University of Alberta

Discourses of Im/possibility: International Students
at a Canadian University

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe international English as an additional language (EAL) students' experiences in relation to their academic work, as effects of university policy at a western Canadian university. Data from interviews with students and employees were analyzed in relation to key policy documents, using Foucauldian poststructural discourse analysis and a policy sociology approach (Ball, 1997). The analysis provides a description of how these policies and practices operate discursively at the local level to create conditions of im/possibility and shape subjectivities. It reveals complex effects of internationalization policy in general and, in particular, policies in the areas of admissions and registration, English proficiency assessment, language and literacy, academic integrity, and evaluation; it then suggests implications of these effects for international EAL students' academic achievement and success. In addition to their effects on students, internationalization policies and the increased presence of international students have a range of effects on this Canadian university, including shifts in the role of the university in the areas of monitoring international students and their vetting as potential immigrants. Finally, what is im/possible in postsecondary education in Canada is changing in part as a result of internationalization policy and the presence of international EAL students.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED

ARUCC   Association of Registrars of the Universities and Colleges of Canada

AUCC   Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada

CanTEST   Canadian Test of English for Scholars and Trainees

CBIE   Canadian Bureau of International Education

CCCE   Canadian Council of Chief Executives

CMEC   Council of Ministers of Education, Canada

EAL   English as an Additional Language

EPEI   Employment, Postsecondary Education and Immigration (pseudonym for provincial ministry)

eUNIV   Electronic University: WCU's online communication system (pseudonym)

IELTS   International English Language Testing System

IFD   WCU's International Foundational Document (pseudonym)

NAFSA   National Association of Foreign Student Advisors: Association of International Educators[1]

NPM   New public management

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PISP   Provincial Immigrant Selection Program (pseudonym)

SP   WCU's Strategic Plan (pseudonym)

TOEFL   Test of English as a Foreign Language

WCU   Western Canadian University (pseudonym)

WCUESL   WCU's English Language Centre

WES   World Education Services

WUSC   World University Services of Canada

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[1] American organization founded in 1948 as the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors. In 1990 its name was changed to NAFSA: Association of International Educators (NAFSA, n.d.).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Growing numbers of international students have been enrolling in Canadian universities, and many among them are bilingual or multilingual and speak English as an additional language (EAL). They enroll in both undergraduate and graduate programs. My research focused on the academic experiences of international EAL students at one Canadian university and investigated how these experiences are an effect of policies of English-medium Canadian postsecondary educational institutions. I am interested in the policy-related discourses that appear to operate in the actions and interpretations of international students and the university employees with whom they interact and in the interrelationships among these discourses. My research interest began with the individual experiences of students and traced these to reveal how they illuminate particular institutional practices and policy discourses at this university. My research questions and approaches were driven by a curiosity about everyday actions and experiences, which may seem mundane and commonsensical, and about how an examination of these everyday events has the potential to reveal underlying assumptions and discursive "truths."

International students have many stories to tell about their university experiences, and this study foregrounded their experiences and those of the university employees with whom they interact. My use of Foucauldian poststructural concepts of power-knowledge, discourse, and subjectivities (concepts that are described in Chapter 3) allowed me to go beyond thinking about students and university employees as individuals who rationally exercise free choice, to viewing them as individuals who make agentive choices to act in relation to institutional policy discourses in specific ways. The goal of this research was not to assign blame to a particular policy, administrative structure, or individual, but rather to investigate the conditions of possibility and impossibility for individuals within this institutional site at this historical moment.

Policies operate in complex ways in institutions. My conceptualization acknowledges the traditional, structural view of policies existing at various levels of hierarchical institutions. For instance, at the unit level, a department might

develop and implement policy and procedures about how graduate student admission applications are handled. This policy works together with related policies at the faculty level and the Graduate Studies Office level, among others. In a less direct way, it also operates within the context of university-level policies such as a university mission statement. However, the understanding of policies I employed in this study went beyond (though it did not discard) these structural notions to a view of policy as a web, a network, or a matrix. All three of these metaphorical terms are used in poststructuralist thinking about policy as discourse and about how policy discourses are interrelated and operate in highly complex and fluid ways.

Purpose of the Study

My work at western Canadian universities over the past 30 years in various capacities (as a program developer, administrator, EAL and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) teacher, and sessional lecturer) has provided me with a range of experiences in relation to international students and EAL students. Among these experiences have been crisis situations of various sorts. Many of these crises have been related to students' engagement with the administrative and academic tasks they perform as they strive to obtain academic credentials. Across all of the roles I have played, I have attempted to advocate for students, support their evolving comprehension of how things work in a Canadian university, and, on the other hand, mediate university faculty and staff members' understandings of EAL and international students. While mindful of the very complex policy environment of the university, I have often struggled to understand apparent contradictions and gaps in policy as they affect the academic lives of EAL students and the work of the university staff, administrators, and professors with whom the students interact.

I came to the research with an awareness of some of the ways in which people marginalized by characteristics such as language, dialect, ethnicity, and age are not perceived in institutions to the same extent that people from dominant groups are. I came with a consciousness of my privileged position at English-medium Canadian university as a White, English-speaking, middle-class

individual. I also approached my research with an interest in bureaucracy, its existence in institutions, and its capacity to both limit possibilities for individuals and groups and open up possibilities; and I had experience with instances in which bureaucratic rules and policies have the power to include and to exclude. I also brought with me a desire to "fix"; that is, to search for ways to improve, to create a more even playing field for all, and to recommend changes in the bureaucratic processes of the university to increase inclusivity.

As my doctoral studies proceeded, my perspectives shifted somewhat. I became more aware of how policies are taken up and implemented differently by individuals with varying interests and backgrounds, in particular micropolitical and social contexts in specific moments. Reading about policy sociology helped me to recognize the shape-shifting character of policy: Policy is not immutable and fixed but, rather, exists in a multiplicity of forms in many different contexts. It also became clear to me that discourse is related to policy; that discourses are powerful, invisible, and constructed; and that there are dominant and alternative discourses within particular fields. In implementing a particular policy, an individual draws on various discourses within that discursive field. Furthermore, the precise formulation of a particular policy appeared less interesting to me than the actual effects of its implementation on particular individuals in specific contexts. Thus, I became less interested in "fixing" policies in terms of making recommendations than in conducting basic empirical research into the material effects of policies on marginalized individuals in specified contexts. Because of the increased numbers of international EAL students at Canadian universities over the recent years and because of my work experience with them, I chose to investigate the experiences of international EAL students at a Canadian university. These shifts in my thinking led me to conceptualize my research questions as they appear later in this chapter.

Within a policy sociology framework (Ball, 1997), and cognizant of how the rise of neoliberal globalization (Dale & Robertson, 2004; as cited in Klees, 2007, p. 2) and the demise of the Keynesian welfare state have affected public institutions in the developed world over the past 20 years (e.g., Ball, 1997), and

its universities in particular (e.g., Marginson & Considine, 2000; Naidoo & Jamieson, 2006), I was curious about how changes in discourses related to, for example, internationalization have affected the academic lives of international students in Canadian universities. To use this example of internationalization, the dominant discourse at Canadian universities over the past couple of decades has been associated with the liberal humanist assumption that everyone benefits from internationalization. Alternate discourses of internationalization have considered how power differentials determine who benefits and in which ways.

One of the core assumptions underlying policy sociology is that "local conditions, resources, histories and commitments will differ and that policy realization will differ accordingly" (Ball, 1997, para. 31). In other words, a specific policy emerges as thoughts and/or actions in particular forms in different locations of an institution at different instances. In contrast with the traditional policy-analysis framework in which policy is conceptualized as "clear, abstract and fixed," a policy sociology approach views policies as "awkward, incomplete, incoherent and unstable" (para. 31). Thus, the policy sociology approach requires a consideration of social context and facilitates an attentiveness to nuanced variations of particular policies in specific instances, in specified institutional locations, and as enacted by particular actors.

Background

As is the case for the public institutions of other Western nations, Canadian universities have been affected by the social and economic pressures of globalization. Specifically, pressures related to patterns of global migration and of human capital development and internationalization have resulted in increasing numbers of international students entering universities. Many among these are international EAL students, and, while they struggle with the demands of studying in a language that they are still learning, universities struggle with policy responses for meeting their needs. A range of issues arising from these challenges has been investigated (e.g., Harklau, Losey & Siegal, 1999; Leki, 2006; Myles & Cheng, 2003; Raymond & Bayliss, 2004), and a body of research addresses programming and curriculum concerns (e.g., Benesch, 2001; Cheng, Myles, &

Curtis, 2004; Crandall & Kaufman, 2002). Although these studies have done much to evaluate and assess policy *effectiveness*, other than investigations into EAL learners' identity formation (e.g., Norton, 2000) and the complexities of their lives as international students (e.g., Beck, 2005; Lee, 2005), there has been a lack of research focused on specific policy *effects* (Ball, 1994, p. 24); that is, on how aspects of the lived experiences of EAL students are related to policy texts and practices—how policies, for example, related to admissions (e.g., English language proficiency assessment), programming (e.g., bridging courses), and course expectations (e.g., academic appeal policies), operate to shape the conditions of possibility for international students in ways that have implications for their academic achievement and success.

Research questions

The following questions have guided my research:

1. What are the experiences of international students who are English language learners as they do their academic work at an English-medium Canadian university?

2. What are the institutional policies, practices, and processes that affect these experiences?

3. In what ways do these policies operate discursively to shape the institutional processes and practices, influence the conditions of possibility, and shape the subjectivities of students and university employees with whom these students interact as they do their academic work?

4. What are the relationships among these discourses: Which are dominant, which are complementary, which are in competition, and in what ways?

5. In short, my research questions were intended to allow me to explicate some of the ways in which university institutional practices and policies operate discursively at the local level to affect the lived academic experiences of EAL international students and the implications of these effects for their academic achievement and success.

Overview

   Beyond this introduction, my dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 examines the literature relevant to my study in the areas of postsecondary education and international EAL students. Chapter 3 describes the theoretical framework I employed, and chapter 4 describes my methodology and the research process. In chapter 5, I sketch the policy context for my research by discussing key policy documents pertaining to internationalization in postsecondary education at the international, national, provincial, and local university levels. Chapters 6 through 8 report on the research findings in the areas of admissions and registration (chapter 6), discourses of language and literacy (chapter 7), and discourses of success (chapter 8). The final chapter, chapter 9, sums up the research findings, and comments on some larger implications of the research. Appendices A and B list the interview questions that I asked in the open-ended interviews with students and university employees, respectively. Appendix C consists of vignettes about five of the students I interviewed whose stories were particularly striking. Although key elements of their experiences are analyzed within the context of the research findings chapters, I believe that their stories are also worth telling in a more narrative form, which is the form I use in this appendix.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTEXT AND THE LITERATURE

As I moved closer to identifying my central focus in this inquiry, what I needed to learn to enable me to "enter the conversation" in an informed manner became clearer. In an effort to identify what was already known about topics directly relevant to my inquiry, I assembled information and reviewed literature in the following fields: trends in Canadian postsecondary policy and practice, with a focus on the influence of New Capitalism; a demographic overview of international students at Canadian universities; English language proficiency supports and assessments for the purposes of university admission; and research related to English language testing and learning, EAP, and the academic experiences of international EAL university students.

