been similarly successful and have taken their models offshore.

From an academic perspective, the specialised pathway programs devised specifically for international students and accredited against the AQF offer not only seamless articulation to higher education but advanced standing into the second year

of a course. Although not exclusive to the private provider, certainly it is this sector that has dominated the market and been responsible for Australia's success in attracting pre-tertiary students internationally. Similarly, in the export and marketing of the industry, the private provider has significantly influenced marketing strategies in English language, pre-tertiary and tertiary courses. The predictions for international education in Australia are that this role will become even more substantial as universities diversify activities both onshore and offshore. The interrogation process therefore revealed that this considerable contribution of the private provider in the implementation of 'the policy' was both unprecedented and an unpredicted outcome.

Chapter 6

The Policy Cycle – Contexts of Practice

The Students' Perspective

Introduction

This chapter offers a deeper understanding of the *local* responses that shape policy implementation by reporting on the students' perspective on the context of practice as stakeholders of one aspect of 'the policy'. This micro level scrutiny of the policy process exposes how the end user, the student, impacts on the evolution of pathway programs. The decisions students make and the evaluation of their experiences become an integral part of the policy cycle. This chapter also deals with the aspect of quality in pathway programs, which was an obvious concern expressed by respondents in the previous chapter.

The data gathering for this chapter occurred in the second half of 2003. To address the issue of quality, students were asked to complete a questionnaire, which assessed different aspects of their programs, for example, why they chose to enroll in the pathway colleges and whether their expectations were met. The questionnaire content for both groups of students was essentially the same, with a slight difference in the mainstream instrument, which gave students an opportunity to reflect retrospectively on their pathway college experience. In addition, I have included a brief commentary

(on the data available at the time of writing) analyzing the academic success of pathway students who had articulated to mainstream university courses in both Universities A and B.

To ensure anonymity, the students who had already articulated to mainstream courses were sent emails, by the respective university administration, inviting them to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix B²) on-line. It was difficult to determine accurate numbers of the potential cohort as this depended on the universities' data bases, which had only recently been programmed to track pathway students and were not completely reliable. Estimates based on anecdotal information and informal tracking suggest that the number of students from the pathway colleges in mainstream at that time, were about 900 for University A and about 850 for University B. However, in total, University A sent emails to 293 students with about 60 failed messages returning, and University B sent out 350 notices to students with about 60 returning as failed messages. These failed messages were obviously due to students not updating the universities' databases with current email addresses. In total, this exercise produced 149 student responses, 50 from University A and 99 from University B, although not all students responded to all questions.

In addition, questionnaires (see Appendix B¹) were administered to 165 students who were currently studying in the colleges, 77 from University A and 88 from University B. All current college students participating in the research were chosen according to availability at the time, and the majority came from Diploma classes. This decision was made for two reasons. Firstly, to ensure that English levels were sufficiently proficient to fully comprehend the content of the questionnaire, and

secondly, because generally Diploma students had been at the colleges for a longer time. All students participating were invited to take part, but also given an opportunity to decline. When they agreed to take part they signed a consent form, which was collected and kept separately from the questionnaires.

Analysis of the questionnaires was carried out according to whether students were mainstream or current respondents, rather than separate analysis for each college. This decision was made after initial analysis, which revealed there was no significant difference in responses from the two colleges. The SPSS program was used to generate frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for all mainstream and pathway respondents. This was done for all variables including the multiple response questions relating to problems students may have experienced.

Student Profiles

The first five questions focused on background data providing a profile of each student. The majority of students involved in the research were aged between 18 and 23 years, and the following table provides a profile of the students' country of origin, and linguistic and academic backgrounds.

Table 7 Summary of Student Profiles (Top Four)

Profile	Pathway Students N=165 Percent	Mainstream Students N=149 Percent
Country of Origin	Other – 21 Hong Kong – 19 Indonesia – 16 Malaysia – 15	Indonesia – 21 Malaysia – 15 Hong Kong – 14 Singapore – 10
First Language	English – 27 Cantonese – 20 Mandarin – 17 Indonesian – 16	English – 34 Indonesian – 19 Cantonese – 15 Mandarin – 11
Academic Entry Qualification	Other – 47 GCE ‘O’ levels – 15 HKKCE – 11 Senior Middle – 7	GCE ‘O’ levels – 27 GCE ‘A’ levels – 24 SMU 3 – 24 HKKCE – 11
English Entry Qualification	Other – 34 IELTS – 31 GCE ‘O’ level – 16 SPM English – 11	IELTS – 40 GCE ‘O’ level – 32 TOEFL – 17 SPM – 11

The table shows that ‘other’ rates highly in the country of origin category (21%) for current pathway students. Examples of countries listed for this category were Seychelles, Brunei, Japan, Thailand, Korea and Sri Lanka. The data also show that 27% of students listed ‘English’ as their first language. This can be explained in that Singapore and Malaysian students have been educated in an English-speaking high school system. It is evident from the above profile that in Western Australia the key markets for pathway programs in these colleges are Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and, to a lesser extent, China.

The academic entry qualifications reflect the standard high school certificates of these countries, for example GCE ‘O’ and ‘A’ levels for Malaysia and Singapore, Sekolah Menengah Umum (SMU) for Indonesia, Hong Kong Certificate of

Education Examination (HKKCE) for Hong Kong, and Senior Middle for China. However, the range of qualifications listed in the 'other' category also accounts for diversity in the available pool of students for these courses and the range of courses available to international students to access Australian higher education. For example, qualifications in this 'other' category included various Australian Foundation courses offered offshore and onshore, either by universities or private providers; tertiary entrance exams from a range of states, some offered offshore; and Certificate IV, offered through private colleges or Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges, both onshore and offshore. This range also accounts for the 34% cited in the 'other' category for English qualifications as most of the above courses carry with them an English proficiency level.

Student Expectations and Experience

It is ultimately the student experience that completes the policy cycle process in this investigation, because it provides a different perspective and therefore a better understanding of the implications of 'practice' in a *local* setting. With this objective in mind, in the second section of the questionnaire students were asked to deliberate on their experience in the colleges. Questions included those relating to:

- Factors that influenced their choice of college.
- Expectations they held, both academic and social.
- Whether these expectations had been met.
- How they evaluated their experience.

The first question in this category asked students to ‘reflect on the influences that affected their choice to enrol in a particular college’. Students were provided with a scale that ranged from ‘not an influence at all’, ‘a little influence’, ‘some influence’ and a ‘big influence’. The percentages below combined the responses of ‘some influence’ and a ‘big influence’ on student choice and then the pathway students’ responses were put in order from biggest to least influence. The numbers in parenthesis for the mainstream group indicate their order of influence.

Table 8 Influences Affecting Choice of College

(Response to: ‘Below are some reasons that may have influenced your decision to do a course at the college. Please circle the answer which best describes your situation.’)

Influences	Pathway Students N=165 Percent	Mainstream Students N=149 Percent
Offered best Pathway Courses	66	84 *(1)
Destination	62	62 *(4)
Reputation of the Partner University	59	69 *(3)
Agent Recommendation	44	52 *(5)
Trimester System	42	70 *(2)
Reputation of the College	39	31 *(6)
Couldn’t get anything else I liked	30	31 *(6)
Friend’s Recommendation	25	27 *(7)

*Denotes order of influence. 1 = biggest.

The data show that for the pathway students the top three influencing factors for choosing the college were the ‘offer of courses’, ‘destination’ and ‘reputation of the partner university’. For the mainstream students it was also the ‘offer of courses’

followed by 'trimester system' and the 'reputation of the partner university'. From a marketing perspective it is interesting to note that the 'agent recommendation' rated either fourth or fifth for the two groups, which indicates that agents have a substantial role to play in the choice of study destination. The 'trimester system' rated fifth for pathway students, but registered as much more of an influence (second) for the mainstream group. 'Not being able to get anything else' was evidently not a significant influence as was the 'friend's recommendation' for either group.

It is evident that the overwhelming influence for students is the perception that they are choosing the best articulation to a university. Comments accompanying this question reveal that most students had either failed to make the university academic cut off scores, or they viewed this pathway as an efficient alternative. This was expressed by one student as, "the college offered me the opportunity to study and become prepared for university studies, as well as providing direct entry into second year of my chosen degree at" In addition, the reputation of the partner university rated higher than the reputation of the college, as stated by another student, "My family knew the University's reputation and did not feel that we needed to look elsewhere."

This view was reinforced in another question asking current students directly 'why the college was chosen'. For this question students were given three reasons why they chose the college, because of its reputation, because of the reputation of the partner university or because of the reputation of both college and university. Table 9

illustrates that the majority of students (55%) chose the college because the partner university had a good reputation.

Table 9 Why was the pathway college chosen?

(Response to: ‘Why did you choose the college?’)

Why did you choose the college?	Pathway students N=165 Percent
The University has a good reputation	55
Both the college and the university have a good reputation	32
The college has a good reputation	13
Total	100

The above confirms the discussion in the previous chapter where it was evident that the university’s profile is crucial to the partner’s success and an essential ingredient in the collaboration. The maintenance of a symbiotic relationship between provider and university is vital. The university depends upon the provider’s marketing expertise and resources for its student pipeline, and the provider depends upon the university’s reputation. Consequently, a close marketing alliance exists to promote the colleges.

The next set of questions asked students to reflect on their expectations of the college. A list of objectives was presented and students were asked their degree of importance. The range of response offered was from ‘extremely important’, ‘very important’, ‘some importance’ and ‘not important at all’. Table 10 summarises the

findings for each group and the percentage quoted combines results for ‘extremely important’ and ‘very important’.

Table 10 Student Expectations of the Colleges

(Response to: ‘This question requires you to think about what you expect the college to provide for you. Please think about the statements below and indicate how important each statement is for you by circling the most appropriate answer.’)

Expectations	Pathway Students N=165 Percent	Mainstream Students N=149 Per Cent
To obtain a place at university	88	93
Preparation for university studies	88	86
Improve study skills	77	76
Access to university facilities	64	73
Improve their English	59	53
Meet and socialise with new people	53	55
To meet Australian students	30	32

It is to be expected that for the majority of students ‘obtaining a university place’ is a high priority, each group rating this as their priority in terms of expectations. What is more interesting is that students do have high expectations of the colleges in ‘preparing them for university studies’, rating it second, and in ‘improving study skills’, rating it third. It is also apparent that students rate ‘access to university facilities’ quite highly, at fourth. This rating indicates that the colleges being on a university campus is a great attraction, offering students the lifestyle that a university has to offer. The social aspects of university life did not rate highly as an expectation, either sixth or seventh. It is also evident that ‘meeting new people’ including local

students is not seen as a priority; although, as is illustrated below some students did take the opportunity to make comments about this aspect of their pathway college experience.

In an attempt to enrich the data, mainstream students who had completed their studies at the colleges were asked to reflect, with a forced response of 'yes' or 'no', whether the expectations listed in the above table had been met. In addition, these data were analysed further to reveal whether 'first language other than English' was a significant factor in expectations not being met. Table 11 summarises this response indicating the number of students who answered each part of the question.

Table 11 Have expectations been met?

(Response to: 'Please indicate whether this expectation was met.')

Expectations of Mainstream Students N=149 Percent	Importance of Expectation Percent	Expectations Met Percent		
		Yes	No	Percentage of 'No' cases whose first language was not English
To obtain a place at university	93 N=133	97 N=85	3	100
Preparation for university studies	86 N=133	71 N=85	29	68
Improve study skills	76 N=137	73 N=84	27	61
Access to university facilities	73 N=132	80 N=83	20	82 $X^2(1) = 5.761, p < 0.05$
Meet and socialise with new people	55 N=131	87 N=85	13	91 $X^2(1) = 5.726, p < 0.05$
Improve their English	53 N=135	60 N=79	40	63
To meet Australian students	32 N=127	53 N=80	47	74 $X^2(1) = 5.647, p < 0.05$

It is to be expected that 'obtaining a university place' would rate highly as all students responding to the questionnaire were in mainstream courses. The rating for expectations met with 'preparation for university studies' and 'improving study skills' is a positive outcome, with 71% and 73% of students stating that their expectations had been met. At first glance, the figure of only 60% of mainstream students confirming their English had improved at the college is disappointing. However, in considering this statistic, it is also important to note that 39% of mainstream students listed English as their first language.

However, it is interesting to note the data on whether first language was a significant factor in meeting expectations. A chi square analysis revealed that the relationship between students whose first language was not English and expectations not being met was significant in three areas. Students who were less confident with English were less likely to use university facilities, socialise with new people and meet Australian students on the campus. When given the opportunity to make comments on the questionnaires, some students expressed disappointment regarding this aspect. Students were asked: 'In what ways could the college have prepared you better for the university experience?' Of the total mainstream cohort, 42% took the opportunity to respond to this question and about 5% of these students made comments related to wanting more social events and or meeting more local students: "Getting more local students and have more school events to meet new people." "More social activities organised and sports because I felt quite isolated."

It would be better if ... promoted the Guild and joining clubs so that the students get to meet other students and also for people whose first language is not English, it would give them an opportunity to improve their English.

The above comments confirm the concerns academics expressed in the previous chapter that the social and cultural aspects of internationalisation and social harmony have yet to be addressed fully. It also strengthens the view that pathway programs on campus do not necessarily contribute proactively to this internationalisation objective.