Canadian Universities: General Trends in Policy and Practice

This section begins with a discussion of the purposes of universities. It then moves to a description of neoliberal globalization and its effects on universities, Canadian universities in particular.

The purposes of higher education. Our notions of the roles of universities in the Western world derive from a long history of universities in the UK and Europe. The history of our understanding of what constitutes knowledge reaches into antiquity (e.g., Bernstein, 2006; Fallis, 2005), but the first actual universities in the West were established in Europe in medieval times. According to Fallis, beginning from "the three great prototypes" (p. 3) of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris, "a 'typical' structure emerged with four faculties: arts, law, medicine, and theology" (p. 3), a structure in which the arts were understood to be a foundation for further study in the other three areas.

Significant aspects of today's universities can also be traced back to Oxford, the University of Berlin, and the University of Scotland, among others. Drawing on Cardinal John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University*, Fallis (2005) contended that Oxford's focus was originally on teaching, primarily in the liberal arts, with little focus on research (p. 3). According to Fallis, the University of Berlin, founded in 1809, was the first university to incorporate research into its purview (p. 4). The University of Berlin was also characterized by how it "was

organized and administered around disciplinary specialization . . . [and by] introducing science and engineering into universities" (p. 4). The mission of the University of Berlin expanded to include graduate education and professional education. The idea that the university should be funded by but autonomous from the government of a nation state also emerged in the German universities of that time (pp. 4-5). Notions relating to the university's role in serving society were further developed at the University of Scotland in the 18th century, particularly in "offering avenues of opportunity to the growing middle class and advancing knowledge in science and technology to propel the process of industrialization" (p. 5). Particular movements in higher education in the United States and Canada (e.g., the establishment of the land-grant universities in the United States beginning in 1862 and the impact of the post-war Massey Commission in Canada) were instrumental in elaborating the social service and nation-building missions of the university in these countries.

Thus, Fallis (2005) argued, the central functions of today's universities, including a broad liberal undergraduate education, graduate education, independent research, professional education, service to society, and nation building, have existed since the times of the first Western universities. Universities have always struggled to achieve a balance among these often conflicting aspects of their mission. This task is, of course, complicated by ever-changing social, political, and economic conditions (e.g., Axelrod, 2002; Readings, 1996).

Universities and neoliberal globalization. Many have argued that there are links among neoliberalism, globalization, and internationalization in higher education; in many ways, knowledge has come to be defined and organized by markets, and these markets, like others, are facilitated by neoliberal states. According to Giroux (1999):

> Within the current onslaught against noncommodified public spheres, the mission of the university becomes instrumental; it is redesigned largely to serve corporate interests whose aim is to restructure higher education along the lines of global capitalism. In specific terms, this means privileging instrumental over substantive knowledge, shifting power away from faculty to administrators. (p. 5)

The related discourses of the knowledge economy (Guile, 2006) and human capital development (Becker, 2006) have reshaped the academy. For example, in a sense, academics have been recreated as "entrepreneurial . . . subjects" (Dehli & Taylor, 2006, p. 105) in their engagement with practices such as applications for federal-government research funding.

The various ways in which neoliberal discourses and practices have affected universities have been well documented (e.g., Giroux, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The connection between these discourses and practices and institutional reforms such as accountability policies and performance-based funding has also been convincingly argued (e.g., Shore & Wright, 2000).

The distinction between classic liberalism and neoliberalism is important. Mark Olssen (1996) succinctly described the differences between the two:

> Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was to be taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state, neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation. In classic liberalism, the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom. In neo-liberalism the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur. In the classical model the theoretical aim of the state was to limit and minimize its role based on postulates which included universal egoism (the self-interested individual); invisible hand theory which dictated that the interests of the individual were also the interests of society as a whole; and the political maxim of laissez-faire. In the shift from classical liberalism to neo-liberalism, then, there is a further element added, for such a shift involves a change in subject position from "homo economicus," who naturally behaves out of self-interest and is relatively detached from the state, to "manipulatable man," who is created by the state and who is continually encouraged to be "perpetually responsive." It is not that the conception of the self-interested subject is replaced or done away with by the new ideals of "neo-liberalism," but that in an age of universal welfare, the perceived possibilities of slothful indolence create necessities for new forms of vigilance, surveillance, "performance appraisal" and of forms of control generally. In this model the state has taken it upon itself to keep us all up to the mark. The state will see to it that each one makes a "continual enterprise of ourselves" . . . in what seems to be a process of "governing without governing." (p. 340)

In other words, for neoliberalism to function at an optimal level, state intervention is required (e.g., in the form of enabling legislation such as "free trade" acts,

which serve not to liberate trade, but to strictly regulate it). This exists in contradictory tension with neoliberal rhetoric, which associates market interventions with socialism or Keynesianism. In classic liberalism, on the other hand, the state's interference is viewed as detrimental to the operation of the free market. The term "steering at a distance" (Kickert, 1991/2005; as cited in Ball, 1994, p. 54) has been used to describe the way that neoliberal governments and institutions govern, for example, through performance-based funding. There has been an interest in the specification of particular practices in neoliberal contexts that serve as technologies of governance, or aspects of governmentality. Audit/accountability practices are examples of these technologies; they enable governments to govern at a distance, and performance indicators are a more specific technology used within accountability systems (Polster & Newson, 1998).

Neoliberalism has employed the approach of the Chicago school of economics; it "deemphasiz[es] the polity, [and] instead stress[es] the role of the market in national economic success. The neo-liberal school sees market forces as impersonal, disembodied, and inexorable, as supplanting national economies with a global market" (Slaughter, 1998, p. 52). In contrast, the previous Keynesian economic policies at times associated with liberalism, particularly evident in countries such as Britain and Canada, were constructed at the level of the nation-state, and the money supply was controlled to stimulate or slow national economies, thereby avoiding depression. As global markets emerged and national controls on international flows of capital were eased to take advantage of expanded opportunities, capital mobility increased. Greater international capital mobility made manipulation of the economy at the national level more difficult. (p. 53)

These political and economic changes have been linked to changes in universities. An overarching characterization of reform has been "a shift from a public good knowledge/learning regime to an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 8). These changes

"encompass instruction as well as research, involve administrative and trustee activities, and attend as much to student consumption as student learning" (p. 8).

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) portrayed the university as an agent in these changes rather than simply as a "victim of external, encroaching commercial interests" (p. 305). "Groups of actors within colleges and universities . . . [use] a variety of state resources to intersect the new economy" (p. 306). Rather than involving privatization, Slaughter and Rhoades contended that these changes "[entail] a redefinition of public space" (p. 306).

Others who have discussed the move to what Slaughter and Leslie (1997) termed *academic capitalism* include Bok (2003) and Noble (2001), who called it the *commercialization of higher education*, and Soley (1995), who has pointed to the *corporatization of higher education*. Elzkowitz, Webster, and Healy (1998; as cited in Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) referred to the "triple helix that weaves together higher education, state, and market" (p. 305).

In the Canadian context, Fisher and Rubenson (1998) discussed "the changing political landscape and the changing link between education and the economy" (p. 79). From 1984 onwards, "the federal policy agenda [has been] grounded on a neo-liberal ideology, with an emphasis on shrinking the Keynesian welfare state and freeing the market" (p. 79). Whereas the starkest iterations of neoliberalism in universities, with their characteristic focus on quasi-markets and audit/accountability regimes, might have emerged in Britain, New Zealand, and the USA, Canada has by no means been immune to these global trends (Bruneau & Savage, 2002; Hardy, 1996; Polster & Newson, 1998; Woodhouse, 2009).

New managerialism is an approach to organizational management that is characteristic of the neoliberal turn. It can be considered "neo-Taylorian" (Shore & Wright, 2000, p. 64). In the public sector, including education, the form taken by new managerialism been called new public management ([NPM] Hood, 1991, 1995), and it entails public management that uses strategies employed in the private sphere. Its focus is on improving economy and efficiency, increasing decentralization, and controlling and measuring employees (p. 64). Shore and Wright demonstrated that audit/accountability technologies have been particularly

associated with NPM in British universities since the 1980s; these trends are also evident in Canadian universities.

Hardy (1996) and Currie and Newson (1998) described trends in the external pressures on and internal lives of Canadian universities. Internal pressures have resulted in the rise of managerialism in Canadian universities, an increased role for administration, and greater levels of responsibility for public relations and fundraising on the part of university leaders (Hardy, 1996). A major external pressure on universities has been a weakening trend in federalism. There has also been a trend toward "increasing differentiation and specialization within the university system" (Currie & Newson, 1998, pp. 93-96): that is, elite, national, provincial, specialized, large, and small. There is increased competition for research funding and students, increased marketing by universities, a shrinking of the public sphere, and "continuing bifurcation in the opportunity structure in the labor market . . . [with] universities . . . explicitly [attempting] to capture the 'good jobs' market and the professional retraining market" (p. 95). It is also predicted that "the inflation of credentials will continue, so that more jobs will require a degree as a screen for entry" (p. 95).

Currie and Newson (1998) echoed others who noted a move to a more commercial, entrepreneurial university culture, an undermining of the liberal education component, and they predicted that the "critical function of the university will also be threatened" (p. 95). They commented on the use of "organizational models that are bureaucratic, corporate, and directed to the market" (p. 95) and on the heightened emphasis on efficiency. Academics experience "an intensification of work practices, a loss of individual autonomy, closer monitoring and appraisal, less participation in decision-making, and a lack of personal development through work" (Ball, 1990; as cited in Currie & Newson, 1998, p. 96), along with a widening gulf between administration and research functions (p. 96). The increased commodification of education is seen in measures such as "differential fees, full cost recovery, the establishment of programs for profit" (p. 96). In general, Canadian universities "are becoming more corporate, more technocratic, more utilitarian" (p. 96).

Canadian universities function within a political environment characterized by a new form of capitalism. Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) theorized that the critiques of each iteration of capitalism have been exploited and taken up in particular ways that shape the form of the next version of capitalism. They argued that the cultural, representational, and legitimation critiques of postwar capitalism have been appropriated and transformed into key characteristics of the current form of capitalism. In particular, there has been a shift to a privileging of a particular individualized form of identity, a focus on networking as a strategy that individuals must employ to obtain employment, and a focus on "the project" as a way of organizing work and the relations of work.