Other comments worthy of note with regard to better preparation related to the transition from the college to university, with a focus on the academic aspects of the

university experience. Of the 42% who responded to this question 35% chose to comment on how well or otherwise they had been prepared for course content, lecturing styles and assessment. These comments were equally divided where students took the opportunity to endorse the transition experience or criticise it for not being effective. The latter groups believed their pathway college experience was too much like high school and that not enough had been done to expose them to university lecturing styles, the difficulty of second year units and the expectations of university life.

The student experience was further explored in the questionnaire by asking what the most common problems were that students had encountered in the pathway colleges. A list of problems was provided and students were invited to indicate whether they had experienced any of them. They were also asked to add problems if they had not been listed. The figures below indicate the percentage of students from each group who encountered the following problems. For pathway students, the list ranges from problems encountered by most students to the least. For mainstream students, the numbers in parenthesis indicate the order from most encountered to least encountered.

It is interesting to note that in Table 12 both mainstream and current students were preoccupied with their own personal study experience, for example, 'studying enough' and 'organising time', with over half listing these as problems. All students had a common experience related to 'living away from home', rating this either fourth or fifth. Mainstream students rated 'getting assignments in on time' and 'understanding lecturers' as fifth and sixth, although these results could be

influenced by their then current university experience. 'Making new friends' was obviously not an issue for the students, nor was 'studying in a large university', rating this as the least encountered problem as eighth or last.

Table 12 Most common problems encountered by pathway students

(Response to: 'The following statements represent some problems that students have when they first commence studying in pre-tertiary colleges. Could you please indicate by ✓ the boxes provided, whether you have had any of the following problems.')

Problems	Pathway Students N=165 Percent	Mainstream Students N=149 Percent
Studying enough	56	54 *(2)
Organising time	52	56 *(1)
Improving English	41	37 *(5)
Understanding what is expected	39	49 *(3)
Living away from home	36	45 *(4)
Understanding the language in units	35	29 *(7)
Understanding lecturers	34	37 *(5)
Getting assignments in on time	32	37 *(5)
Making new friends	29	31 *(6)
Studying in a large university	19	24 *(8)

*Denotes most encountered to least. 1 = most encountered.

Assessing the Quality of the Experience

Overall, the purpose of the above questions was to give students an opportunity to reflect on their time in the pathway colleges. The next set of questions focused on the

quality of that experience and how they evaluated it. In an attempt to report on the total academic experience, a series of questions was asked of the two groups. Firstly, current students were asked whether they ‘would recommend the college to other students’ with a forced response of ‘yes’ or ‘no’.

Table 13 Recommendation of the College to Other Students

(Response to: ‘Would you recommend the college to other students?’)

Response	Pathway Students N=165 Percent
Yes	89
No	11
Total	100

The above responses indicated that almost 90% of pathway students would recommend the college to other students. In addition, all students were asked to rate the quality of education they had experienced to date at the college on a six point Likert scale ranging from ‘very bad’, ‘bad’, ‘fair’, ‘good’, ‘very good’ and ‘excellent’. The following table summarises the results cited by students from ‘very bad’ to ‘excellent’, showing that about 80% rated the quality of education received between the range of ‘good’, ‘very good’ or ‘excellent’.

Table 14 Quality of education received at the college

(Response to: ‘The quality of education I am receiving at the college is...’)

Response	Pathway Students N=165 Percent	Mainstream Students N=149 Percent
Very bad	1	1
Bad	3	3
Fair	16	14
Good	42	39
Very good and Excellent	38	43
Total	100	100

As mainstream students had completed their pathway studies they were also asked to reflect and consider the academic quality of the pathway experience. The first question in this series was: ‘How well did you feel the college prepared you for studies within the university environment?’ Students had an option to indicate on a four point Likert scale of ‘not well at all’, ‘just ok’, ‘well’ and ‘very well’. Also on the assumption that these students would mix with other students who had been through different pathway programs, they were asked whether they were better or less prepared than those students. Tables 15 and 16 summarise these findings.

Table 15 Preparation for the university environment

(Response to: ‘How well did the college prepare you for studies within the university environment?’)

Response	Mainstream Students N=149 Percent
Not well at all	4
Just OK	39
Well	39
Very well	18
Total	100

Table 16 Better or less prepared than other students

(Response to: ‘Do you feel better or less prepared than students who came to university via other pathways?’)

Response	Mainstream Students N=149 Per Cent
Much better prepared	15
Better prepared	48
Less prepared	13
Don’t know	24
Total	100

Overall, about 57% of students rated their preparation either ‘well’ or ‘very well’, and about 63% believed they were ‘better prepared’ than their peers who had attended other pathway programs. In an open question, all mainstream students were also asked to provide comments on the strengths and weaknesses of the colleges. Of

the total cohort, 40% (60 students) of mainstream students commented on weaknesses and 33% (49 students) commented on strengths. Overall, 10% of students who made observations on weaknesses did not like the four-hour teaching modules; although, in another question 70% of students remarked that this feature was 'successful' or 'very successful'. The only other notable statistic in this analysis is that 17% of students took the opportunity to remark on the fact that there were no weaknesses. In terms of strengths, 37% of students who made comments welcomed the small classes the colleges offered and 35% took the opportunity to single out good lecturing. In addition, 18% believed that the trimester system offered them the opportunity to complete their courses quickly and 10% felt the colleges offered them a good transition to university.

In assessing the student experience, the data show that, overall, the students have made a positive evaluation. The main objective of students in the research was to gain a place in the university of their choice through a pathway college, and in that aspect about 90% of students agreed that this had been met. However, from the data on student expectations there is also strong evidence to indicate that the expectation of students is that the college will not only find them a place within a university but also 'add value' through the development of certain necessary skills, that is, in the: development of study skills, improvement of English and preparation for university studies. Overall, the data indicate that the colleges have met student expectations quite well in all these aspects.

The evaluation that students gave on the quality of education they received was also positive. About 90% of current students stated that they would recommend the

college to other students, and both mainstream and current students rated the quality of education highly, 82% and 80% respectively on a scale from 'good' to 'excellent'.

Considering the 'value adding' students are seeking from pathway colleges, one would have the expectation that the figures from Table 15, on 'preparation for the university environment', would have been better (57% rating 'well' and 'very well'). Comments offered by the students in this section, highlight the difficulty international students face in adapting to the expectations of a western tertiary environment and all that entails.

Student Tracking

At the outset of this research I had intended to include figures on academic tracking of students once they had been in mainstream within Universities A and B. However, upon scrutiny of data from both universities, it was apparent that the 'tagging' of students on the respective databases was a recent event. Therefore, the data were neither entirely reliable nor presented in a comparable way. However, I have decided to include the data I was able to access from the universities at the time, but the commentary that follows is presented by way of description rather than analysis.

University A released a university wide research paper through its Learning and Development Services which analysed the progression of students in mainstream who had articulated from its various pathways. These included both international and Australian fee-paying students from the pathway college. Although these comparisons are not comprehensive, a summary of the findings are included below.

The tracking of students from the pathway college established that since second semester 1999 approximately 891 students (including Australian fee-paying students) had accessed University A through this articulation. Those that had entered the university in 2003 were excluded, as they would not have had the time to complete units. The following table summarizes the data available.

Table 17 Academic Tracking of University A Pathway students

Status	Pathway College Australian Percent	Pathway College International Percent
Graduated (Grad)	11	27
Good Standing (GS)	44	41
Conditional (Cond)	14	9
Retention: Grad, GS & Cond Course Average	69 56.8	77 57.8

Source: 'University A' (2003, Apr 16) Learning and Development Services University Preparation.

Examination of Table 17 reveals that from semester two 1999 to semester two 2002, 11% of Australian pathway students compared to 27% of international pathway students had graduated from their undergraduate degree course. The overall retention of international students from the college was 77% with a course average of 57.8 compared to 69% retention for Australian pathway students achieving a course average of 56.8% course average. The authors of these results concede serious gaps in the data available and make strong recommendations for more reliable tracking in the future.

University B was able to provide more comprehensive tracking of pathway students once they had entered the mainstream. Keeping in mind that Diploma students gain access to the second year of the degree, and their initial progress in mainstream is compared to other students who are in second year of their degree also. Table 18 compares the semester-weighted average of pathway students in semester one of second year with international students in mainstream in the same semester and year who gained either direct access or access through pathways, other than the one that is being researched in this study. It would have been useful to compare this pathway cohort with students who had entered via other similar pathways, but that data were not available. Courses that had an enrolment of 10 or more students have been included.

Table 18 Comparison of pathway students in mainstream and international mainstream students who gained direct access (second year, semester one 2004 results).

Course Name	Pathway College		Non Pathway College	
	Student Count	Average of SWA	Student Count	Average of SWA
Bachelor of Commerce	228	56.69	216	57.91
Bachelor of Arts	27	54.50	57	63.42
Bachelor Arts (Design)	22	53.39	48	63.51
Bachelor of Arts (Mass Communication)	15	61.06	18	60.49
Bachelor of Science (Computer Science)	10	47.42	11	54.77
	302	54.61	350	60.02

The most significant results above are those of students in the Bachelor of Commerce as the numbers being compared are over 200. The tracking for this course indicates that the semester-weighted average for pathway students is slightly below the non-pathway cohort, but not significantly so. The Bachelor of Arts pathway students scored about 9% lower and the Design students 10% lower. This trend is maintained in the Bachelor of Science with pathway students scoring about 7% lower than their counterparts. However, in Mass Communication the pathway students scored slightly higher than the non-pathway students. The next step in this process would be to track and compare completion rates. However, these figures were not available at the time of writing.

Conclusion

The above data on the student experience provide a micro level perspective on the policy cycle and how the students as the 'end users' of policy impact upon it. There has been a considerable conceptual distance travelled from evaluating 'the policies' context of influence (global to local) to this level of analysis in the context of practice. The rationale for this analysis exists in the explanation and meaning it provides to the evolution of the policy process, that is, from influence to practice. The deregulation of international student recruitment is a policy, which finds its genesis in global neoliberal economic and social ideology, and the development of pathway programs within universities is a direct result of a *local* response to that ideology. The student experience and the evaluation of that experience provide one perspective on the impact and consequences of 'the policy' in practice. Ultimately, the results discussed in this chapter offer a rationale and reasons for both the continuation and changes that occurred within the policy cycle.

Overall, the data indicated that the student experience in the pathway colleges is a positive one. Students have clear objectives in choosing this type of course, which includes not only the access to a place in the university but also the development of the necessary skills to do well in their mainstream courses. The majority of students evaluated the quality of the pathway experience highly. Of all students questioned, 90% agreed that they would recommend the colleges and about 80% evaluated the quality of education between 'good' and 'excellent'. Over 50% of mainstream students believed that they had been prepared 'well' or 'very well' and 'better' than their peers. The formula of small classes and the trimester system were considered positively as were the 'good lecturers'. It was evident that the majority of students chose the college on the basis of the partner university's reputation, but also with expectations that they would receive preparation for university life, an aspect that should not be underestimated.

Although the data indicated that the majority of students believed their academic expectations had been met, social expectations did not rate as highly, especially amongst those students whose first language was not English. Pathway colleges do not necessarily improve the social harmony aspect of internationalisation, an objective that interview data revealed, and was not necessarily a primary goal of these colleges.

In relation to long term outcomes and the tracking of mainstream students who came from pathway programs, there is much more to be done by the universities in question. This tracking is a key factor in responding to the concerns expressed in the previous chapter regarding quality. The continuing success of pathway programs

from an academic perspective cannot be evaluated fully until reliable longitudinal studies are in train. It is also imperative that the social and cultural benefits of internationalisation be considered more fully in the offering of pathway programs as an example of 'the policy'. This will enable an evaluation of the ultimate impact of one *local* response of 'the policy' cycle and its context of practice, confirming that the implications of any policy are very much long term and evolving.

Chapter 7

The Policy Cycle – Conclusion

Introduction

Since the mid-1980s the recruitment of international fee-paying students by universities has changed the Australian tertiary sector dramatically. Guided by Ball's (1990-1998) policy analysis theory, this study mapped the policy cycle that led to these changes, focusing on factors that influenced policy making and implementation. The roles of particular discourses and stakeholders were presented and then using microanalysis, it was evident that *glonacal* factors influenced policy creation and implementation. These influences were ad hoc and trajectory due to the nature of the policy process and its dependence on key players.

The policy cycle depended on all the players, their influence, their role in implementation and, more significantly, it depended on how these players responded at any one particular time or within a particular context. A macro and microanalysis, therefore, captured these responses, and contributed to an understanding of policy creation and development.

Through the literature review I ascertained that the exploration of Ball's (1990a) contexts of influence, discourse and practice for 'the policy' in question could be framed within the overarching ideologies and discourses of globalisation,

neoliberalism and internationalisation. With further refinement offered by the Vidovich (2002b) model, I extended the theoretical framework to include a glonacal perspective (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). This level of exploration, with particular emphasis on the 'localised complexity' to which Ozga (1990) refers, allowed for an in depth analysis that acknowledged the 'constraints' and 'agency' of policy actors at all levels (Vidovich, 2004). The data captured a particular point in time as perceived by the players within one particular context, acknowledging that 'truth' was interpreted from what was conveyed but also more importantly what was not spoken and from what was excluded or included (Ball, 1990b).