In what they called "the projective city" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007, p. 130), individuals must constantly reshape and remarket themselves to become or remain employable and to be "great people" (rather than "little people"). According to Larner (2000), "Neoliberal strategies of rule . . . encourage people to see themselves as individualized and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well-being" (p. 13). As Davies (2005) put it:

> The neoliberal self is largely defined in terms of income and the capacity to purchase goods. The desire for goods can be satisfied to the extent that the worker produces whatever the economy demands. This emphasis on consumerism makes the worker compliant to whatever must be done to earn money, since to lose one's job, to be without income, is to lose one's identity. In order to hold their jobs, neoliberal selves are necessarily flexible, multiskilled, mobile, able to respond to new demands and new situations; "security is seen as emanating from people's capacity to adapt. Either they are flexible and adaptable, open to change, capable of finding new projects, and live in relative personal security, or they are not and will be put aside when the current project finishes (Chiapello & Fairclough, 2002, p. 30). (p. 9)

The "there is no alternative" and "the world has changed" discourses are offered as a rationale for "just-in-time" policies and practices, and such policies do not allow for employment-funded networking and professional development/education. Individuals hold the responsibility for constantly marketing themselves, reeducating themselves, and retraining themselves to find work in an uncertain and rapidly changing political economy, an understanding of which eludes even the "biggest people" in the field. And when individuals lose

their jobs, they are portrayed as having made bad choices—bad work choices, bad education or training choices, bad networking choices, bad performative choices. In other words, whereas in capitalist economies the individual has always been responsible for his/her own destiny, in neocapitalism the job of making oneself employable and "worthy" is perceived to have been rendered more doable in a way, and therefore failure is more disgraceful and more blameworthy. There is a neoliberal perception that the level of agency on the part of the individual worker has increased. During the Great Depression in North America, if a worker was unemployed, the perception was that, no matter what he did, it was very likely that he would not find work. Today, in contrast, the shift has been to seeing the unemployed worker as much more capable of reshaping him-/herself to reconnect to the world of work. There has been a shift from seeing the unemployed, or the "unsuccessful," as responsible *in some way* for their lack of success to seeing the unemployed and unsuccessful as more *culpably* responsible. Why did they not see this coming? Why did they not network more or network smarter?

In fact, the impact of selection mechanisms is unequally distributed (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007, p. 236). For example, in a world in which English has hegemonic status, a perceived deficit of English language capital is a factor that often reduces the chances of success, either in English-dominated workplaces (e.g., Goyette, 2007) or in English-medium postsecondary institutions.

Neoliberal "lean management" and "just-in-time" policies and practices are antithetical to a concept of work that views the workplace as a site for the collective. To "lean up" an organization, the onus for training, education, and searching for new jobs is shifted in large part to the individual employee. The university, as a workplace, is one of the institutional sites where these new discourses play out in complex ways.

In addition to social capital, linguistic and cultural capital are requirements for full citizenship in the "connexionist world" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007, p. 130) of new capitalism. Progressive educators might promote the resource view of diversity (in contrast with the deficit view), but within the political economy, proficiency in a language or culture other than the dominant one has little value

unless it can be commodified (cf. p. 441). On the contrary, lack of dominant language capital severely limits individuals' ability to network, to reconstitute themselves in diverse ways, and to access resources, all of which are required to be considered hirable, in some cases even for less than desirable jobs.

In the projective city, the employee must be constantly engaged in self-improvement and self-management. Earlier versions of capitalism, characterized by more permanent jobs, employee benefits, guarantee of full-time employment after a probationary period, and a degree of mutual loyalty between employee and employer, all tended to provide employees with a staging ground for new job searches and for seeking new educational opportunities.

So whereas the middle class is preoccupied with self, image, and consumption (e.g., Stuff White People Like, n.d.), seeking personal fulfillment through engagement with projects (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007) and slightly rejigging their retirement plans because of the latest global financial crisis, more substantial concerns of the "food on the table and roof overhead" variety continue to occupy the attention of the marginalized. Although international students tend to be among the middle or upper classes and would not be considered among the most exploited, they nonetheless live their lives in a world where nation states as well as their educational institutions experience new capitalism's effects.

To situate my research within this current context, it is also important to outline the demographic information of international students at Canadian universities and to acknowledge the kinds of supports that various postsecondary institutions have in place for preparing international students to meet the English language proficiency requirements for academic study. Considering the contextual factors explicated above, the ways in which such programs meet the needs of students is an issue related to my research questions.

International students at Canadian universities. Internationalization as a policy initiative came to the fore in Canadian universities in the late 1980s, partly as a way to increase tuition revenues through attracting greater numbers of international students and charging differential tuition fees, while federal government funding for postsecondary education was steadily decreasing.

According to Statistics Canada (Canada, 2013), international student enrolments at Canadian universities grew from 36,822 in the 1992–1993 academic year to 107,286 in 2010–2011. Total university enrolments also grew during this same time period (from 885,645 to 1,237,584), as did the proportion of international students, from 4.2% of the total enrolment in 1992–1993 to 8.7% in 2010–2011. These international enrolments were across undergraduate, master's, and doctoral levels (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2013). Thus, within an 18-year time span, the proportion of international students doubled at Canadian universities.

Learning English

For international EAL students to participate in English-medium Canadian universities, they must demonstrate sufficient levels of English language proficiency. Thus, universities make use of various English language tests.

English proficiency testing. Two main types of English proficiency tests are used for the purpose of granting English as a Second Language (ESL) and EFL students admission to Canadian universities: standardized tests, that is, tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL); and 'in-house' tests that one university develops and uses for its own admission purposes. Standardized, widely available English proficiency tests include the TOEFL, the Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB), and the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), as well as the Canadian-developed tests Canadian Test of English for Scholars and Trainees (CanTEST) and the Carleton Academic English Language (CAEL) test. A brief description of each follows, along with a summary of the ways in which these universities use the tests.

Educational Testing Services (ETS) in Princeton, New Jersey, developed and administers the TOEFL. It has three forms: (a) paper based (pBT), (b) computer based (cBT), and (c) Internet based (iBT). Since fall 2006, only the iBT can be taken in Canada. The pBT and the cBT report scores on listening, reading, and structure (grammar), with optional tests in writing and speaking. In contrast, speaking and writing are mandatory components of the iBT.

The MELAB, also called the Michigan, was developed at the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan. The Michigan is over 50 years old and predates the TOEFL. It is intended to test advanced English for academic and professional purposes and has three parts: writing, listening, and a multiple-choice section that tests grammar, reading, and vocabulary. An additional speaking component is optional.

The IELTS is widely used in Southeast Asia. It is jointly managed through an international partnership among the University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations, the British Council, and IELTS Australia. IELTS has both academic and general modules that assess four skills: listening, reading, writing, and speaking. The differences between an academic module, which is the form accepted for university admission, and a general module lie in context, purpose, and content. Scores are reported in bands that describe levels of language competence rather than numerical scores. Band scores are reported for each of the skill modules.

The CanTEST was originally developed with CIDA funding for use in China by the University of Ottawa and St. Mary's University. It was initially intended to assess the English proficiency of Chinese applicants to Canadian universities at the graduate level. It continues to be managed by the Second Language Institute at the University of Ottawa. Like IELTS, it converts raw scores into band scores. The CanTEST has three subtests: listening, reading, and writing, with an optional speaking test.

The CAEL test was created by the School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies of Carleton University and is managed by the CAEL Assessment Office. It is based on 1987-1989 needs assessment research with first-year undergraduate students at Carleton University. It is a criterion-referenced, topic-based test of English for Academic Purposes (Carleton University, n.d.). Four subtests of the CAEL assess reading, listening, speaking, and writing. Like the IELTS and CanTEST, it reports test results in the form of bands.

In addition to the widely used tests listed above, some universities have used in-house tests that are developed and managed within their own institution

(Fredeen, 2008). These include, for example, the York English Language Test (YELT) at York University, the Certificate of Proficiency in English (COPE) at the University of Toronto, the Concordia English Language Diagnostic Test (CELDT) at Concordia University, and the Canadian English Language Proficiency Index Program (CELPIP) at UBC.

English proficiency admission requirements at Canadian universities. A variety of options are open to prospective students to demonstrate their English proficiency for the purposes of admission, including university ESL/EAP programs (as described below), English proficiency tests, and content-based programs (Fredeen, 2008). The latter refers to programs that provide structured opportunities for students to continue developing their English proficiency while concurrently taking academic content courses for degree credit. Another option open to younger students who have the option of attending Canadian secondary schools is to provide evidence of specified numbers of years of successful studies in an English-medium school.

English-language courses. One of the most important types of support that many international EAL students require is courses in ESL, or EAP (Benesch, 2001; Jordan, 1997). A survey of 20 Canadian university websites indicated that most, if not all, Canadian universities offer ESL/EAP instruction in a variety of forms (Fredeen, 2008).[2] University EAP programs are intensive ESL programs designed to prepare students for academic work using the medium of English. An intensive language program is one that entails several hours of teaching and learning each day. Successful completion of a university's own EAP program is generally accepted in lieu of an English test at the undergraduate level, and usually also at the graduate level.

Examples of university ESL/EAP courses in western Canada include the University of Alberta's ESL 145 (for undergraduates) and ESL 550 (for graduate

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[2] At least one university per province was included in the survey sample. All of the universities in the survey offered ESL/EAP programs.

students) and the University of Saskatchewan's University Preparation 2. The University of Saskatchewan's six levels are based on the learner's proficiency upon arrival. This is determined through an oral interview, a written composition, and in-house tests of listening, grammar, and vocabulary. When students pass a 10-week course, they are promoted to the next level. Teams of teachers at each level develop final exams that are worth 40% of the final grade in the course.

Most Canadian ESL/EAP courses and programs do not have degree-credit status within their respective universities. They tend to exist on the margins of the institutions and can therefore be said to be evidence of the neoliberal turn in Canadian universities because they have typically been expected to operate on a cost-recovery basis or, increasingly, as revenue-generating programs.

Teachers in university EAP programs are generally not university faculty members and also tend to exist on the margins of the academy. In some instances they are not protected by union membership. Required teacher qualifications tend to conform to standards that are laid out in ESL teacher professional associations at the provincial and national levels. Some program standards have also been established by Languages Canada, a national federation of postsecondary ESL and French Second Language programs and institutions. Languages Canada has served as a voice for these programs with respect to government lobbying efforts and international marketing of ESL programs.

Content-based instruction programs. Some universities in Canada offer content-based instruction (CBI) programs designed to develop students' language while they learn academic content, typically at the undergraduate level. In general, the current interest in CBI came to the forefront in North American educational institutions in the mid to late 1960s as a result of a Canadian educational innovation: French immersion. The underlying hypothesis has been that learners can simultaneously acquire an additional language and academic content. The major types of CBI that have emerged in university settings include Theme-Based CBI, Bridging, Sheltered, and Adjunct programs. There are also many combinations and variations of these, including Adjunct Bridge and Simulated Adjunct (Snow & Brinton, 1997). The particular resources,

sociopolitical contexts, and exigencies at particular universities have meant that, in practice, each institution creates its own unique model (Crandall & Kaufman, 2002). However, there are generally accepted definitions of each program type, and these are as follows.

Theme-based CBI. This refers to EAP programs that use themes as a curriculum- and syllabus-organizing strategy. In university EAP programs, these themes are chosen on the basis of their relevance to the students' academic studies. For instance, in a theme-based EAP program intended specifically for engineering students, themes would be chosen from the curriculum of the engineering program. In addition, the learning activities tend to replicate some of the learning tasks within the engineering program. For example, reading materials might be excerpts of engineering texts, and writing assignments might involve writing lab reports, based on real activities required of the students once they are taking degree-credit courses in engineering. Excerpts of engineering professors' lectures might be used in the listening comprehension component of the EAP program.

The advantages of theme-based CBI in a university EAP program seem clear: Students are motivated to learn English because it is directly related in an instrumental way to their intended program of study. Students can acquire both general academic vocabulary (such as *empirical*) and discipline-specific vocabulary (such as *pharmaceutical*). In programs with students interested in a variety of disciplines, a variety of themes are used. One such theme might be the global environmental crisis, which could be designed to appeal to those from disciplines in the natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and professional faculties. General academic vocabulary can be taught, along with types of academic reading and writing that are representative of a range of disciplines (e.g., reading and writing for examination purposes, reading for research purposes, and essay writing). Theme-based CBI has been conceptualized and implemented in a variety of ways (e.g., Grabe & Stoller, 1997).

Bridging programs. Bridging programs entail permitting students enrolled in advanced levels of university ESL/EAP programs to concurrently register in a

specified number of academic, degree-credit courses. A time limit is usually associated with this form of admission, and students are generally required to pass all courses, with a specified GPA, to maintain their admission status. There is not necessarily an expectation of correspondence in content between the academic courses and the ESL/EAP courses. The academic courses open to students in a bridging program might or might not be intended specifically for EAL students. A bridging program is intended to assist students with developing English proficiency to "make the transition from a language course to regular academic courses in their field of study" (Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p. 59). Programs vary in a number of respects, including the minimum English score required for admission and the number of ESL/EAP and degree-credit courses in which students are allowed to enroll concurrently.

Sheltered instruction. Sheltered instruction programs employ an approach and methods based explicitly on the immersion model. Academic content is taught in English and made comprehensible to the students using second-language teaching methods and techniques. The goal is to facilitate the students' English language development while they are learning academic content, until they are ready to take regular academic courses. The focus is on learning the academic content, and courses carry degree credit. According to Richards and Schmidt (2002), sheltered instruction is intended to "enable the students to acquire higher levels of . . . English proficiency while at the same time achieving in the content areas" (p. 483). All students in a sheltered course are EAL students, which refers to the notion of the lack of competition from native speakers that is implied by the term *sheltered* (Adamson, 1993).

Adjunct programs. Adjunct programs involve a language (ESL) course being linked with a specific content course. For example, an ESL course might be linked to an introductory sociology course. The ESL adjunct course is intended to help students develop language required for success in the content course. The ESL students take the content course along with native English speakers, in contrast to sheltered courses, in which there are no native speakers. Adjunct programs require considerable coordination in terms of registration and

curriculum. Willing academic faculty need to be recruited, and ESL/EAP teachers with some background in the specific discipline are certainly an advantage. For both academic faculty and ESL teachers, a considerable time commitment is required to effectively coordinate instruction (Crandall & Kaufman, 2002). According to the various case studies of adjunct programs in American universities that Crandall described, significant institutional commitment and resources are required to develop, implement, and sustain an adjunct program; however, there are many potential benefits for students.

Many Canadian universities currently offer bridging programs of some description. However, there are very few sheltered or adjunct programs, which might be related to the resource requirements, as noted above.

An EAL individual who meets the English proficiency requirements for university admission is considered to be capable of functioning at an advanced level of proficiency. However, this level is not sufficiently high to enable participation and access to learning in the same ways as with native speakers of English.

After learning how Canadian universities assess English language proficiency for the purposes of admission and how, in some cases, students with slightly lower levels of proficiency are admitted on the condition that they continue to learn English as they begin their academic studies through CBI programs, I turned to the literature in applied linguistics and higher education to review research specifically related to the academic experiences of international EAL students. Three areas of the literature appeared to be of particular relevance: (a) concepts related to language variation, (b) EAP programs and methods in higher education, and (c) the experiences of international students at postsecondary institutions and the responses of these institutions to international students. My primary goal was to ascertain whether research of the nature I hoped to undertake already existed. After it appeared not to have been conducted, I then summarized key elements from the literature in these areas in order to inform my analysis.

The literature related to language learning and use.

Language variation. The traditional structural understanding of differences among world languages is that a language is comprised of varieties, or dialects, that differ one from the other in minor or substantial ways and at all levels of language (vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, and semantics). Within a community of language speakers, generally, one or more have the social status of being considered standard dialects. These dialects are the ones that people in power use and hence are related to class, gender, and race. Examples of Standard British English, also referred to as *Received Pronunciation*, can be observed by listening to British political leaders, business leaders, professional groups, and BBC newscasts. Other less prestigious dialects might mark geographic or social differences that are linked to assumptions regarding race, class, or level of education; the most marginalized among these are referred to as *nonstandard dialects*. Examples of nonstandard dialects include Black English (the variety that many inner-city African Americans speak) and in Canada, Cree English (the variety that many Plains Cree people speak). Examples of critical scholarship in language variation, and global Englishes in particular, include Canagarajah (2005), Pennycook (1994), Sterzuk (in press), and Creese and Kambere (2003). Some have shown how the English language itself might be understood as a discursive construction (Makoni & Pennycook, 2006; Pennycook, 2007).

English for academic purposes. According to Hyland (2006), Tim Johns coined the term *English for Academic Purposes* in 1974 (p. 2). It grew out of another emerging area of interest: English for Specific Purposes (p. 1) and can be defined as "teaching English with the aim of assisting learners' study or research in that language" (p. 2). Evident in the field is a diverse

> range of interdisciplinary influences for its research methods, theories and practices to provide insights into the structures and meanings of spoken, written, visual and electronic academic texts, into the demands placed by academic contexts on communicative behaviours, and into the pedagogic practices by which these behaviours can be developed. It is, in short, specialized English-language teaching grounded in the social, cognitive and linguistic demands of academic target situations, providing focused instruction informed by an understanding of texts and the constraints of academic contexts. (p. 2)

Within the field of EAP are studies of assessment (e.g., Douglas, 2000; Fulcher, 1999; Green, 2006, 2007; Shohamy, 2004; Sowden, 2003); discourse, genre, and corpus studies (e.g., Connor & Upton, 2004; Swales, 1990, 2004); needs and rights of students (e.g., Benesch, 1999; Jordan, 1997); student writing (e.g., Leki, Cumming, & Silva, 2008; Prior, 1998); CBI (see the earlier discussion); program and syllabus design and implementation (e.g., Feez, 1998; Jordan, 1997); and methodologies and materials for teachers and students (e.g., Johns, 1997; Swales & Feak, 2004).

Another area of research in EAP, which is related to my research question, addresses affective and social issues. Clearly, these issues are central to the academic success of international EAL students, and these have been addressed in various ways (e.g., Casanave & Li, 2008; Lucca, 2002). international students themselves have conducted a number of studies (e.g., Lee, 2005; Sung, 2000). Experiences such as loneliness, culture shock, confusion, and lack of inclusion in domestic student groups are more common than not, according to the literature. However, although these aspects of international students' experiences are very relevant to my study, they are not its focus. My research goal was to consider how these experiences illustrate the effects of university policies and discursive practices related to internationalization.

Experiences of international EAL university students. To organize what I discovered in the literature, I drew on my own experiences with international students to focus on issues, problems, and crises, which I have framed as questions and statements such as "But I already know English!" I then assembled some of the key academic works around these questions and statements. Of course, all of these issues are complex and interrelated, and thus my inclusion of research in a particular category does not preclude its relevance to another category or issue.

"These students all passed their English test, but you should see their writing!" A university employee or faculty member might express surprise that a student who has met the English proficiency requirements of the university still has significant difficulties in academic writing or one or more other general skills

(e.g., listening comprehension) or specific skills (e.g., summary writing). One or more of several related issues might be at play, considering the types of knowledge and skills required for academic success in a Canadian university. First, how well does performance on measures of English proficiency for admission purposes measure the types of English required for academic success (e.g., Elson, 1992; Hyland, Trahar, Anderson, & Dickens, 2008)? Not all tests are created equal. For example, the paper-based TOEFL, which at least in 2008 still appeared to be accepted at Canadian universities (Fredeen, 2008), does not include a writing test. Others have questioned to what degree English proficiency itself predicts academic achievement (Seelen, 2002). Other factors related to this issue include socioacademic competence (Benesch, 2001; Leki, 2006), knowledge and skills related to the version of academic honesty that is understood in Western academia (Hussin, 2007; Pennycook, 2001), and skills related to academic research and use of sources. Plagiarism, both intentional and unintentional, emerges as a widespread concern (e.g., Carroll & Ryan, 2005; Ryan & Zuber-Skerritt, 1999). Many of these issues can best be dealt with through international students' participation in university EAP or CBI programs, although students who enter university on the basis of a sufficiently high English proficiency test score typically bypass these programs. Although student support services exist in a variety of forms across universities, evidence suggests that international students use these services to a lesser extent than do domestic students (e.g., Lyakhovetska, 2004).

"But I already know English!" International students from British postcolonial nations and societies with long traditions of English language use, such as parts of Africa, India, and the Caribbean, wonder why they encounter such challenges as being required to take English proficiency tests, having to rewrite papers, or coping with exclusionary practices of various sorts. Creese and Kambere (2003), in their study of the Canadian experiences of African immigrants, many of whom had degrees from Canadian universities, concluded that "accents discursively patrol the borders within Canada" (p. 571; also see the earlier discussion of language variation). Then there is the matter of academic

literacies (Casanave & Li, 2008; Lea & Street, 2000). The particular forms of writing that are considered appropriate in Western academic contexts are based on particular (not universal) ontological and epistemological assumptions related to the sociology of knowledge and to the discourse structures of Western academic English. A Canadian university term paper is not a story or a poem. In addition, there are differences within and among disciplinary traditions. Writing in the natural sciences is in many ways different from writing in the social sciences. There is a place for using "I" in writing up qualitative research, but much less so in most quantitative studies. Particular language skills are more highly valued in some courses and programs than others; for example, one professor might rely on students' speaking skills to a much greater extent than another within the same program or department. Some sections of a course that are reserved for international EAL students in university bridging programs might rely on multiple choice tests for student assessment rather than assignments that require writing or speaking (Fredeen, 2008). Finally, these issues exist in a global context where English has hegemonic power (with serious effects on local languages) (Canagarajah, 2005; Pennycook, 1994; Philippson, 1999) and where, perhaps not surprisingly, more non-native than native speakers of English teach EAP (Hyland, 2006, p. 4).