This chapter summarizes the key findings of this exploration, and presents a synthesis of the influences and practices that affected 'the policy'. This is an acknowledgement that after an extensive microanalysis, a Foucauldian view emerged where power is seen as decentralised "as it disperses throughout institutions and processes" (Vidovich, 2004, p. 5). To a greater extent the analysis confirmed Ball's (1993) theory that it was not always possible to definitively describe the role of these players or actors, according to a hierarchical structure and separate contexts. Players' influence was often ad hoc and trajectory in nature, depending upon the policy cycle, "there was no simple one direction of flow of information (p.16). For example, the export of educational services, under the guise of alumni professional development, was offered by the Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT) before 'the policy' deregulated international student recruitment for commercial gain. This raised the question as to whether the Commonwealth and its public servants responded to the actions of a few individuals or whether in fact 'the policy' would have been created without these influences. So through microanalysis, I was able to

offer an account of how the key stakeholders contributed to the policy and to make a more subtle distinction in the “power differentials between policy actors” (Vidovich, 2004, p. 16).

The key influences or ‘players’ that emerged are identified as moving from a continuum of macro to micro influence as outlined in Chapter 3. The various roles in both influence and practice were not equal. Each had its own continuum where the roles sometimes overlapped and sometimes were separate, illustrating the trajectory nature of policy. Firstly, *glonacal* influences, that is, neoliberalism, globalisation, internationalisation and commercialisation, were paramount in forming ‘the policy’ in both influence and practice. The role of the ‘state’, that is, at a Commonwealth and state level, was also crucial to the way in which global and national influences were interpreted, and as such, how ‘the policy’ evolved. In both influence and practice, the role of the individual is significant and can be juxtaposed with the role of universities. Further along the continuum, the involvement of the private provider illustrates the ad hoc nature of policy formation. That is, in terms of influencing policy, private providers had a negligible role, although in relation to ‘policy in practice’ their influence was fundamental to its implementation. The development of pathway programs was unique and has become a characteristic of internationalisation policy in Australia. Lastly, the cycle involves the students as stakeholders of ‘policy in practice’, and whilst this is identified as demonstrating micro influence, it is an influence that cannot be ignored in the evaluation of ‘the policy’.

Glonacal Influences

The influence of the *global* context cannot be underestimated in the evolution of ‘the

policy'. There were compelling global economic influences from the United Kingdom and the United States influencing the federal Labor government of the 1980s in its move toward economic rationalism. Although not traditionally conservative in its political and economic policies, the Labor government decided to allow market forces to take on a major role in economic management and pursued a neoliberal agenda for reform. The government followed a creed of trade liberalisation, reduction in public spending, scaling back the size of government and nation building through education. This latter aspect linked the idea of becoming a clever country with the knowledge society, a tenet central to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) policy prescriptives. Australia had joined this organisation in 1971, and educational leaders and researchers were recruited as consultants to positions on the Secretariat and as members of review panels (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2001a). It is well documented that the OECD had a significant influence on John Dawkins and his colleagues: "The change in the orientation of national education policy was acknowledged internationally: as early as March 1988, Australia was invited to chair a major OECD conference, Education and the Economy in a Changing Society" (p. 87).

This influence led me to explore the nature of this relationship and what part it played in the creation of 'the policy'. As described in Chapter 4, this relationship was not one directional, where the OECD influenced and the Australian government responded. Influence, as Ball (1990a) describes, works in a much more complex way. The OECD is influenced by its member states. In particular, Australians influenced the organisation with the various roles they undertook in the OECD and

with some of their unique policies, for example, the Higher Education Contributions Scheme (HECS). In the 1980s, Australia was led by the OECD and was also a leader in the pursuit of two not so compatible objectives in higher education, that is, the reduction of public spending and the massification of education. These objectives were pursued, however, with a view that was supported by the OECD at the time, that is, “in higher education the private return is higher than the social return and the student should pay.” (IA-5, 7/04)

With the introduction of international fee-paying students and the subsequent introduction of HECS, the Hawke government revolutionised the higher education sector in Australia and made an impact on world trends. Significantly, the HECS continues to be touted by the OECD as a fair and equitable model for funding the massification of the higher education sector. This confirms that in this policy cycle, the Australian federal government was ‘constrained’ by global influences, but also took the part of ‘agent’ in influencing international policies.

Another *global* influence for the federal government at the time of this deregulation was the significant role the United States and the United Kingdom played in international education. The success of these two countries in the recruitment of international students played a part in demonstrating to the government that the demand for international educational services had significant potential. Whilst these *global* influences were present, in due course, it became evident that ‘the policy’ created and implemented in Australia produced unique qualities in the recruitment of international students. Thus this demonstrated how the *local* interacted with the global (Harvey, 1990). As evident in the literature and the interview data, Australia

was far more vigorous than either the United States or the United Kingdom in the pursuit of international students, and amongst its peers “epitomized the entrepreneurial commercialization of higher education” (Rhoades & Smart, 1996, p. 151).

It was in fact a *global/local* factor (depending on how these terms are defined) that originated from South East Asia that in the end made possible Dawkins’ move to recruit fee-paying international students. These influences could be termed *global* in the sense that they were generated outside Australia, but could also be termed *local* when the proximity to Australia, and especially Western Australia, is considered. Through the Colombo Plan, Australia had provided higher education to South East Asia. However, the growing unmet demand in Singapore and Malaysia allowed it to move from an ‘aid to trade’ (Smart & Ang, 1993) policy. The Malaysian government had introduced an affirmative action strategy for its ‘Indigenous’ people, to the exclusion of its ethnic Chinese, and this had specific effects on access to higher education. In addition, in Singapore the demand for higher education far outstripped the supply for the growing education-focused middle class. These social economic environments provided Australia with a fertile ground for a robust export industry and enabled Dawkins to match pragmatics with his neoliberal ideology.

Significantly, all these global forces set the context for Australian higher education to become further “globally implicated” (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002, p. 288) and “re-conceptualised in tradable terms” (Rudner, 1997, as cited in Bennell & Pearce, 2003, p. 216). However, it must be reinforced that the meaning or importance of these forces can only be evaluated through their interaction with *national and local*

contexts. From a postmodern perspective, the *national or local* interacts and conflicts with the global and produces unique qualities (Harvey, 1990).

National influences in the creation of ‘the policy’ were firmly embedded in the macro economic reform undertaken by the Hawke government. This was confirmed through interviews with all key stakeholders. The expansion of the tertiary sector through reform was core to the government achieving its nation building objectives, and the introduction of international fee-paying students provided the financial resources to fund it. Senior advisors to Hawke and Dawkins reflected that ‘the policy’ was an initiative related to overarching internationalisation objectives. However, those at the *local* level believed otherwise. There is no doubt that the economic realities of universities in the early-1980s placed them in a position to look elsewhere for funding. Long before universities were permitted to recruit international fee-paying students, WAIT made a *local* decision to ‘assist’ alumni with professional development.

These *glonacal* influences, therefore, created the environmental context within which the state acted on policy. Economic *global* forces signalled to the *national* federal government that both reduced public sector spending and massification of education were essential. *Global* forces were in turn affected by the *national* views of Australian politicians and educators. Universities were under-funded and endeavoured to address this on a *local* level with an unmet demand for education in Singapore, and the federal government responded with ‘the policy’. Or was the federal government intending to implement ‘the policy’ before WAIT’s foray into South East Asia? Federal advisors reported that the evolution of ‘the policy’ was well

thought out and its development proceeded in an orderly manner. Whereas, some university stakeholders, such as Don Watts, and several Western Australian public servants, believed that the process was a secondary consideration to fund the reform package for massification.

Western Australia's role in the development of 'the policy' is an excellent example of the *local* influence and how it shaped the implementation of policy. State politicians from both persuasions embraced the opportunities that deregulation provided. The Western Australian government took the lead to provide support through quality assurance legislation, and marketing co-ordination to the public and private sectors through the Department of Commerce and Trade.

It was evident from this research that the creation and implementation of 'the policy' were significantly influenced by *global*, *national* and *local* factors. Each context intersected with the other. According to Marginson and Rhoades (2002) these many-layered contexts, or 'multiple realities', "are central to the glonacal agency heuristic" (p. 288). They provided a paradigm through which we could understand the above complexities.

In assessing *global*, *national* and *local* influences, it is also necessary to place the ideology or discourse of internationalisation in the changes wrought on the tertiary sector through 'the policy'. Federal advisors confirmed that the recruitment of international students was, in fact, part of the broad economic and social internationalisation objectives of the government. According to Marginson (2000), "The term 'internationalisation' describes the growth of relations between nations

and between national cultures” (p. 24). According to this definition, it is a concept that has a long history, and Australian universities can claim to be part of that history with their involvement in the Colombo Plan.

In trying to map and isolate the influence brought to bear by internationalisation through the creation of ‘the policy’, one needs to consider the contexts of globalisation, and the free flow of ideas, people and technology. Australia is certainly part of the ‘global market’ (Marginson & Considine, 2000) in education. Now 20 years later it is difficult to conceive how Australia could not be part of this market. Although as Marginson (2001) observes, “A major presence in the global education market does not necessarily lead to a flourishing higher education system” (p. 20). The reality remains that universities have felt the impact of globalisation, and what is important for this study, is that they have also become significant ‘agents’ of globalisation as a result of the high proportion of international fee-paying students on their campuses.

So these *global* influences on Australian universities have meant that they have pursued internationalisation objectives, including the recruitment of international students both onshore and offshore, international research, staff and student exchanges, and overseas links and activities. This then leads to the more specific focus of this research. That is, to what extent did the universities in this study become more internationalised as a result of the pathway programs on their campuses? Both Universities A and B had acquired a population of about 25% of international students, and the pathway programs contributed significantly to the achievement of these figures and their overall ethnic diversity. In considering how

pathway programs could contribute to the non-economic objectives of internationalisation, the most obvious contributions could be developing a more internationalised curriculum and creating greater social cohesion on these campuses.

The research revealed that from the perspective of students, university staff and private providers offering activities related to social cohesion were not a priority of pathway programs. Questionnaire data revealed that students rated 'meeting local students' as a low priority, and only a few students took the opportunity to remark that they were disappointed they had not been able to mix with Australian students. University stakeholders and private providers also confirmed that pathway programs contributed to diversity, but not necessarily to social cohesion, and nor did they believe this should be a focus of these programs. Indeed, the research confirmed that the key focus of universities aligning with private providers to offer pathway programs was on commercial goals. Certainly, some university stakeholders cited the provision of access as a priority, but as stated in Chapter 4 it was not clear as to which objective came first, the commercial or that of providing access.

In questioning respondents about the effects of commercialisation on the tertiary sector, there was a marked difference in comments made by university administrators/executives and those still involved in teaching. The latter believed that the commercial focus had been to the detriment of quality, whereas the administrators, even those with academic backgrounds, were very positive about their contribution to commercialisation. There was one respondent who believed that pathway programs might contribute to the decline of quality, but overall, these programs were not seen in this negative light.

It is interesting to note at this point the role that *local* influences played in the development of the commercialisation of the tertiary sector. This study showed that Western Australia was a forerunner in the refinement and provision of pathway programs in the public and private sector. At the time, there was an undeniable entrepreneurial spirit in the state that influenced the key pathway providers in Western Australia. These individuals were quick to recognise the enormous demand and potential financial gains very early in the life of 'the policy'. From a legislative and marketing perspective the Western Australian government and public servants facilitated these initiatives. This *local* input was in turn influenced by *national* activities. For example, the Australian Qualification Framework (AQF) is a national accrediting system that embedded pathway programs as a route to university. The quality assurance that this government-initiated national framework provides international students (who are considering pathway programs) cannot be over estimated.

The roles of internationalisation and commercialisation in the creation and development of 'the policy' are substantial. Commercialisation was the overwhelming driver in influencing 'the policy'. Developing internationalisation agendas within universities, including valuing diversity and social cohesion, was developed as a basic underlying agenda if they were to retain international students and attract more. It was found that pathway programs were not detrimental to social cohesion nor, however, did they contribute proactively to it. What was made clear in this study is that internationalisation ideals and commercialisation are not mutually exclusive. Achieving the broad aims of internationalisation depends upon universities' overall strategic objectives. In fact, there is no reason why universities

should be constrained in meeting internationalisation ideals by pursuing commercialisation. Commercialisation can become the ‘agent’ for a more ideal outcome. In the future Australian universities pursuing commercialisation through the recruitment of international students will need to depend even more upon how well they “integrate an international perspective in the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a higher education institution” (Knight, 2001, p. 229). As the international student recruitment market becomes more competitive, and the federal government drives Australia’s 37 universities to differentiate themselves, it is only those universities that strive for excellence and quality in all aspects of internationalisation that are likely to succeed as the major ‘players’ in this industry.

The State

The discourses or ideologies of internationalisation and commercialisation underpinned the way in which the state created and implemented ‘the policy’. This discussion on the role of the state is one of the most important in this study, as it underpins the theoretical framework of the research. The ‘state’ in this study is taken to mean both the roles of the federal and state government in the policy cycle.

The first premise put forward in Chapter 2 regarding the role of the state was the view of Watts (1993/94) who stated that in an economic rationalist economy the state is central as an “effective broker” (p. 156). To some extent this view was supported by Ball (1998a) who concluded that in the global economy, individual governments had experienced a reduction in their ability to control the activities of multinational companies. Ball (1998a) did not submit to the view that the state was powerless, rather he proposed that a different kind of state was taking shape within the

economic rationalist context. I also discussed views put forward by Lingard (1996), Marceau (1993) and Marginson (1993), who viewed the role of the state as the 'market player', assuming a new managerialist role of 'steering from a distance'. A concept that asserts the way the state can ensure that education policy is kept in line with the economic objectives of the state.

As explained in Chapter 3, the policy analysis adopted for this study was a further refinement of Ball's (1997) guidelines by Vidovich (2002b) who includes a *global* context in explaining the role of the postmodern state. The second tenet of this study, also derived from Vidovich (2002b), is that the state is central to the role of policy creation and development, as a 'player' whose power is exercised but not controlled or possessed.

In contemplating the role of the state in the context of influence, a multi-layered perspective was appropriate for this analysis. There is no doubt that the role of the federal government was central to the creation of 'the policy'. As discussed above, its influence occurred within the context of *global* and *local* influences. *Global* forces from outside and *local* influences from Western Australia and other states guided the way in which the state exercised its power. In strict terms, this exercise of power through 'the policy' did not enforce universities to recruit international students. However, by virtue of the funding crisis the federal government had created in higher education, universities had few other options. Therefore, at the point of implementation universities were 'constrained' to move towards commercialisation.

During the implementation phase, the state as one of the players took on the role of regulating and ‘steering from a distance’. By this, I mean that the state on the federal and Western Australian level took on the role of regulator in the form of the Education Services Providers Registration Act (ESPRA) and the Education Services for Overseas Student (ESOS) Act. This legislation was introduced to safeguard the industry and, in pure economic rationalist terms, to ensure that conditions were conducive to free market activities. In this role, the state was the “broker in the context between public and private goods in the economy” (Watts, 1993/94, p. 156). In addition, the move to the AQF, whilst it could be said was for domestic use, had a positive effect in providing a national quality assurance framework favourable to the export of education services.

On the issue of regulation, an important point to emphasise is that in the initial phases of implementation, senior public advisors and politicians confirmed that deregulation was envisaged without supporting legislation. There was a view that the “education system was built on a good reputation” (Bob Pearce, 6/03) and that the existing self-regulatory systems within the universities would suffice. In addition, “There was concern that undue regulation would stifle the market before it started to develop.” (David Buckingham, 9/03) It was with the onset of private provider failures and embarrassment to the federal government that it became evident that some regulation was required. These early views at the implementation phase indicate that originally the state did not intend to introduce “top-down implementation” (Raab, 1994, as cited in Vidovich, 2002b, p. 10). It only did so in the form of regulatory legislation to safeguard the export industry and its financial returns. This study therefore concurs with Vidovich (2004) that the state had a strong

definable role in the creation and evolution of ‘the policy’. It “retained considerable power relative to many other policy actors ... in particular taking on the role of market manager” (p. 16).

The University

One of the key stakeholders of ‘the policy’ was the university sector. They were the major recipients of ‘the policy’ and had the most to win or lose from its creation. The data indicated that from the perspective of the university ‘players’, the overwhelming rationale to introduce such a policy was commercial. In the mid-1980s, the institutions were in severe financial straits and ‘the policy’ promised to give the institutions an opportunity to expand their funding base beyond the Commonwealth. In terms of influencing the creation of ‘the policy’, I placed the universities’ contribution on an intermediate/micro level, as they appeared to wait for change rather than proactively lobby for a move to deregulate international student recruitment.

In terms described by Vidovich (2004), the role of the universities as ‘policy actors’ was not a powerful one. As a lobby group, the universities’ responses were not unified. For example, the Australian Vice Chancellors Committee (AVCC) did not react as a lobby group. Any influence brought to bear on ‘the policy’ was through individuals and groups of individuals outside a particular university, such as the ‘purple circle’. There was a strong view that if universities as a group were consulted that it was at an “ephemeral level” (SUA-1, 9/03), and that in fact some Vice Chancellors “remained somewhat indifferent” (Hendy Cowan, 5/03) depending upon their traditional status. Interviewees suggested that there were many universities that

were “passively resisting” (SUAd-3, 9/03) because they were opposed to the notion of education as trade. However, due to their financial situation, universities’ choices were limited. It could be said that at the creation stage of the policy cycle, universities as collective institutions were ‘constrained’ rather than ‘agents’ of change.

In terms of implementation, most universities absorbed ‘the policy’ and quickly adopted the outlook of the ‘entrepreneurial university’ (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). They began to recruit international fee-paying students and rapidly developed strategies to secure their niche in the market. This was largely due to the fact that unlike in Canada, Australian Vice Chancellors were able to retain all the tuition fees from international student recruitment. This decision by the Commonwealth led to universities perceiving their role as proactive. Very quickly as institutions they became ‘agents’ of policy in practice. The universities’ enthusiastic role in the commercialisation of their sector through ‘the policy’ occurred at such an intensity that by the early-1990s there was significant criticism of the commercial thrust of Australian tertiary institutions. Smart (1992) observed that “the non economic benefits of internationalisation had received scant recognition” (p. 5). In addition, Beazley (1992), the then Minister of Education, acknowledged that the vigour with which universities had pursued the recruitment of international students had damaged Australia’s reputation.

This new role of ‘agent’ in practice has continued to grow dramatically, and Australian universities have been integral to developing an export industry that is seen as vigorous and at times focused on merely commercial objectives. The move to

develop pathway programs with private providers is characteristic of this vigorous commercial pursuit. Commercial activity related to international student recruitment, although in its 20th year, does not continue without criticism. As illustrated in Chapter 2 and 5, there is still considerable discussion and debate within university circles regarding the objectives of internationalisation and commercialisation. This discussion is often centred on issues of quality, for example, the lowering of standards through soft marking and plagiarism.

There was consensus amongst those interviewed that in the early days of implementation, international student recruitment was based on a robust system of quality assurance, which was built into university structures. In fact, initially, through state and federal legislation introduced in the form of ESPRA in the first instance and then ESOS, the focus was on regulating the private sector. However, the comments by academics surrounding the issue of commercialisation illustrate that disquiet has developed over the 20 years of the industry, and this remains the case today. This disquiet surrounds issues of quality and challenges the notion that quality continues to flourish with a high percentage of international students in Australian universities. The view that, “academics are embattled and that universities have not become richer culturally, intellectually or academically” (SUAc-2, 9/03) as a result of international students, was an extreme position taken by one academic and requires appropriate probing through research. Interviewees also referred to the decline of quality within the context of managerialism, ‘bottom line’ profits and reduced government spending. Although as mentioned previously, those who were part of the university executive management did not share this view. This is an issue that requires further research.

These opposing views on how ‘the policy’ has contributed to the quality of Australian universities are part of a dominant discourse, which will continue for some time to come. This analysis also contributed to an understanding of whether universities were in fact ‘constrained’ by ‘the policy’ or were ‘agents’ of it. Again the evidence points to the fact that policy development is very much influenced by *local* conditions and its ad hoc nature. Australian universities moved from a role of being ‘constrained’ by ‘the policy’ at the point of influence, but then became ‘agents’ of change within the implementation phase. The challenge universities face, as ‘agents’ in this mature phase of ‘the policy’, is to continue to deal with the issues that international students and resulting commercialisation have created. From a purely commercial perspective universities must find a way of reinvesting resources from international student recruitment into nurturing the host system on which this export industry depends. Universities may have to consider the option of not pursuing unfettered growth in the recruitment of international students and focus on quality rather than quantity. The export of international education has become a very competitive activity, and Australia can only hope to maintain its position if universities lead as ‘agents’ of quality and continue to reflect upon their activities and how to improve them.

The Individual

As explained above, the universities did not play a significant role within the context of influence. However, I contend that the powerful role played by individuals as policy actors in the creation of ‘the policy’ should not be underestimated. Individuals represented at the *national* and *local* levels contributed significantly to the national reform of the higher education sector. On a *national* level the then Prime Minister

Bob Hawke and the Minister for Trade John Dawkins, Treasurer Paul Keating and Senator John Button were committed to an economic rationalist approach tempered by the National Wage Accord. Equally, their advisors, Ross Garnaut, David Buckingham and Michael Gallagher, provided the enthusiasm, intellectual rigour, and economic and social ideology needed to create ‘the policy’. These men had had experience abroad, and were convinced that Australia could not survive closeted and protected from *global* economic and social forces. Rather, their vision was for an outward looking internationalised Australia, forging strong economic and social links with the Asia Pacific region. According to the data collected, this vision was further maintained by public servants and academics, such as Helen Hughes, Hobba, Fitzgerald and Paul Hickey, who supported the educational reform agenda in the recruitment of international students and facilitated its progress. Equally, university support was provided through individuals rather than on an institutional level. Members of the ‘purple circle’ who advised and supported Dawkins in the second half of the 1980s included Mal Logan (Monash University), Don Watts (Curtin University of Technology), Brian Smith (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology – RMIT), Jack Barker (Ballarat College) and Bob Smith (University of Western Australia – UWA).

On a state level, the importance of the role of the individual within a *local* context is further reinforced. There is no doubt that Don Watts was a catalyst in the creation and development of ‘the policy’ and his willingness to take risks into unknown territory helped shape this export industry in Western Australia. He was, however, not alone in the *local* context. State Labor politicians, such as Bob Pearce and Carmen Lawrence, and later Hendy Cowan representing the Liberal Coalition, all

contributed their individual convictions that the recruitment of international students was an opportunity to be grasped with enthusiasm and entrepreneurialism, a characteristic of Western Australia at the time.

In the development of pathway programs in Western Australia, individuals in the public and private sector alike saw opportunities and were also prepared to take risks. The anecdotal evidence from the interviews confirms the early development of pathways at Canning and Tuart Senior Colleges was due to one or two public educators. Equally, the private sector, notwithstanding the failures, was established with a core of four or five ‘players’ some of whom have survived to the present time.

The role and influence these ‘players’ exerted both in creating and implementing policy was a reoccurring theme in the interviews. Individual responses to both policy creation and implementation, and the universities’ responses to implementation is compelling evidence of how policy implementation is dependent and affected by *local* responses, and will display ‘ad hocery’ as “policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options is ... narrowed. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, offset or balanced by other expectations” (Ball, 1997, p. 270).

The Private Provider and Pathways

The role of individual players on a *local* level in this policy cycle is nowhere more evident than in the role played by the private providers. The private providers interviewed in this study, as well those referred to by respondents, all exhibited a vision in the pecuniary potential that deregulation of international student

recruitment would provide. Their vision, however, was also augmented by an entrepreneurial creativity that led them to devise pathway models integral to the universities' marketing objectives.

It has already been shown that private pathway providers had very little effect on the construction of 'the policy'. However, very soon after 'the policy' was implemented, private providers and pathway providers took on the role of 'policy actors'. Their strong role in the implementation phase became evident in the unique educational services packages, which they provided. Firstly, English language schools mushroomed quickly and became an important lobby group and remain so today in the guise of the English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) association. David Buckingham named Jane Munroe, who provides English language training at the University of New South Wales, as someone who provided early administrative advice on marketing education services. (David Buckingham, 9/03) Equally, in Western Australia, it was the public educators and administrators at Canning and Tuart College that first pressured the state government to consider recruiting international students.

In 1991, it was the private provider the Australian Institute of University Studies (AIUS) that was the first in Western Australia to recognise the value of designing and offering pathway programs in close association with a university, in this case Curtin University. This model of 'locking in' students to the partnership university was to become an essential ingredient of international student recruitment for universities across Australia.

The level of co-operation with both government and universities alike was essential to the survival of private enterprise in the export of education services: “Each context consists of a number of arenas of action – some private and some public. Each context involves struggle and compromise and *ad hocery*” (Ball, 1993, p. 16). Very early in the implementation of ‘the policy’, private providers in Western Australia saw that co-operative, well-managed marketing strategies would be essential if they were to succeed. Respondents noted their enthusiasm, and whilst this is axiomatic in commercial pursuit, it is important to note that this ingredient assisted the universities to fulfil their commercial objectives. The nature of input and influence is best evaluated in the context of the development of the Western Australian International Marketing Education Group (WAIMEG), now Perth Education City (PEC), and private providers’ professional association, the Western Australian Private Education and Training Industry Association (WAPETIA). Hendy Cowan summarised their involvement as follows: “Private education suppliers, particularly the colleges, were very much an instrumental part of the process.” (Hendy Cowan, 5/03) Equally, private providers became a strong lobby group in Western Australia in the shaping of the ESPRA legislation. They worked closely to provide input and bring about an outcome that was acceptable to their industry.

The impact of the *local* context, in the case of the private provider, is strongest at the mature phase of implementation. By the mid-1990s, they had been instrumental in shaping a unique pathway model system that has only recently been replicated outside Australia. The model under review in this research, where the provider offers programs within the campus of the partner university, has been an unparalleled success, and one that has started and been refined very much on the *local* level. It is

within this context that the private provider emerges as a powerful policy actor in the implementation cycle of 'the policy'. There was consensus in the research that the private provider was able to complement the role of universities in meeting internationalisation objectives, providing a convincing rationale for a continuing partnership between public university and private provider. One university administrator described this relationship as "bringing in the experts" (SUAd-5, 10/03) for what is not the universities' core interest. However, he qualified this statement to say that "you can make it your core business, but then you have to invest in it and we didn't." (SUAd-5, 10/03) Thus, the private provider brings to the partnership considerable investment in marketing, efficient administrative systems, an appropriate teaching model for pre-tertiary students and, significantly, commitment to service and quality. It is on the issue of quality that I wish to focus. There was no evidence to suggest that the private providers wavered on quality. The private providers in this study confirmed many times that they have the most to lose if they are perceived as not providing excellent programs and even more to lose if their host universities are seen to be compromising on quality.