"We've never had any complaints . . ." International EAL students might not always know how, who, when, or what to ask when they encounter difficulties or require information. Their developing English language proficiencies and their developing understandings of "the way things work" in a Canadian university represent constraints in the ways in which they seek information or express concerns. Furthermore, it is a characteristic of the digital times in which we live that we are often told "It's all online" when we seek information. Jackson (2000) is among those who have suggested that digital literacy can be even more challenging and complex for EAL students than for English speakers. An investigation of Canadian universities' websites to learn about English proficiency requirements revealed that it is often difficult or impossible to access relevant information, and at times the information presented is contradictory or

not current (Fredeen, 2008). Because universities present themselves to potential overseas students through their websites, this is an issue of some importance.

To summarize, although there is considerable research in the fields of postsecondary education, international EAL students, and EAP, much of it has been motivated by desires to improve the effectiveness of policies, programs, teaching procedures, and assessment. There has been some critical scholarship in these fields, but my particular interest is in the *effects* of institutional practices and policy discourses on the academic endeavors of international EAL students, as subjects, in Canadian universities. Little research of this type appears to have been conducted. In the next section I describe the theoretical conceptions that provided a framework for my investigation of policy discourses and their effects on international EAL students.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

In this chapter I discuss the theoretical tools and concepts that helped me answer my research questions. Ball (1994) referred to the diverse and sometimes divergent "epistemologies and analytical perspectives [that] fight to be heard" (p. 1) in his policy research, and he delineated how he conceptualized these as "interpretive resources" (p. 1). Theoretical eclecticism can be a responsible approach to research, with the proviso that each theoretical element needs to be justified, and the articulation and coherence of the various pieces need to be argued.

In general, my conceptual approach to how re/production operates in institutions is that, through the process of performing their official tasks, people re/create the institution of which they are a part. I use a critical poststructural approach (Ball, 1994) to consider the specifics of how power operates in local institutional settings and how individuals are complicit in reproducing institutional structures and ideologies through engaging with discourses as they go about their day-to-day work.

Power and Power-Knowledge

Foucault's conception of power is key to understanding his work. According to Barrett (1991, pp. 134-135), the shift in Foucault's thinking towards a central interest in power (e.g., in *Discipline and Punish* and *The History of Sexuality*) reflects a distancing from Marxism's foundational tenet that the economy determines all, in the last instance. Foucault argued that the question of power is even more fundamental than the economic in investigating the realm of the social and that individuals do not possess power, but exercise it (p. 135).

According to Foucault (1982), power's central character is not sovereign. Neither is it violence (its "primitive form," its "permanent secret," its "last resource," p. 220). Power is diffuse, decentralized, and embodied and operates by a type of capillary action through the actions of individuals. Power is viewed as operating through, not on, and at a micro rather than a macro level. Foucault's investigations of power are driven by "how" questions; for him these questions are required for the most foundational and basic level of empirical inquiry into the

operation of power and power relations (e.g., "How is it that certain forms of knowledge have been constituted as truth?"). His conception of power entails "no absolute top or bottom, but rather a grid or network . . . like a grammar, which conditions what can be uttered in a language but does not determine which actual utterances emerge (and when)" (David Couzens Hoy, 1986; as cited in Barrett, 1991, pp. 138-139).

Another significant aspect of Foucault's conception of power is that it operates not only to limit and negate, but also to produce. The productive aspect of power is of interest, Foucault contended, in that power produces knowledge, subjects, and discourses.

Foucault argued that power and knowledge are interrelated to such an extent that they are inseparable—hence, his term *power-knowledge*. He considered all knowledge to be an effect of power, and,

> on the other hand, forms of knowledge constitute the social reality that they describe and analyze: "Power and knowledge directly imply one another. . . . There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" [Foucault, 1995, p. 27]. (McNay, 1994, p. 108; also see Hall, 1997, pp. 48-49)

From a poststructuralist perspective, "the effects of the power-knowledge complex are related through different discourses" (McNay, 1994, p. 108), and specific techniques of power operate through discourses within discursive fields.

Discourse

Drawing on Foucault's interest in the productive rather than the coercive nature of power, by examining discourse it is possible to illuminate power-knowledge nexi and conditions of im/possibility (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). The sense in which Foucault used "discourse" goes beyond commonly understood meanings such as text or spoken language (Barrett, 1991, p. 126). It is also differentiated from the linguistic sense of "passages of connected writing or speech" (Hall, 1997, p. 44); "by 'discourse,' Foucault meant 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—a way or representing the knowledge about—a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Discourse

is about the production of knowledge through language'" (Hall, 1992; as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 44).

Discourse refers to the taken-for-granted knowledge and associated language and its power to shape people's thinking and actions. Particular discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. . . . Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (Foucault, 1977a, p. 49). Things have the meaning that we give them, in contrast with the naïve realist view that things have meaning in and of themselves. Foucault understood discourses to be "composed of signs, but . . . do[ing] more than designat[ing] things" (Barrett, 1991, p. 130). Historical investigations into how particular discursive formations have come to be constructed as they have can serve to loosen the "tight embrace" between words and things (p. 130).

A discursive formation might be seen as determining "how [it is] that one particular statement appear[s] rather than another" (Barrett, 1991, p. 126). The basic unit of a discursive formation is a statement that has the nature of a "serious speech act" with "truth claims" (p. 127) and "enunciative function," which derives its meaning from its context (p. 127). Foucault identified a discourse or a discursive formation when a regularity of "dispersion" of statements in relation to themes, objects, or types of statements might be observed (p. 128). A discursive formation has a regulating and organizing function (Foucault, 1972), and its exercise of power is visible in its ability to organize practice (Barrett, 1991, p. 135). Furthermore, a discursive formation is not only "about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (Ball, 1994, p. 21).

For Foucault, truth was not universal, but historical and discursive (Hall, 1997, p. 49). His conception of a "regime of truth" is defined as a "system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements, [linking truth] in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it" (Foucault, 1977b, p. 133). Hall (1997) wrote that the study of a discourse would include the following elements: (a) statements

about the discourse "which give us a certain kind of knowledge" about the topic; (b) "the rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about [the topic] and exclude other ways—which govern what is 'sayable' or 'thinkable' about [the discourse] at a particular historical moment"; (c) "'subjects' who in some ways personify the discourse . . . with the attributes we would expect these subjects to have, given the way knowledge about the topic was constructed at that time"; (d) "how this knowledge about the topic acquires authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth' about it; constituting 'truth of the matter,' at a historical moment"; (e) "the practices within institutions for dealing with the subjects . . . whose conduct is being regulated and organized according to those ideas" (pp. 44-46); and

> (f) acknowledgement that a different discourse or *episteme* will arise at a later historical moment, supplanting the existing one, opening up a new *discursive formation*, and producing, in its turn, new conceptions of [the topic], new discourses with the power and authority, the "truth," to regulate social practices in new ways. (pp. 44-46)

Foucault used the term *apparatus* to describe the ways in which "the discursive and the material are inextricably linked together, . . . as in the development of institutional forms such as the Clinic, the Mental Asylum, the Prison, or the School" (Olssen, 2003, p. 196). An institutional apparatus can be thought of as an assemblage of linguistic and nonlinguistic elements, including "discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc." (Foucault, 1980; as cited in Hall, 1997, p. 47).

Work of the Self on the Self

Foucault argued that individuals understand themselves as subjects within discourses and that they are always engaged with the process of constituting themselves in relation to dominant and/or alternative discourses. In addition, "Foucault saw individuals 'as self-determining agents capable of challenging and resisting the structures of domination in modern society' (McNay, 1992, p. 4)" (Besley, 2005, p. 79). Thus, he was concerned with how "the individual constitutes and recognizes himself *qua* subject" (Foucault, 1990, p. 6) and also elucidated the "technologies of the self," which he used to describe "the

operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being" that people use to transform themselves (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

Bureaucracy

Closely connected with institutional discourse, particularly in its written forms, and with relations of ruling in Western society, is *bureaucracy*, a phenomenon that Max Weber explicated. Smith (2005) commented that "Weber is one of the few sociologists who theorized organization to recognize the significance of texts and documents in bureaucracy" (p. 25).

Institutions in the Western world tend to be characterized by bureaucracy. Weber (2004a) has drawn attention to the taken-for-granted, commonsense notion that bureaucracy is essential, the best way, the only way for a society to function, a view that is hegemonic in the Western world. This view rests on the acceptance of other taken-for-granted values such as the benefits of efficiency in the use of time and money, which Weber (2004b) theorized in *The Protestant Work Ethic* (p. 100).

Within the bureaucratic machine (Weber, 2004a), authority, as a legitimated form of power, operates through a particular set of mechanisms that represent a way of distributing power. Its elements include jurisdictional areas, official duties, distribution of authority, specification of qualifications, attachment of specified training and qualifications to specific official positions, hierarchy, supremacy of the written document, separation of public and private, and the notion that the "reduction of . . . management to rules" (pp. 104-106) is possible and desirable. "The management of the modern office is based upon written documents ('the files') which are preserved in their original or draught form" (p. 105). The power of the written text in bureaucratic organizations such as North American universities is illustrated in the reverence shown towards admission application forms, transcripts of grades, written tests and test results, course outlines, the calendar, and published scholarly works. For students, academic achievement depends on their learning about and submitting to bureaucratic authority as it exists in the forms of written policies, regulations, and other institutional texts at the university.

North American universities have become increasingly bureaucratized, and great attention is given to their organization, which is characterized by hierarchy.

> Bureaucracy is *the* means of carrying "community action" over into rationally ordered "societal action." Therefore, as an instrument for "societalizing" relations of power, bureaucracy has been and is a power instrument of the first order—for the one who controls the bureaucratic apparatus. (Weber, 2004a, p. 109)

The compliance of each employee with the rules and authority of a bureaucracy "has been conditioned" (p. 110), as has submission to bureaucracy on the part of the governed (p. 110). Bureaucracy has a durable nature, and it is also impersonal (p. 109). The impersonal nature of a bureaucracy "means that the mechanism—in contrast to feudal orders based upon personal piety—is easily made to work for anybody who knows how to gain control over it." (p. 110). A government can be overthrown and replaced by another, yet the bureaucracy continues to function (p. 110). This can be seen in the operation of the bureaucracy of a university. Unless changes are explicitly made by a new university president or the dean of a faculty, for example, things go on as usual in the bureaucratic organization.

Although traditional understandings of bureaucracy recognize the potential of social structures to consolidate power, what is more important to poststructuralists is to think of discourse as operating within particular discursive fields. Thus, here my interest is in bureaucracy as a discursive field and its potential to organize practice and to be productive of power.