The future holds further deregulation for the higher education sector, and the challenge for universities, as forecast by one of the respondents (SUAd-6, 5/03), is to retain partnership arrangements. As private providers are given more opportunities through deregulation, it will be important for universities to continue to nurture and develop these alliances for mutual benefit rather than see the positioning of the private providers as their competitors.

The Student

The role of the student appears as a micro influence in the paradigm presented in Chapter 3, as stakeholders of ‘the policy’ in practice. It is axiomatic that the student response forms an integral part of the policy cycle in question, resting as it does within policy practice and its implications. In pure commercial terms, the key stakeholders (governments, universities and private providers) evaluate the success of pathway programs within the context of students’ responses to a ‘product’ that was fashioned from ‘the policy’. Although, it is clear that considerations were predominantly commercial with regard to pathway programs, judgement as to what represented success was made across a range of criteria, depending upon the stakeholders’ objectives. These considerations are listed below but do not necessarily illustrate an order of priority for all stakeholders:

- The numbers of students who gained access to the pathway programs.
- The numbers of students who flowed on to the universities and to what courses.
- The academic success of pathway students in mainstream courses.
- Whether the university’s reputation is enhanced by its relationship with a private provider.
- Whether the private provider’s commercial objectives are met by its relationship with a university.
- Whether Australia’s reputation as an exporter of education is increased by these relationships.
- Whether the overall quality of pathway programs can be maintained within existing legislative parameters.

It is evident that in the assessment of these priorities the students must be taken into account as the end users of 'the policy'. The research conducted on students' expectations and evaluations of pathway programs revealed that they had clear objectives in choosing pathway programs. That choice was based firstly on the reputation of the university they wished to access, and secondly on the reputation of the college. A finding worthy of note is that most students also expected 'value adding' from pathway programs. After accessing a place in the university, their expectations centred on the provision of the necessary skills to achieve success once in mainstream university courses and on the opportunity to access university experiences. The order of their priorities was: preparation for university studies, study skills, access to university facilities and improving their English. In general, students did not have high expectations that they would mix with local students whilst in pathway programs. Indeed, it was found that those whose first language was not English found that this was more difficult to achieve. Overall, students responded positively to the culture of small group teaching and rated the quality of the education, which they received in the pathway colleges, as between 'good' and 'excellent'. So, from a student perspective, the pathway programs were clearly fulfilling their needs in that they were providing access to Australian universities. From a perspective of encouraging social harmony and the overall objectives of internationalisation, pathway programs were not contributing significantly to this, more importantly key stakeholders the universities and students did not expect them to do this. Whether this is a negative aspect of pathway programs lies within an assessment of the non-commercial goals of internationalisation in the Australian higher education sector.

From the stakeholders' perspective, that is, from the perspective of those who influenced and formed the policy, one of the key issues underpinning considerations (as above) is that of quality and whether, in fact, standards are being compromised as a result of pathway programs. The preliminary tracking of pathway students at Universities A and B indicated that the majority of pathway students were achieving at a slightly lower level than other international students entering directly into mainstream or by other pathways, although they were achieving average results. As reported, the academic tracking was not yet as comprehensive as it could have been in one university and, considering quality is a prime concern, more is required in tracking pathway student performance. Consistent monitoring of academic progress and completion rates is required if the integrity of pathway programs is to be maintained. There is a perception that pathway programs are merely 'cash cows' and, therefore, quality can be compromised. Indeed, the prime objective for universities and private providers in offering pathway programs is commercial. Although as stated elsewhere in this study, the commercial prerogative does not necessarily preclude quality. If perceptions are to alter amongst academics, it is incumbent on both universities and private providers to provide continued research on pathway student progress and outline benefits of these pathways to the universities. Consistent monitoring of academic progress throughout the degree (and completion rates) should be a standard reporting procedure, not only for those programs researched in this study, but for all pathways into universities, as these alternatives become more prolific. This is one area for future research; others are discussed in the next section.

Future Research and Policy Directions

As an international education professional involved in strategic planning, this study has provided an opportunity for me to reflect on policy creation and more importantly its implementation. It is at the implementation stage where influences continue to affect change, and an understanding of how these changes contribute to reflective practice can assist me as an administrator in this field. As stated:

Policy is constantly reshaped through the minutiae of specific policy decisions and through the manner of their implementation at each level of administration. Thus the preferences and ideological assumptions of policy actors and participants play a part at every level of implementation (Dudley & Vidovich, 1995, p. 14).

The microanalysis of the implementation of pathway programs offered through a private provider revealed a number of issues that can have an impact on internationalisation beyond this specific case study. The export of educational services by Australian universities is now a 20-year-old industry and is an entrenched characteristic of our tertiary sector. It is both essential in relation to funding, but also in the way Australian universities define themselves culturally and socially. There are, however, many unresolved dilemmas or issues that continue to challenge Australian universities.

Firstly, the balance between commercialisation and the broader objectives of internationalisation is a fine one, and further research is imperative. Currently, the claim that academic standards have declined through the development of this export industry in our universities is still strong and vociferous, reaching the populace through stories in the press and on television. Further research is required to explore

these claims and whether it is internationalisation that has caused a decline or whether it is in fact more complex than that and could include factors such as reduced government funding and higher staff-student ratios. Dawkins' (1988b) White Paper outlined, as a prime objective, the massification of the Australian tertiary sector. After 20 years this objective has been fulfilled within a neoliberal economic framework where the user pays and government funding has dwindled in real terms. It was claimed by many respondents that the recruitment of international fee-paying students was a means to facilitate the increased enrolment of Australian students. Internationalisation and massification of Australian higher education have developed hand in hand, and, thus, claims that point to a decline in standards are in fact enmeshed in both these policies and needs to be untangled.

Other issues that require further research, specific to the recruitment of international students, relate to whether unfettered growth is desirable. One argument could be that in our multicultural society a university with strong teaching and learning objectives can only benefit from increased diversity. The question of 'how many is too many' is being addressed on some campuses. This issue also points to questions of social harmony and the extent to which Australian students are mixing with international students. Again this subject is a complex one, as the definition of what is an 'Australian' student no longer provides a singular ethnic, religious or cultural definition.

The ways in which universities can enhance international cross-cultural experiences for all its students is an important research question. This analysis leads to the broader vision of internationalisation as provided through the McKinnon benchmarks

(McKinnon, Walker & Davis, 2000). That is, the importance of universities providing student and staff exchanges, and an internationalised curriculum with the embedding of diversity in many university activities. Researching how this diversity could be achieved should be a priority for Australian universities.

Finally, I would like to comment on the role of the private provider and its relationships with public universities. This study illustrated that collaboration in providing educational services between the private and public sector has been of great benefit, and raises the question of the role of collaboration versus competition. In the early days of the education export industry in Western Australia, collaboration through government 'steering' was a powerful combination that led to both sectors in the state benefiting considerably. Analysis of the role of competition versus collaboration in developing the export of education is an issue that should be pursued.

Collaboration between the private and public sector is by no means always a success and there are many examples onshore and offshore where ventures have failed. However, there is no doubt that universities will embark on many more relationships with the private sector and certainly the government is encouraging this. Further research, therefore, on what constitutes best practice in these collaborations is extremely important. International education professionals, like me, involved in administration and strategic planning are required to assess the advantages and disadvantages of such partnerships on a daily basis. Thus, understanding on a deeper level how "policy reflects not only different goals, but also different means of

achieving goals” (Dudley & Vidovich, 1995, p. 15) is an essential part of the professional development of the international education administrator.

Concluding Comments

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) compared the changes in higher education brought about by globalisation to those that occurred as the result of the industrial revolution. It is evident that during the time of the writing of this thesis the reform agenda continues. The imminent and almost certain changes proposed by the current federal Minister of Education, Brendan Nelson, will continue to redefine higher education in Australia. In a discussion paper, entitled *Our Universities: Backing Australia's Future*, Nelson (2003b) stated in the introduction that “The case for reform of Australian universities can no longer be responsibly avoided” (p. 3), and Nelson’s (2005) *Building University Diversity: Future Approval and Accreditation Processes for Australian higher education* paper confirmed this direction. The paper promoted diversity of the higher education sector, which included the expansion of the private sector in higher education through the redefinition of what constitutes a university in the Ministerial Council on Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) national protocols.

At the time of writing, private education providers have become eligible to access FEE-HELP and National Priority Places. (This means that Australian fee-paying students wishing to access private education can apply for financial assistance). The forecast, given by one of the private providers (PP-4, 5/04) regarding the establishment of private community colleges delivering the first two years of a university course, is now conceivable. As more articulation pathways are devised, for

example, Associate Degrees, private providers will become even more powerful as ‘policy actors’ in the continuing development of higher education policy. The future therefore for Australian universities (not only in the international arena) lies in the continued building of relationships with private providers. An example of this co-operation was the astute response of public and private providers alike in the courses they devised through the national accreditation system of the AQF. These programs created a unique provision of access and articulation to Australian universities. Significantly, this evolution of accredited pathways supported by government regulation characterises and differentiates Australia from its peers in what it has to offer in the export of higher education.

The significance of this study in terms of what is happening in the continuing policy cycle and the transformation of higher education, currently, lies in examining the role of the different stakeholders in the contexts of influence and practice. The value of the macro and microanalysis lies in the “understanding it provides of the policy culture and structures of policy making” (Lingard, Knight & Porter, 1993, p. vii). This study demonstrated that universities as a lobby group did not in fact play a ‘powerful’ role in the creation of ‘the policy’. The state, at that time, aligned itself to those individuals that supported its agenda and did not face powerful opposition from the tertiary sector. It will take further analysis to examine the nature of power and influence in the present policy cycle and whether universities can become more significant players in this policy process.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

1.0 Contexts of Influence Global (Macro level)

OECD Questions – See Appendix D

2.0 Contexts of Influence National (Macro level)

- The Nation and Globalisation
- The Nation and internationalisation
- Economic interests
- DEST Public Servants
- Politicians
- AVCC
- NTEU

Questions	Interviews
1. To what extent has Australia responded to global influences in its formulation of Higher Education Policy?	<p>What were the global economic and political factors, which influenced the formulation of the 1985 Internationalisation Policy?</p> <p>The introduction of full fee-paying students was a major change for higher education what was the rationale for introducing these changes?</p>
2. Who are the policy elite and what interests do they represent?	Who were the people in government and the public service instrumental in formulating the policy?
3. Which other interest groups are attempting to influence policy	What other groups or people had input into the formulation of the policy? For example, were university personnel consulted?
4. Which interests are most/least powerful and why?	Who would you say was the group/person who had the most influence over this policy? For example, Public Servants, AVCC, Ministers of Education/Foreign Affairs.
5. Over what time period did the context of influence evolve before the policy was constructed?	What time elapsed from the idea of a revised Higher Education policy to its formulation?

3.0 Contexts of Influence University (Intermediate/Micro Level)

- VC
- Executive Management
- Alumni
- Academic and General Staff
- NTEU Branch

Questions	Interviews
1. What are the international and national influences that are brought to bear in the formulation of University Internationalisation policy?	<p>When was the college first established?</p> <p>The university has been involved in offering pathway programs for some time, would you say there were any <u>international</u> influences brought to bear on the decision to offer these pathways?</p> <p>What would you say were the significant <u>national</u> influences at the time</p>
2. What are the prevailing ideological, economic and political conditions?	<p>Could you describe the economic and political climate of the time that would have influenced the decision to establish a pathway college?</p> <p>There was a significant ideological shift in a university offering pathways, for example allowing students to enter university 'through the back door'. Could you comment on this shift and how it was rationalized? Can you recall opposition?</p> <p>What responses/choices do you believe Universities had in response to educational policy at that time (1987)?</p>
3. Which interest groups are attempting to influence policy?	<p>Over the years, how much influence do you believe the Universities/AVCC have had in influencing higher education policy related to internationalization?</p> <p>Who were the groups within university governance that had to be considered and or consulted in the move to allow pathway programs?</p>
4. Over what period of time did the context of influence evolve before the policies were constructed?	<p>How long did it take from the time the concept was first mooted to the time when the college was started?</p>

4.0 Contexts of Influence Feeder Institutions (Intermediate/Micro level)

- Legal and industrial framework (AQF, legislation allowing private colleges to exist)
- Profit motive for private institutions
- Directors and Board
- University Policies and Environment
- Economic Climate
- Immigration Policies
- Education Policies

Questions	Interviews
1. What were the prevailing ideological, economic, political and legislative conditions, which allowed private institutions to offer alternative pathways to universities?	<p>When did you establish the college?</p> <p>Could you describe the prevailing economic, political and legislative backdrop that gave you the opportunity to establish the colleges?</p> <p>In your view what were the obstacles presented by the internationalization policy of the time, that is, when you set up the first college? Were there the same obstacles when you established the college with University B, were there different obstacles?</p>
2. Which interests were the most/least powerful and why?	<p>I am interested in exploring the notion of control/power. In your view how much influence do you believe private providers had at the time in the formulation of policy related to international students?</p> <p>How much influence do you believe private providers exercise now on policy relating to international students? Has it changed over the years?</p> <p>How much influence do you believe the State Government had over policy at the time when you started these courses? Has that influence changed?</p>
3. Over what period of time did the context of influence evolve before the policies were constructed?	How long after the full fee-paying policy introduced in 1985 that you established your pathway programs?