Discursive Field

Although poststructuralism does not emphasize structural relationships, it recognizes the potential of social structures to organize knowledge; what is more important to the poststructuralist is to think of discourses as operating within particular discursive fields. For example, an academic discipline such as sociology can be thought of as a discursive field, as can an aspect of an institution such as the registrar of a university. A discursive field refers to "the discursive and non-discursive events and objects that you have classified as a unity that belong to a single system of knowledge in a specific era" (Jardine, 2005, p. 96).

Within a discursive field are a number of discourses related to the constitutive components of the field (Weedon, 1997). Typically, one of these discourses is the dominant discourse within a particular discursive field. Other discourses exist as alternative or competing discourses.

Policy and Policy Sociology

Policy might be considered a mechanism or technology of bureaucracy. Institutional policies usually appear as written text in such forms as mission statements, university calendars, websites, course outlines, assignment descriptions, minutes of meetings, or e-mail messages.

Policy can also be conceived of as discourse (Ball, 1994, p. 21). As discourse, policy determines the conditions of im/possibility, and is therefore experienced as social structure. However, agency exists in relation to how individuals take up or resist elements and subject positions of a particular policy within particular social contexts and times. Rather than an either/or focus on structure or agency, what is required is a focus on "the changing relationships between constraint *and* agency and their inter-penetration" (p. 21).

A policy sociology approach has an interest in the effects of policy in local settings (Ball, 1994, p. 2), as policy effects "vary among contexts" (p. 24). Whereas policies might appear "crude and simple, . . . practice is sophisticated, contingent, complex and unstable. Policy *as* practice is 'created' in a trialectic of dominance, resistance and chaos/freedom" (p. 11). Thus, a policy-practice gap is not simply an implementation failure (Ball, 2005, p. 7). Ball (1994) argued that "the effect of policy is primarily discursive, it changes the possibilities we have for thinking otherwise" (p. 23). Policies exist at the macro and micro levels of society and of institutions, and everywhere in between. According to Ball (1998), "Policy analysis requires an understanding that is based not on the generic or local, macro- or micro-constraint or agency but on the changing relationships between them and their inter-penetration" (p. 127).

Across as well as within levels of analysis of the social, policies are usually linked and interconnected. Ball (1994) used the concept of "policy ensembles": "collections of related policies, [which] exercise power through a

production of 'truth' and 'knowledge,' as discourses" (p. 21). Poststructuralist metaphors used to signify the complex, shifting, contingent nature of the relationships among discourses include webs, matrices, and networks.

Intertextuality

The interconnectedness of policies can also be thought of in terms of intertextuality. The concept of intertextuality is generally attributed to Julia Kristeva in the 1960s, drawing on the work of de Saussure and Bakhtin (Allen, 2000, p. 11). In simple terms, intertextuality acknowledges that "texts refer to other texts and in fact rely on them for their meaning" (Porter, 1986, p. 34). An explicit example of intertextuality is the use of citations in academic writing (Porter, 1986), or in the case of hyperlinks, in the realm of the Internet (Morgan, 2000). At a more general and ontological level, intertextuality reflects the poststructuralist understanding of the blurred nature of boundaries between texts, between discourses, between reality and representation (Stanley & Morgan, 1993; as cited in Fox, 1995), or between researcher and researched (Fox, 1995). It is significant in terms of how power-knowledge is produced and reproduced through text and discourse.

The Subject and Subjectivity

To understand how individuals are viewed as both subjects and objects of and in discourse, the concept of the decentering of the subject is key. Foucault (1980) wrote: "One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself . . . to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework" (p. 117). According to Popkewitz and Brennan (1998), the value of the decentering of the subject is that it enables us

> to understand how the subject is constituted within a field that relates knowledge and power. It is not to eliminate subjects seeking to change their worlds but to give historical specificity to the systems of ideas that enclose and intern the "reason" and the "reasonable person" as alternatives are sought. (p. 10)

In humanist philosophy, individuals are assumed to have a rational, unified character; they "presuppose an essence at the heart of the individual which is unique, fixed and coherent and which makes her what she *is*" (Weedon, 1997, p. 21). In contrast, a poststructuralist understands individuals as historical subjects

whose subjectivities are "precarious, contradictory and in process, constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (p. 32). According to Miedema and Wardekker (1999), the necessity of a "consistent and uncontradictory identity" (p. 78) for an agentive subject is a product of modernity rather than a universal imperative.

A poststructuralist analysis of power-knowledge and discourse reveals within a particular discourse specific subject positions that are available for individuals to take up. All discourses "construct subject-positions, from which alone they make sense" (Hall, 1997, p. 56). In this way, "different discourses provide for a range of modes of subjectivity" (Weedon, 1997, p. 88). Furthermore, "whereas, in principle, the individual is open to all forms of subjectivity in reality individual access to subjectivity is governed by historically specific social factors and the forms of power at work in a particular society" (p. 91). Factors such as age, class, gender, race, and so on constrain individuals' access to particular subjectivities in relation to historical contexts and social and political structures. As Weedon put it:

> the fixing of meaning in society and the realization of the implications of particular versions of meaning in forms of social organization and the distribution of social power rely on the discursive constitution of subject positions from which individuals actively interpret the world and by which they are themselves governed. . . . Discourses, located as they are in social institutions and processes, are continually competing with each other for the allegiance of individual agents. . . . Individuals are both the *site* and *subjects* of discursive struggle for their identity. Yet the interpellation of individuals as subjects within particular discourses is never final. It is always open to challenge. The individual is constantly subjected to discourse. In thought, speech or writing individuals of necessity commit themselves to specific subject positions and embrace quite contradictory modes of subjectivity at different moments. (pp. 93-94)

Summary

My central research question concerns university policies and their effects on students. Framed within a critical tradition, these questions led to an interest in power. Power relationships within institutions can be analyzed, according to Foucault (1982), not by beginning with a focus on an institution, but by investigating specific techniques of power that are "rooted in the system of social

networks" (p. 224). Rather than searching for "rationalization," there should be a focus on "specific rationalities" (p. 210), using questions that allow us to describe and interrogate specific and local practices (Barrett, 1991, p. 136); such questions are required for the most foundational and basic level of empirical inquiry into the operation of power and power relations. These ideas guided my interviews with the research participants and my analysis of the interview data.

I analyzed the interview data to determine how particular policies, practices, and texts operate as power-knowledge throughout the levels and networks of the institutional bureaucracy of one western Canadian university (WCU). An examination of the data from a policy discourse perspective entailed poststructural discourse analysis, which is described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

To address my research questions, I employ an approach combining policy sociology (Ball, 1994) and Foucauldian poststructural discourse analysis that is particularly suitable for examining policy effects. This approach assumes a critical theoretical stance: Policy is not neutral; it is always value laden and politically charged. That is, policies are socially and historically constructed, and they operate as forms of institutional power, particularly through the ways in which they are activated by individuals and mediate practice and organize social and political relations at the local level to constitute the conditions within which students do their academic work, negotiate their identities, and account for their achievement.

My approach is, broadly speaking, qualitative. I begin this chapter by describing the key characteristics of qualitative research, including a discussion of the issue of trustworthiness in qualitative methodology. I then move to elements of poststructuralist methodology that are central to the conceptualization and design of my research. This is followed by a description of the research design and methods employed in this study. Finally, I outline my understanding of discourse analysis and, specifically, Foucauldian poststructuralist discourse analysis, which guided the analysis of the data.

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research entails "an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). Qualitative researchers contend that, irrespective of paradigm, "researchers all tell stories about the worlds they have studied, . . . [and these stories are] accounts couched and framed within specific storytelling traditions" (p. 3) with particular ontological and epistemological orientations. Qualitative research attempts to "honor the spontaneity, complexity, and ambiguity of human experience" (Grumet, 1991, p. 67; as cited in Casey, 1996, p. 218). This type of inquiry is characterized by its conceptualization of whole-part relationships, its acknowledgement of the key role that language plays, and its attention to the positionality of the researcher.

Being immersed in a natural setting presents an opportunity for the researcher to understand the whole in relation to the part being studied.

Whereas the positivist researcher strives for invisibility and neutrality, the qualitative researcher, contending that this is epistemologically impossible, makes his/her positionality explicit. Rather than viewing data as objects to be collected, the researcher is seen to be *generating* data[3] through his/her material actions in a research setting with particular actors, in a particular social site, at a particular time.

Rather than being routinized, data-generation procedures in qualitative research require the "continuous interaction between the theoretical issues being studied and the data being collected" (Yin, 1994, p. 55). The researcher should aim to "take advantage of unexpected opportunities rather than being trapped by them" (p. 55). Qualitative research stages are not linear. Interpretation and analysis begin with initial data generation (p. 58). Like a detective, the investigator reflects on the information and data in an ongoing manner and makes decisions about how to modify, limit, or extend data-generation strategies.

Bearing in mind the centrality of language in qualitative research in general, and in discourse studies in particular, researchers must pay close attention to the language they use and the language their subjects use. Open-ended interview questions can help to avoid subjects' simply appropriating the language and concepts of the researcher. Although interviews in qualitative research are in some ways like conversations, they differ in that they entail "a methodic consciousness of the form of questions," "a dynamic consciousness of interaction," and "a critical consciousness of what is said" (Ramhoj & de Oliveira, 1991, p. 127; as cited in Hutchinson & Wilson, 1994, p. 307). During the interview process, the researcher maintains a reflexive stance and pays attention

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[3] The term *data generation* rather than *data collection* signals the qualitative researcher's understanding that the role of the researcher is not neutral, that "what constitutes data depends upon one's inquiry purposes and the questions one seeks to answer" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 128), and that "data are generated or . . . constructed within conceptual schemes and by various means that are deemed appropriate to serving particular purposes and answering particular questions" (pp. 128-129).

to what he/she is "asking, feeling, and thinking" (p. 308). Research interviewing also entails "listening for patterns" (p. 308), as well as maintaining control over constantly shifting foci, or "juggling levels of thought" (Zinberg, 1987, p. 1530; as cited in Hutchinson & Wilson, 1994, p. 308) between and among various aspects of the process and the content of the interview, including the affective, linguistic, and content aspects.

With respect to sampling in qualitative inquiry, a sample is not selected according to how statistically representative of a population it is, as in positivistic research. Rather, purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) is employed; "units are chosen . . . for their relevance to the research question, analytical framework, and explanation or account being developed in the research, . . . because 'what goes on there' is critical to understanding some process or concept" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 269). Size is important in a different way than in quantitative studies: "The size of the sample depends entirely on the nature of the study and the research questions and concepts being investigated" (p. 270).

With regard to trustworthiness, quantitative researchers use measures of validity and reliability to evaluate their work. Qualitative researchers use alternative methods of evaluating their research, "including verisimilitude, emotionality, personal responsibility, an ethic of caring, political praxis, multivoiced texts, and dialogues with subjects" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 5).