5.0 Contexts of Practice/Effects – Implementation

University (Intermediate/Micro level)

- Internationalisation plans
- Pathway Models
- Entry Requirements
- Marketing and Recruitment plans

Questions	Interviews
1. Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels?	Were there any factors on an international/global level that would have influenced the decision for the university to establish a pathway college? Could you comment on the significance of these factors?
2. Who put the policy into practice?	Who within the University was responsible for putting the policy into practice? For example, who decided on entry requirements and the model to be implemented?
3. What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?	What processes did the university put into place to facilitate the setting up of the college? How would you describe the relationship between the college and the university?
4. To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted? Is resistance collective or individual?	Could you comment on whether there were any challenges or obstacles in convincing the university at large to establish the college? Could you describe the nature of these obstacles, were they on an individual basis or collective? For example, Divisional responses?
5. Are there winners and losers? 6. What are the unintended consequences? 7. How predictable were the policy effects?	How does the association with a private provider impact on a university's profile? Has the perception changed over the years? Have there been any disadvantages or adverse effects as a result of pursuing pathway programs?
8. To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?	Providing access to higher education through pathway programs provided by private providers is characteristic of many universities. Why has this occurred? Why have not more universities followed the Monash model that is the university setting up its own college? What is characteristic of universities that have not pursued the pathway model?

<p>9. Who can assess the policy and who does assess it?</p> <p>10. How is it assessed?</p>	<p>How do you assess whether this policy has been successful, for example what criteria do you use to measure its success? For example, student numbers, diversity, integration of international students? At what level is this assessed? For example, Committee; Vice Chancellor; Divisions?</p> <p>How does this policy contribute to the commercialization of the university?</p> <p>Can you comment on the significance of pathway programs to the higher education sector for international students?</p> <p>How does the presence of this college contribute to the university's overall internationalization objectives? For example, how well does the college contribute to the harmony and diversity of the campus? Is this an issue that should be considered?</p> <p>Which have been the most important markets for recruiting students to pathway programs and why are they so?</p> <p>What do you believe are the students' expectations of the university and the college when enrolling in one of these programs?</p> <p>How well do you think those expectations are met?</p> <p>How would you respond to questions regarding the quality of the pathway programs in view of the fact that the English and academic levels are lower than for mainstream entry?</p> <p>How would you respond to those who continue to characterize pathway colleges as 'students getting in to university through the back door'?</p>
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6.0 Contexts of Practice/Effects – Implementation

Feeder Institutions (Micro level)

- Operating Models
- Teaching Policies
- Entry Requirements
- Recruitment Practices
- Industrial/Work place conditions
- Interview Transcripts

Questions	Interviews
1. Are global/international influences evident in the policy practices at local levels?	<p>You have established colleges overseas. Could you comment on the global/international influences evident in the way you have implemented the policy of full fee paying international students through your pathway programs?</p> <p>Could you comment on the particular local influence that have impacted on how you have established programs?</p>
2. Who put the policy into practice?	<p>The same models are adopted to run these colleges. Can you identify the key elements of the model that you believe contribute to the success of the colleges?</p> <p>Have you used the same model in each country? If so, why? If not, why not?</p> <p>Who within the University was responsible for putting the policy into practice? For example, who decided on entry requirements and the model to be implemented?</p>
3. What processes are used to put the policy into practice and why?	<p>Could you comment on the processes that you have had to put into place to ensure your model works?</p> <p>What processes did the university put into place to facilitate the setting up of the college?</p> <p>How would you describe the relationship between the college and the university?</p>
<p>4. To what extent is the policy (actively or passively) resisted?</p> <p>5. Is resistance collective or individual? For example, Divisional responses?</p> <p>6. What are the unintended consequences?</p>	<p>Could you comment on whether there were any challenges or obstacles in convincing the university at large to establish the college?</p> <p>Could you describe the nature of these obstacles, were they on an individual basis or collective? For example, Divisional responses?</p>

<p>7. To what extent is the policy transformed within individual institutions?</p>	<p>Providing access to higher education through pathway programs provided by private providers is characteristic of many universities. Why has this occurred?</p> <p>Why have not more universities followed the Monash model? What is characteristic of universities that have not pursued the pathway model?</p>
<p>8. Who can assess the policy and who does assess it?</p> <p>9. Are there winners or losers?</p>	<p>How does the association with a private provider impact on a university's profile? Do you think the perception changed over the years?</p> <p>Do you believe there have been any disadvantages or adverse effects for you as a private provider as a result of pursuing the model you have put into place with universities?</p> <p>How does this policy contribute to the commercialization of the university?</p> <p>Can you comment on the significance of pathway programs to the higher education sector for international students?</p> <p>How does the presence of this college contribute to the university's overall internationalization objectives? For example how well does the college contribute to the harmony and diversity of the campus? Is this an issue that should be considered?</p> <p>Which have been the most important markets for recruiting students to pathway programs and why are they so?</p> <p>What do you believe are the students' expectations of the university and the college when enrolling in one of these programs?</p> <p>How well do you think those expectations are met?</p> <p>How would you respond to questions regarding the quality of the pathway programs in view of the fact that the English and academic levels are lower than for mainstream entry?</p> <p>How would you respond to those who continue to characterize pathway colleges as 'students getting in to university through the back door'?</p>
<p>10. How predictable were the policy effects?</p>	<p>When you look back did you predict the position you are in today?</p> <p>What do you believe is the future of pathway programs?</p> <p>What do you believe is the future of these colleges and the relationship they have with the universities?</p>

Appendix B¹

Current Pathway Student Questionnaire

RESEARCHER: MARIA FIOCCO

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH. YOUR HONEST RESPONSES ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO THIS STUDY.

Please tick ✓ the appropriate box . Where there is a line please write your answer

1. Which country are you from?

Indonesia ₁ Singapore ₂ Malaysia ₃

China ₄ Hong Kong ₅ Australia ₆

Kenya ₇ Malawi ₈ Zambia ₉

Other (Please Specify).....

2. Which of the following is your first language?

Indonesian ₁ Cantonese ₂ English ₃

Mandarin ₄ Bahasa Malay ₅

Other (Please Specify).....

3. How old are you? 16-17 ₁ 18-20 ₂ 21-23 ₃ 23 & above ₄

4. What course are you currently enrolled in?

Certificate ₁ Diploma ₂ Mixed program ₃

5. What academic qualification did you submit to enter the college?

- SMU 2 ₁ SMU 3 ₂ GCE 'O' levels ₃
 GCE 'A' levels ₄ SPM ₅ SPTM ₆
 Senior Middle 3 ₇ HKKCE ₈ Mattoyom 6 ₉

Other (Please specify).....

6. What English proficiency qualification did you submit to enter this course?

- IELTS ₁ TOEFL ₂ GCE 'O' level grade ₃

SPM English ₄ Other (Please specify).....

7. Below are some reasons that may have influenced your decision to do a course at the college. Please **circle** the answer which best describes your situation.

	Not an influence at all	A little influence	Some influence	A big influence
A friend recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
An agent recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
I heard the college had a good reputation.	1	2	3	4
I wanted to study in Western Australia.	1	2	3	4
The college offered the best pathway courses to the University.	1	2	3	4
I heard the university had a good reputation.	1	2	3	4
I could not get into anything else I liked.	1	2	3	4
My parents recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
I liked the trimester system/speed of the course.	1	2	3	4

Other reasons (Please Specify).....

8. Did you consider other colleges?

No ₁ Yes ₂ (Please specify)

9. Why did you choose the college? (Please tick only 1 box)

I chose the college because I knew the college had a good reputation. ₁

I chose the college because I knew university had a good reputation. ₂

I chose the college because I knew both the college and the university had a good reputation. ₃

10. What had you heard about the college before you decided to come here?

.....
.....
.....

11. What had you heard about the University before you decided to come to the college?

.....
.....
.....

12. Did you consider entering university via another pathway, e.g 'A' levels, TEE, studying one more year in your own country?

Yes ₁ **What changed your mind?**
.....

No ₂ **Why not?**

13. This question requires you to think about what you expect the college to provide for you.

Please think about the statements below and indicate how important each statement is for you by circling the most appropriate answer.

	Extremely important	Very important	Of some importance	Not at all important
I expect the college to improve my study skills.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to improve my English.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to prepare me well for University studies.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to help me meet and socialize with new people.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to get me a place in the University.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to help me meet Australian students.	1	2	3	4
I expect the college to give me access to the University facilities e.g. the library.	1	2	3	4

14. The following statements represent some problems that students have when they first commence studying in pre-tertiary colleges.

Could you please indicate by ✓ the boxes provided, whether you have had any of the following problems. Could you also list any other problems that have not been included in the list?

- Understanding what is expected of you
- Improving your English
- Understanding the language in your units
- Organizing your time
- Getting assignments in on time
- Living away from home
- Understanding your lecturers
- Making new friends
- Studying in a large university
- Studying enough

Are there any other problems you have experienced that are not listed above? Please specify.

.....

.....

.....

15. Please think about the statement below and indicate your view by **circling** the number that best represents your view about the college.

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Fair	Bad	Very Bad
The quality of education I am receiving at the college is	6	5	4	3	2	1

16. What are some of the strengths of the college?

.....

17. What are some of the weaknesses of the college?

.....

18. Have you had an opportunity to mix with students studying at the University?

Yes ₁ No ₂ **If no why not?**

19. Have you had an opportunity to mix with Australian students either at the college or the university?

Yes ₁ No ₂ **If no why not?**

20. Would you recommend the college to other students?

Yes ₁ No ₂ **If no why not?**

**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE YOUR RESPONSES
ARE IMPORTANT
GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR FUTURE STUDIES**

Appendix B²

Mainstream Pathway Student Questionnaire

RESEARCHER: MARIA FIOCCO

Please tick ✓ the appropriate box . Where there is a line please write your answer

1. Which country are you from?

Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	Singapore	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	Malaysia	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
China	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	Hong Kong	<input type="checkbox"/>	5	Australia	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Kenya	<input type="checkbox"/>	7	Malawi	<input type="checkbox"/>	8	Zambia	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

Other (Please Specify).....

2. Which of the following is your first language?

Indonesian	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	Cantonese	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	English	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Mandarin	<input type="checkbox"/>	4	Bahasa Malay	<input type="checkbox"/>	5			

Other (Please Specify).....

3. How old are you? 16-17 1 18-20 2 21-23 3 23 and above 4

4. What course are you currently enrolled in?

.....

5. What academic qualification did you submit to enter THE COLLEGE?

- SMU 2 ₁ SMU 3 ₂ GCE 'O' levels ₃
 GCE 'A' levels ₄ SPM ₅ SPTM ₆
 Senior Middle 3 ₇ HKKCE ₈ Mattoyom 6 ₉

Other (Please specify).....

6. What English proficiency qualification did you submit to enter this course?

- IELTS ₁ TOEFL ₂ GCE 'O' level grade ₃
 SPM English ₄ Other (Please specify).....

7. Below are some reasons that may have influenced your decision to do a course at the college. Please **circle** the answer which best describes your situation.

	Not an influence at all	A little influence	Some influence	A big influence
A friend recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
An agent recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
I heard the college had a good reputation.	1	2	3	4
I wanted to study in Western Australia.	1	2	3	4
It offered the best pathway courses to University.	1	2	3	4
I heard the University had a good reputation.	1	2	3	4
I could not get into anything else I liked.	1	2	3	4
My parents recommended the college.	1	2	3	4
The trimester system/speed of the course.	1	2	3	4

Other reasons (Please specify).....

8. Did you consider other colleges?

No ₁ Yes ₂ (Please specify)

9. Why did you choose the college? (*Please tick only 1 box*)

I chose the college because I knew **the college** had a good reputation. ₁

I chose the college because I knew **the University** had a good reputation. ₂

I chose **THE COLLEGE** because I knew **both** the college and the University had a good reputation. ₃

10. Did you consider entering university via another pathway, e.g 'A' levels, TEE, studying one more year in your own country?

Yes ₁ **What changed your mind?**

No ₂ **Why not?**

11. This question requires you to think about what you expected the college to provide for you.

Please think about the statements below and indicate how important each statement is for you by circling the number corresponding to the statement.

Extremely Important 1	Very Important 2	Of some Importance 3	Not at all Important 4
-----------------------------	------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------

If you choose 1, 2, or 3 could you please indicate if this expectation was met by circling Yes or No.

	Extremely important	Very important	Of some importance	Not at all important	This expectation was met	
I expected the college to improve my study skills.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expected the college to improve my English.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expected the college to prepare me well for University studies.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expected the college to help me meet and socialize with new people.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expected the college to get me a place in the University.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expect the college to help me meet Australian students.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No
I expect the college to give me access to the University facilities e.g. the library.	1	2	3	4	Yes	No

12. The following statements represent some problems that students may have when they first commence studying in pre-tertiary colleges.

Could you please indicate by ✓ the boxes provided, whether you have had any of the following problems. Could you also list any other problems that have not been included in the list?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Understanding what is expected of you | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Improving your English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Understanding the language in your units | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Organizing your time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Getting assignments in on time | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Living away from home | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Understanding your lecturers | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Making new friends | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Studying in a large university | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Studying enough | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Are there any other problems you have experienced that are not listed above? Please specify.

.....
.....

13. How well did the college prepare you for studies within the university environment?

Please indicate your response by circling the statement which best describes your view.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| not well at all | just ok | well | very well |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

14. What are some ways in which the college could have prepared you better for the university experience?

.....
.....