Packer and Addison (1989) described four approaches to evaluating interpretive accounts: coherence, relationship to external evidence, consensus among various groups, and relationship to future events. First, coherence (also termed plausibility, intelligibility, or consistency) refers to an account's "particular internal character" (p. 280). Second, using external evidence and moving "out of the text" (p. 282) is a strategy to avoid "the danger of being 'trapped in the hermeneutic circle' (Hirsch 1967, 165)" (Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 282). External evidence might be sought in the form of participants' interpretations (p. 283) or member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; as cited in Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 284).

Consensus among various groups is a third way of evaluating an interpretive account. This can take the form of consensus among researchers (Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 285). Communicability to both sympathetic and skeptical peers, along with their responses (pp. 285-286), is another way of employing the criterion of consensus; "perhaps instead of seeking consensus among researchers we should promote reasoned disagreement with our peers. Proponents of rival interpretations should each try to explain the other's perspective" (p. 286).

Finally, the practical implications of interpretive accounts can be used to evaluate them. Considering that the relationship between the account and future events is not equivalent to predictive validity (which is not a characteristic of qualitative research), we might ask whether the interpretive account "prove[s] useful for understanding related phenomena and for maneuvering in the everyday world" (p. 287).

In this study I employed several of these strategies to strengthen the trustworthiness of my research. I used my research journal to help me reflect on my analysis, both through reviewing my observational notes and writing about my evolving understandings and connections, to make them explicit for myself and to uncover hidden assumptions. I engaged in ongoing discussions that entailed reasoned agreement and disagreement with colleagues familiar with my field of study. Turning to the literature—what is already known in the field—also enabled me to test my understandings against those of others. After each interview I e-mailed my transcription to the interviewee with an invitation to review it and clarify meanings if they so desired. A few returned my e-mail with helpful comments, and I made the corresponding changes in the transcripts. In the case of employee interviewees, some had invited me to telephone them for clarification, and in a couple of instances I did so.

Ultimately, "the search for epistemological security can never succeed" (Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 291); as a qualitative researcher, I acknowledge that "there is much about people we still can't give a name to" (p. 292). However, in this interpretive inquiry I attempted to "create spaces for those who are studied

(the other) to speak" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 15), and this goal served both as a moral compass and an evaluation criterion as I conducted this research.

Poststructuralist Methodology

Although my research is qualitative in nature, it is also poststructural. What does it mean to do poststructuralist work? Olssen (2004) suggested that it entails looking at "the systematic relations among elements" (p. 51) and that it is a "non-reductive, holistic analysis of social life" (p. 51). These general statements identify it as a qualitative approach; further to this, Tamboukou and Ball (2003) described the theoretical affinities of poststructuralism as follows. It

- interrogate[s] the validity and universal authority of scientific knowledge
- adopt[s] a context-bound critical perspective
- transgress[es] closed theoretical and methodological systems
- point[s] to the limits of dominant power-knowledge regimes
- recover[s] excluded subjects and silenced voices
- highlight[s] the centrality of the body in sociohistorical analyses [and]
- restore[s] the political dimension of research. (pp. 3-4)

In relation to discourse, in contrast with other definitions, the Foucauldian notion of discourse "refers more broadly to systems of thought that construct subjects and their worlds" (Tamboukou & Ball, 2003, p. 73) and is attentive to discursive "practices (composed of ideas, . . . courses of action, terms of reference) that systematically constitute the subjects and objects of which they speak" (p. 73). A Foucauldian perspective on discourse requires questions that facilitate a focus on the productive quality of power, to investigate how, specifically, power operates in particular local settings. Its focus is on practices (Fairclough, 1992, p. 48); truth claims; and regimes of truth, which are made up of "complex array[s] of truth" (Kenway, 1990, p. 176). It looks for possible relationships among discourses, which can be categorized as, for example, analogy, opposition, or complementarity (Fairclough, 1992, p. 48). It might attempt to bring to light subjugated voices (Olssen, 2004, pp. 43-44). It seeks to sketch out epistemes (pp. 46-47, 52) and apparatuses (p. 52). At the core of these is the poststructuralist aim of identifying how power operates through discourses to construct power-knowledge.

A poststructuralist approach might utilize analysis of "moments of crisis" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230). In my study this concept refers to incidences that students and university employees encountered as a difficulty, a hesitation, or an unexpected silence in everyday interactions with policy texts. These moments of crisis reveal a policy-practice disjuncture that can be characterized as a "problematic" (Smith, 1987), a point of entry into an investigation of a potentially larger issue. Beginning from actual, everyday, local experiences and occurrences, this approach facilitates a focus on very specific details of textually mediated policy action and work in particular institutional sites.

From a poststructuralist perspective, however, it is not the personal or psychological nature of such a crisis that is of interest. Rather, the rational, humanist understanding of the individual gives way to an understanding of the individual as *subject*. The term *decentering of the subject* signals poststructural concepts that are key to the way I understand this research. I focused not on how individuals freely choose their actions or their conceptions of themselves; instead, I attended to how their actions and self-knowledge are constructed from and within social structures, or, in poststructural terms, within discourses, and in relation to power-knowledge, which operates in and through discourses. That is, my research was guided by "how" questions, which helped me to understand how, specifically, a particular crisis occurred. In other words, I was guided by my interest in how policy turns into practice in specific and local settings. For example, I was interested to find out which policy documents were referred to, either explicitly or implicitly, in a particular crisis; and I was interested in the material aspects of the crisis, such as the sequence of events and their interrelationships.

By starting with the actual rather than with theory, a poststructuralist investigation is guided first by questions that point not only to what informants say about their experiences, but also to the details of what they actually do in relation to policy. Second, the research is guided by strategies that trace how, specifically, policy works. In the analysis of the data, the research focus is on systems and structures rather than on individuals and their lived experiences.

Although the latter are important, more interesting to the poststructuralist researcher are the particular institutional practices that link these experiences to specific institutional structures, policies, and discourses.

Research Design and Methods

A fixed sequence of steps is neither possible nor desirable in qualitative research. Rather, the boundaries between research stages are permeable. Preliminary analysis begins during the initial research design work and continues through the data-generation stage. During data generation, the need for shifts in the research plan might become evident. During analysis, it might become clear that additional data are required. Accordingly, I experienced the research process as recursive, characterized by flux and flexibility.

Although qualitative researchers "use whatever methods are practicable . . . and appropriate in opening up those aspects of institutional process with which they engage" (Smith, 2006, p. 13), a qualitative research design has a number of identifying characteristics. One of these is that each step of the research takes shape in response to the outcomes and/or discoveries from the previous steps (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 20). This principle can create challenges at the research proposal stage, but it ensures that the research findings themselves assume prominence as the research unfolds, rather than the researcher's initial conceptualizing of the problematic. There is a characteristic "back-and-forth" movement among the research stages (p. 39). Throughout, reflexivity is required to enable the researcher to follow the flow and to modify the shape and direction of the research steps as the project unfolds. Accordingly, the research design at the proposal stage was my starting point; here I describe what I actually did. I begin with an overview, followed by comments on the interviews, management of the data, research participants, policy documents, specific issues that arose, and analysis.

Overview. I selected a western Canadian University (WCU, pseudonym) as my research site. To begin the research project, I conducted informal interviews with WCU employees. This served both to give me a broad understanding of how this university had been dealing with internationalization

and international students and to suggest "a sense of where in the [institution I] might need to conduct interviews" (Grahame, as cited in DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 29). I also needed to determine how I could make contact with potential research participants in ways that would respect my research ethics protocols and principles. I selected initial interviewees at this stage through examination of the university's website; I wrote letters requesting interviews with individuals in leadership positions who appeared to be involved in WCU's internationalization activities, either through policy development or services provided to international students. Examining the university's website also helped me to identify key policy documents related to my research questions. About half of the letters I sent out resulted in informal interviews, and I used the snowball technique to identify a few more potential interviewees. In total, I conducted 15 one-to-two-hour interviews during the fall of 2009, all but one interview individually; the exception was the case of two co-workers who wanted to be interviewed together. As I engaged in interviews, I also "listened for" institutional policy texts that were relevant to the research, obtained copies, and studied these documents. Often, one document was intertextually linked to others, so I reviewed many documents.

The informal interviews resulted in access to pools of international students who had experienced academic difficulties at WCU and had received assistance to ameliorate their situations. The result of my invitations to these students to participate in the research was individual interviews with five international students during the fall of 2009. To locate more potential interviewees, I continued to conduct informal interviews with university employees. Eventually, it was agreed that I would send my letter inviting students to participate in my study to all international students on campus; after this, I received almost 40 responses. I responded to all, answered questions, and scheduled interviews with each one who was interested and available. Thus, during the winter, spring, and summer of 2010, I interviewed an additional 15 international students, for a total of 20 student interviewees. Each of these interviews was one to two hours in length and conducted individually. I transcribed each interview within one or two weeks following the interview and

sent the transcription to the interviewee by e-mail to allow each individual to review his/her comments and make clarifications, additions, deletions, or corrections. At this time I reminded each participant that he/she was free to withdraw from the study, but none chose to do so. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, several responded by e-mail with helpful clarifications, and one student requested that I remove one comment that he had made. In one case I conducted a follow-up interview. During my first interview with this student, neither of my two recording devices had functioned, but I had written notes from my recollection of our interview. I sent these notes to the student by e-mail and asked her to verify that my recollections were correct, which she did. At that time I also asked whether she would be interested in speaking to me once again so that I would have a record of her speaking directly about her experiences and so that I could ask a few follow-up questions. She was kind enough to agree, and this interview took place in the spring of 2010.

After reflecting on the experiences of these 20 international students, I identified WCU employees I thought might be able to offer relevant and interesting perspectives on some of the key elements in the student interview data, and I wrote formal letters requesting interviews. As a result, I conducted one-to-three-hour individual interviews with five university employees in the fall of 2010. I transcribed these interviews and sent them to each individual. At that point, one of the interviewees asked to be removed from the study, and I deleted that individual's interview data.

In addition to interviews with university employees, I conducted an informal interview with Beth (pseudonym), a former cabinet minister in the provincial government[4] during the late 1990s and early 2000s. This contributed to my understanding of provincial government policy documents in relation to international students.

Interviews. The individual interviews were semistructured, and I used open-ended questions to guide what I thought of as "purposeful conversations"

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[4] I omitted identifying information to retain the anonymity of WCU.

(Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) to elicit anecdotes, descriptions, and explanations of experiences and challenges that illuminated discourses, organizational arrangements, processes, and social relations. I carefully constructed the interview questions with the aim of eliciting these types of information and structured them according to the epistemological and ontological assumptions of poststructuralist inquiry. For instance, I wanted to discover, first, the materiality of specific experiences (the "who, what, where, and when" of practices and actions) and, second, the ways that the interviewees were thinking and talking about these experiences. The first contributed to my understanding of specifically how policy looked "on the ground" and the second to my picture of how the interviewees understood themselves as subjects operating in relation to specific discourses.