15. Do you feel better or less prepared than students who came to university via other pathways?

Please circle the statement which best reflects your view.

Much better prepared	Better prepared	Less prepared	I don't know
1	2	3	4

16. What would you recommend to **the college** to improve the overall academic experience for students entering University via this pathway?

.....
.....

17. Thinking back at your time at **the college** what would you say are some of the **weaknesses** of the college?

.....
.....

18. Thinking back at your time at **the college** what would you say are some of the **strengths** of the college?

.....
.....

19. The teaching models for **the college** and the **University** are quite different. How would you rate these two different models?

Please indicate your response by circling the statement which best describes your view.

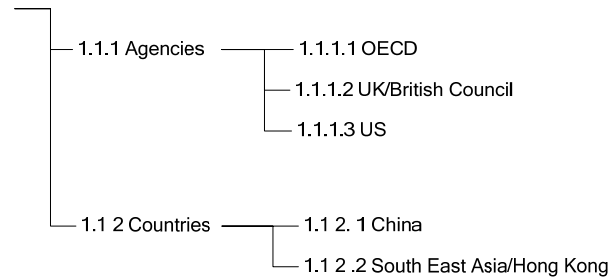
	Not successful at all	Not very successful	Successful	Very successful
The college's small teaching groups.	1	2	3	4
The college's 4 hour modules.	1	2	3	4
The university's larger lecture groups.	1	2	3	4
The university's one hour lectures and 2 or 3 hour tutorials.	1	2	3	4

**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
YOUR RESPONSES ARE IMPORTANT TO THIS RESEARCH
GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR STUDIES**

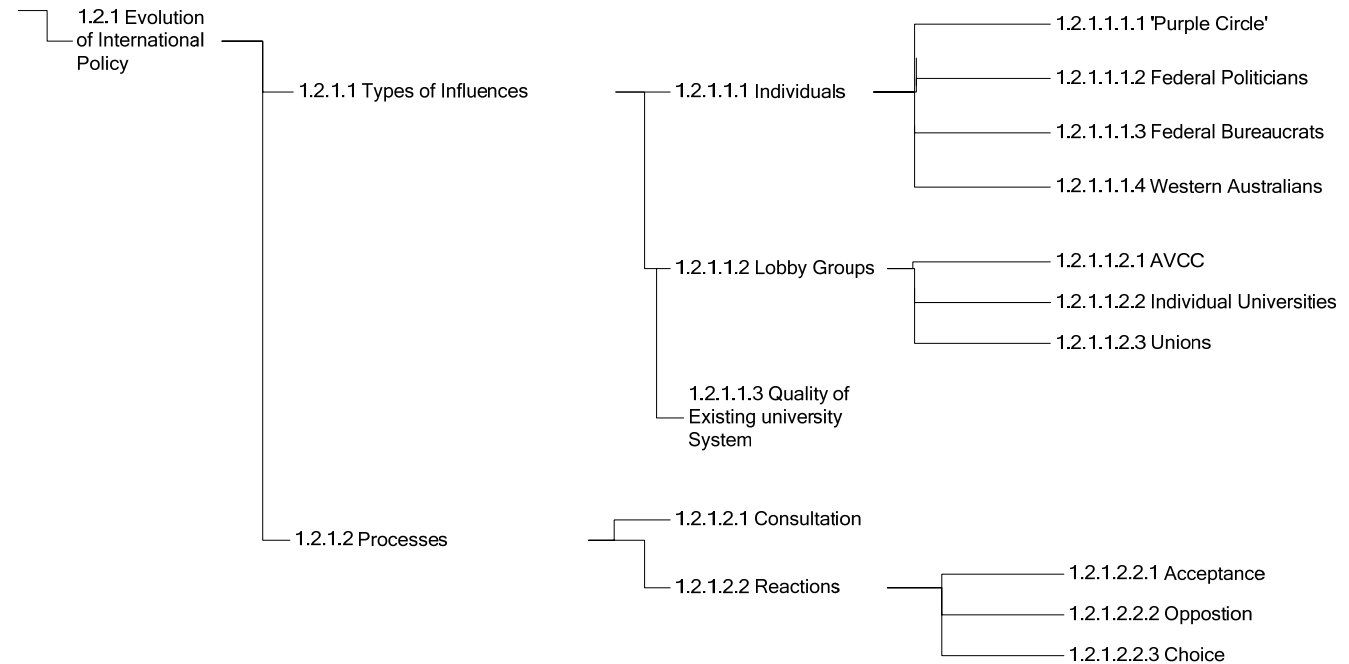
1.0 CONTEXT OF INFLUENCE

APPENDIX C NUD*IST VIVO CATEGORIES

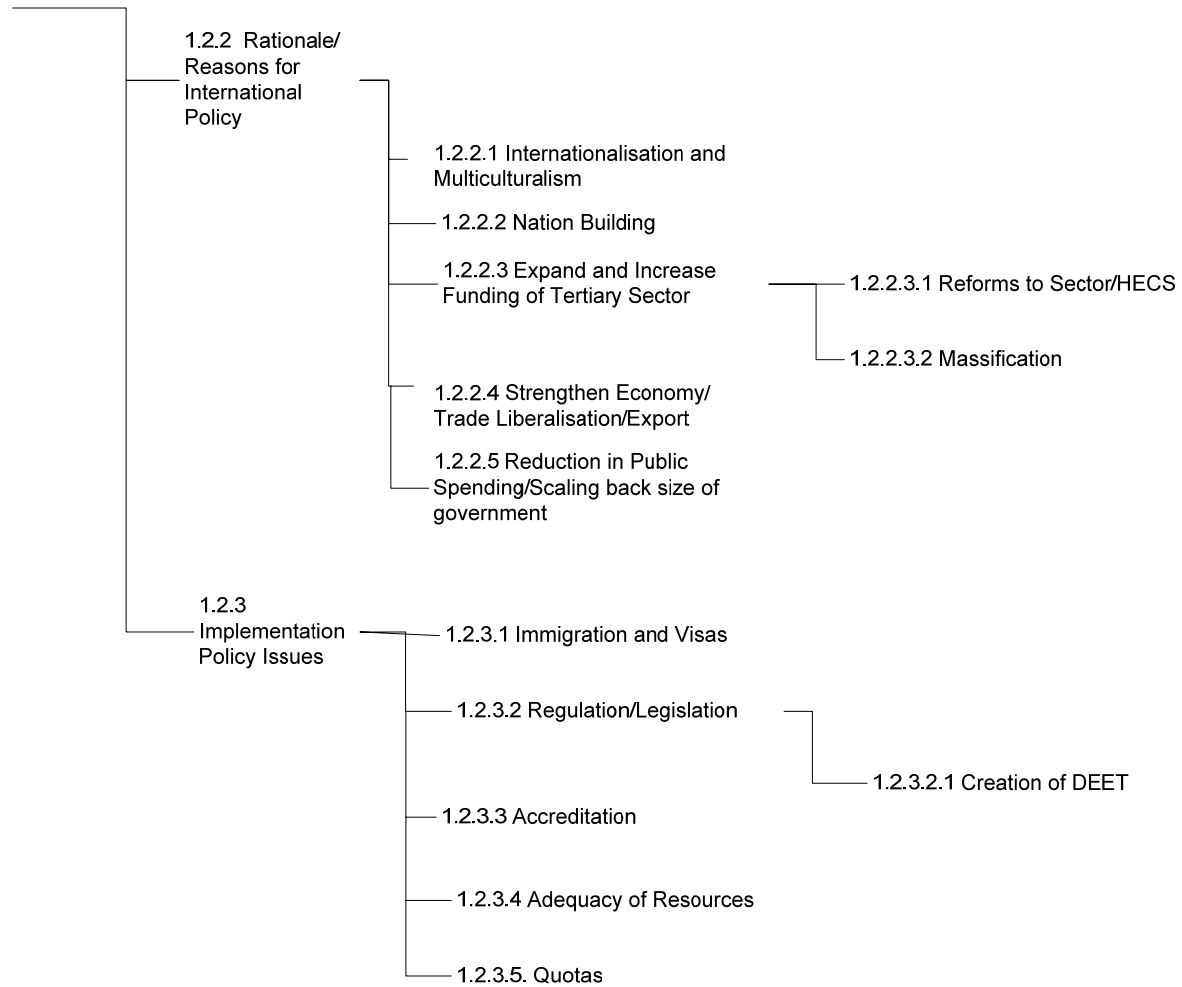
1.1 INTERNATIONAL



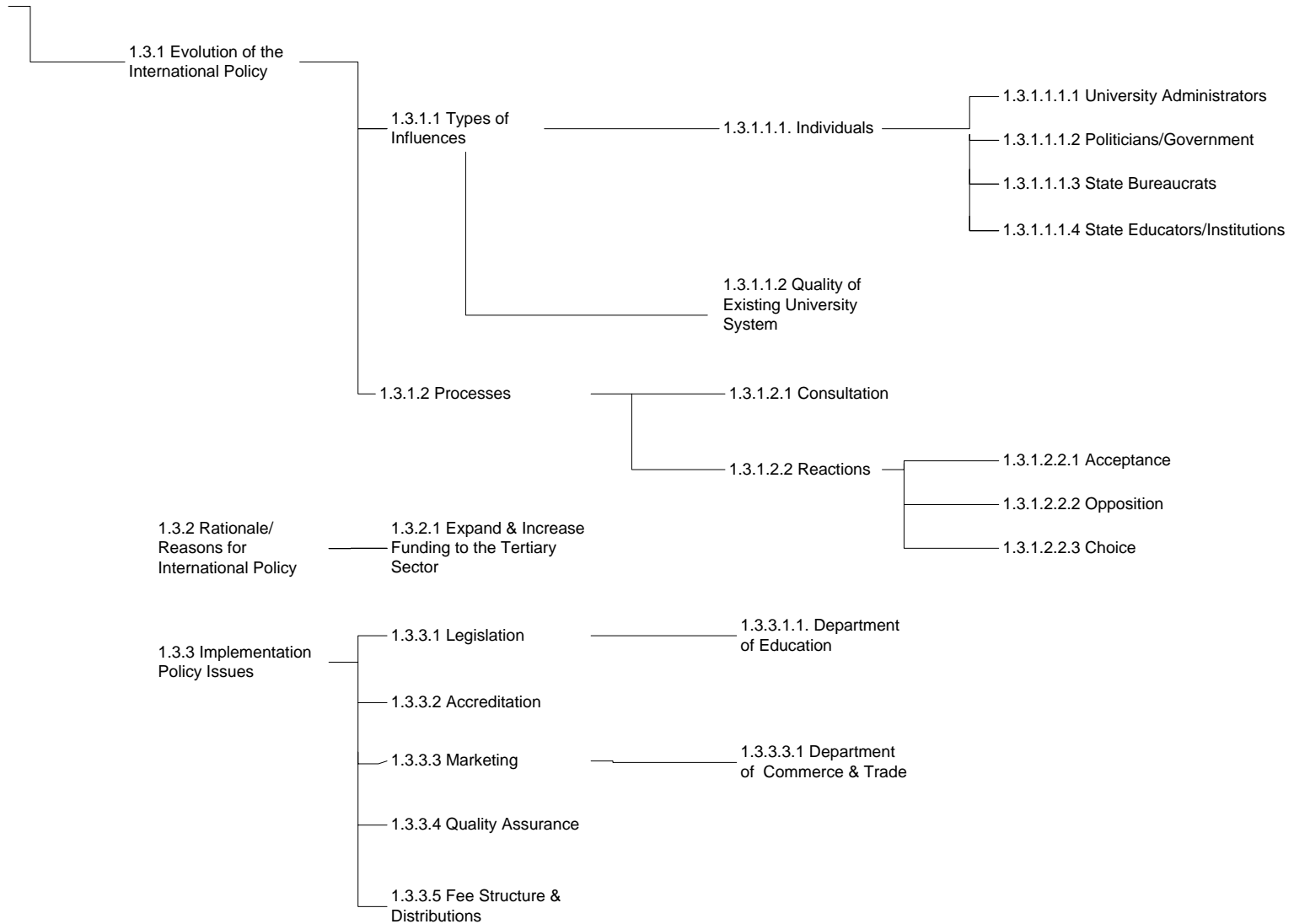
1.2 FEDERAL



1.2 FEDERAL



1.3 STATE



1.4 UNIVERSITIES

1.4.1 Evolution of the International Policy

1.4.1.1 Types of Influences

1.4.1.1.1. Individuals

1.4.1.1.1.1 Academics

1.4.1.1.1.2 Administrators

1.4.1.1.2. Lobby Groups

1.4.1.1.2.1 AVCC

1.4.1.2 Processes

1.4.1.2.1 Consultation

1.4.1.2.2 Reactions

1.4.1.2.2.1 Acceptance

1.4.1.2.2.2 Opposition

1.4.1.2.2.3 Choice

1.4.2 Rationale/ Reasons to Internationalise

1.4.2.1 Expectations of Growth/Funding

1.4.2.2 Internationalise Campuses

1.4.2.3 Funding Limitations

1.4.2.3.1 Business Schools Under Funded

1.4.2.4 Existing Quality Assurance

1.4.3 Implementation Policy Issues

1.4.3.1 Quality Assurance

1.4.3.2 University Resources

1.4.3.3 Administration Central Versus Divisional Administration

1.4.3.4 Present/Future of Internationalisation

1.5 ROLE OF PATHWAY PROVIDER

1.5.1 Evolution of the International Policy

1.5.1.1 Types of Influences

1.5.1.1.1. Education Department Colleges

1.5.1.1.1.1 Canning Tuart Colleges

1.5.1.1.2. Private Providers

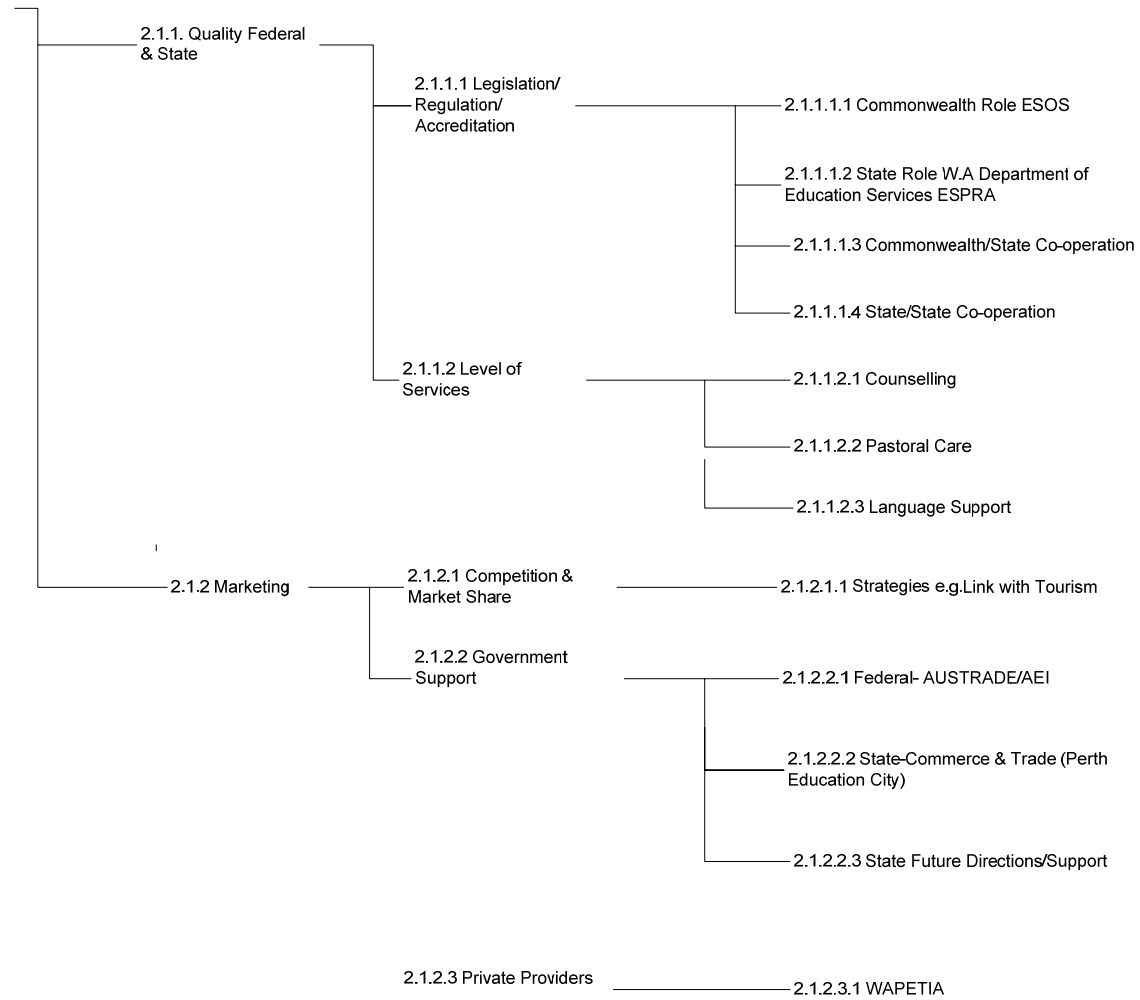
1.5.1.1.2.1 AIUS

1.5.1.1.2.2 English Language Schools

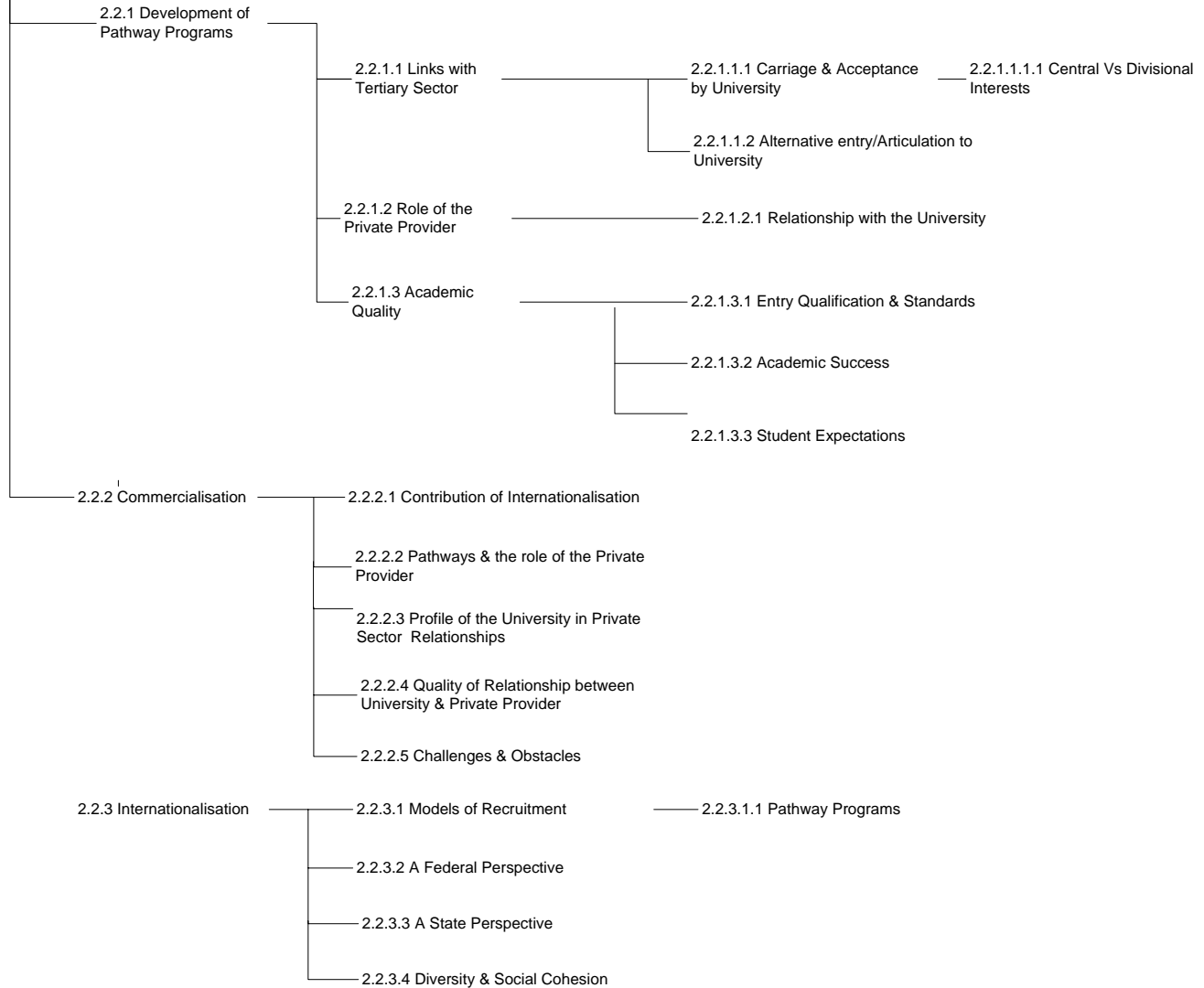
1.5.1.1.3 Individuals

2.0 CONTEXT OF IMPLEMENTATION

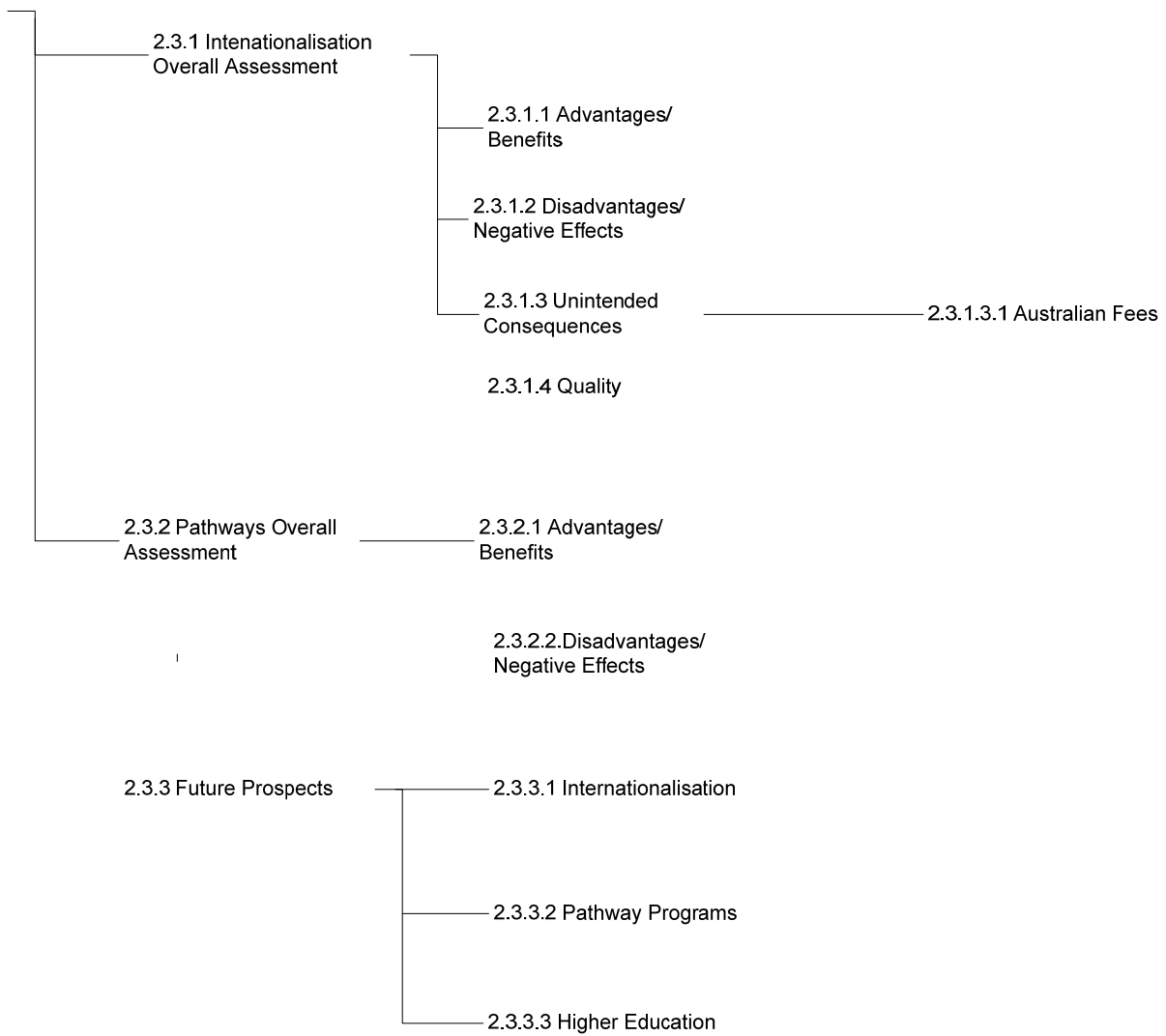
2.1 Practice/ implementation Issues



**2.2 Consequences of Practice/
Implementation**



2.3 Evaluation of the Policy



Appendix D

OECD Interview Questions

1. *“The OECD is actor, arena, and instrument, so that the relationship between educational agenda setting and policy development in the OECD and within member nations is a complex, two-way process”* (Lingard, B. & Rizvi, F., 1998).

Is this a good description of the OECD?

2. How would you describe the OECD role in policy development, that is, does the OECD lead or is it led by its nation members? *“...it is moving towards more thematic analyses, for example, on issues, such as mass higher education and the development and use of educational performance indicators. Such analyses promote relationships with sub national units and individual institutions and have the potential to circumvent national control over policy agendas”* (Lingard, B. & Rizvi, F., 1998).
3. In relation to higher education what do you believe is the role/agenda/focus of the OECD in shaping policy, for example, in Australia?
4. Do you think the OECD influences the research agendas of its OECD nations?
5. What are some of the ways that the OECD contributes to higher education policy in its member nations?

6. How would you respond to the claim that “globalisation is a new form of Western hegemony, (US hegemony) and the OECD is an important instrument of achieving this”? (Lingard, B. & Rizvi, F., 1998).

7. What comment would you make regarding the claim that ‘globalisation is affecting the OECD itself as an international organisation’? *“The OECD can be seen as a globalising institution while itself being affected by globalising pressures” (Lingard, B. & Rizvi, F. 1998).*

8. The Anglo Saxon (US, UK, Australia) countries have supported a “harsher version of market liberalisation” compared to European countries in the OECD

Does this reflect a tension within the OECD itself in how it sets the agenda, advises and responds to education policy?

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