I kept my guiding research questions in mind throughout the interviews. Examples of questions asked in the interviews with students appear in Appendix A; examples of questions I asked in the interviews with employees appear in Appendix B. I gave these sample questions to the research participants prior to the interviews to allow them time to think about their possible responses.

I conducted the interviews in locations that were private, convenient, and comfortable for both the interviewee and me as the researcher. For the interviews with students, I used the university's room-scheduling service to book private rooms on campus. I interviewed university employees either in their offices or in a quiet public space on campus.

When a research participant expressed grief, confusion, anger, or sadness while describing an experience, I responded empathetically without attempting to act as a professional counselor. If I judged the interviewee to be in distress, I provided appropriate information about university resources that were available. In one case, information related to me made it clear that a particular student needed additional resources to help with an ongoing crisis. In this case, while being careful to preserve the student's anonymity, I helped the student make the necessary connections to resources I knew to be available to WCU students. I kept in mind that, although I did not doubt the veracity of the student's account of his/her experiences, I was not privy to the accounts of others involved;

furthermore, it was not my role to investigate the problem. Out of concern for the student, I later followed up to determine whether he/she had in fact contacted someone who I knew was in a position to listen and provide support in a confidential manner. I was relieved to learn that the student had made contact and that WCU was addressing the issues.

Managing the data. I used two tape recorders to record each interview and transcribed the interviews as soon as possible after each. A research assistant transcribed a few of the first student interviews. However, partly because the student interviewees spoke EAL, I found it easier to do the transcriptions myself, even though it was time consuming. The transcription was mentally and physically demanding, particularly with respect to the EAL interviewees. With these, I found that each hour of an interview took between 4 and 10 hours to transcribe.

I kept a research journal that served several purposes. First, it was a place to record my field notes, including information regarding the circumstances of each interview and my observations and my impressions. It also functioned as an ongoing log of my research activities. In addition, I used the journal to reflect on the research as it unfolded. My reflections included preliminary analyses as well as questions, concerns, research directions, plans, ideas to pursue, and resources to seek out. At the analysis stage I used the notes in my research journal to maintain an awareness of any assumptions that might present barriers to my understanding of the data.

Research participants. There was considerable diversity among the 20 international students I interviewed. Eleven different nationalities were represented, 10 from the People's Republic of China and the other 10 from different countries. Twelve participants were at various stages in their undergraduate programs (one had just graduated), and eight were in graduate programs. Of these eight, four were at the master's level and four at the doctoral level. The participants represented a range of faculties, departments, programs, and majors. All of the students spoke EAL except one; this individual used a dialect of English other than Canadian English that he had been acquiring from

infancy. All of these international students were fluent and literate in at least one language other than English.

Policy documents. My first foray into the policy documents at this university was motivated by my desire to get a sense of the policy landscape in relation to international students and internationalization. I conducted a scan of the university's website and located specific documents mentioned in the informal interviews at the beginning of my data-generation stage. In addition to these internal sources, I also spent time looking at websites of provincial and national governments, institutions, and NGOs that emerged from the local document analysis and the informal interviews. Examples of the latter included provincial and federal ministries, the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC), the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE), the Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC), and the World University Services of Canada (WUSC). As my analysis progressed, I selected key policy documents at the local, provincial, and national levels that I decided were most relevant to my research. I discuss these in chapter 5.

Specific issues related to the research process. My data are comprised of interview transcripts, observational notes and comments in my research journal, and policy texts. An early issue that arose was how to transcribe the students' interviews. On the one hand, I wanted to use the exact words of the international students to avoid infusing my own interpretations of their comments. On the other hand, because they used EAL, I was concerned that it might be difficult for those who read my research findings to understand what the students had told me when they described their experiences at WCU. In the end, I transcribed the students' exact words in my research transcriptions. In the portions of the transcripts that I have included in this dissertation, I have chosen to retain as much as possible the exact words that the research participants used, but I removed some of the "hesitation phenomena"[5] and repetitions to improve the readability and reduce the length. In representing the students' descriptions of

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[5] Such as "hmm," "yeah," "like."

their experiences, I also wanted to illustrate some of the language-related challenges with which they were coping. During the interviews and later when I transcribed them, I sometimes struggled to understand their meanings; so I had to ask many questions to clarify and check meanings. In a few cases, despite my best efforts, it is possible that I simply did not grasp the meaning that an interviewee intended, and this represents a limitation to my research.

Some of the data from the interviews is not included for ethical reasons, in that it might identify the university, a particular individual, or a particular department or program.

Analysis

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), "The interpretive practice of making sense of one's findings is both artful and political" (p. 15). I drew on my knowledge of the literature and on my personal experiences as an administrator and teacher in a university language program for international students and as a sessional lecturer in university courses to help interpret the data. The process of analysis was reflexive and recursive. In my quest for trustworthiness, I used the strategies described earlier.

My central analytic strategy was discourse analysis, and, in particular, Foucauldian poststructural discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is used in research traditions with divergent epistemological and ontological orientations (Schwandt, 2001), such as ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, and poststructuralism. In general, discourse analysis is concerned with the "grammar" of "chunks" of spoken and/or written language, with attention to social context, such as conversations, speeches, the language of advertising, academic writing, or administrative memos. Two types of discourse analysis that are often employed are critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Foucauldian poststructural discourse analysis.

Norman Fairclough (1992) provided an overview of approaches to CDA and outlined ways in which Foucault's approach to discourse analysis differs from the various CDA approaches. CDA shares with Foucault an interest in the interrelationships among language, thought, and society, and, more

fundamentally, in power and how discourse is related to power. However, Fairclough's approach, along with those of others who work in CDA, is characterized by more textual analysis, in the sense that tools of linguistic analysis such as lexical studies (e.g., collocation), cohesion (linking devices such as pronoun use or particular adverbs), and the use of pronouns signify relations among actors. I was interested in CDA because I wanted to pay careful attention to the language people use to describe their day-to-day experiences and their reasons for their actions or nonactions. However, I was less interested in the precise linguistic analysis of my data (which would have been required for a CDA approach) than in what people's language reveals about how they think about their actions in relation to policy. I was interested not on "a focus on language for its own sake but rather as a way of seeing how policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others" (Ball, 2008, p. 5).

Foucauldian poststructuralist discourse analysis strategies. There are no recipes for Foucauldian poststructuralist analysis (Meadmore, Hatcher, & McWilliam, 2000; Søndergaard, 2002). Because the meanings of qualitative interview data lie in their original experiential contexts (Campbell & Gregor, 2002), a "cut up and categorize" (p. 85) approach to analysis is not sufficient. I gleaned hints, suggestions, inspirations, and directions for the type of analysis I undertook from a range of studies that have documented researchers' work to interpret aspects of Foucault's thinking and apply them in their research. Examples of such studies include investigations of educational reform (Ball, 1994; Kenway, 1990), the school system (Hunter, 1996), educational technology and reading and writing in secondary schooling (Iseke-Barnes, 1997), postsecondary education (Alloway & Gilbert, 2004; Barron & Zeegers, 2006; Davies, 2005), and gender (Søndergaard, 2002; Weedon, 1997).

Olssen (2004) discussed Scheurich's (1994) and Gale's (2001) research and listed the following questions that were helpful in my poststructural inquiry:

1. How is what is seen as a problem constituted? How is what is seen as a solution constituted? (p. 54). These questions derive from Foucault

(1972): "How is it that one [discursive] statement [that is, social problem, in this case] appeared rather than another?"

2. How is it that some items are on the policy agenda and not others? (p. 57)

3. How is it that some policy actors are involved in policy production and not others? (p. 57)

4. "What are the conditions that regulate the patterns of interaction of those involved?" (p. 57)

5. "How [might] the rationality and consensus of policy production . . . be problematized?" (p. 57)

6. "How [are] temporary alliances . . . formed and reformed around conflicting interests in the policy production process?" (p. 58)

I used these questions as I analyzed the data. I also searched for regimes of truth, which can be postulated on the basis of regularities of statements and truth claims. Olssen (1995, 1996, 1999, 2002, 2003; as cited in Olssen, 2004) contended that "Foucault's post-structuralism is a more materialist conception" (p. 52) than that of other writers such as Derrida, Lyotard, and Baudrillard. The material can include architecture, devices for organizing space and time, practices of surveillance, examinations (Hunter, 1996, p. 147), desks, computers, clothing, and so on. Apparatuses, which are both discursive and nondiscursive (Olssen, 2004, p. 52), include the material (as nondiscursive elements) and might also be postulated using research data:

> Foucault is concerned to trace the historical constitution of our most prized certainties, to expose their contingent historical basis, and to track the interrelations between power and knowledge within a particular historical period. In this schema, culture is not just a system of signification, but a system of material and discursive articulation in which meaning and the processes of signification are effected by power, that is, by material culture. (p. 53)

My analysis of the data acknowledges the "network" conceptualization of power-knowledge, discourse(s), and discursive field(s).[6] I sought to identify and then describe the dominant discourses that the international students and university employees took up. As I analyzed the various institutional policy texts and interview transcripts, I looked for intertextuality. Through analysis of the data, I attempted to identify tacit assumptions and orientations associated with the discourses that appeared to be operating and to discover the existence of dominant, alternate, competing, and/or incommensurate discourses.

Policy relevant to a particular university exists at various societal levels, including federal, provincial, and municipal government and local university policy, and at various levels within the administrative hierarchy of that university (e.g., university mission statements from the president's office, admission and registration policies, collective agreements, departmental policies, etc.). I used the concept of intertextuality to facilitate an understanding of the interconnectedness of policies at various levels and their effects on the research participants.

I analyzed the interview data to explicate how policy works discursively to produce and reproduce textually mediated practices, to constitute official institutional knowledges and subjectivities, and to determine conditions of possibility/impossibility (Popkewitz, 2000) for individuals within this institutional site. The analysis appears in chapters 5 through 8. In chapter 5, I analyze key policy documents to sketch the policy context for my study. Chapters 6 through 8 discuss the interview data. After conducting most of my interviews, it became clear to me that no single policy emerged as central. Rather, clusters of experiences were related to admissions and registration, language and literacy, and academic success. Thus, I organized my analysis accordingly in chapters 6, 7, and 8, respectively.[7]

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[6] In Foucauldian poststructuralist work, the interrelationships among policy discourses are conceived of as a network, a matrix, or a web.

[7] In citing interview data from students, I identify them as "S1," S2," etc. For employees, I use "E1," "E2," etc.

Ethical Considerations and Researcher Assumptions

A risk is entailed in qualitative research for both the researcher and the research participants. Both might reveal information that they do "not want to reveal" (Weber, 1986, p. 66). Therefore, the risk of exposure is ever present, and, consequently, an element of trust is required throughout the research process. For instance, because my research design utilized the strategy of describing "moments of crisis," some of the interviewees shared information of a confidential nature. I kept in mind that information revealed has the potential to harm research participants and thus took measures to manage it ethically. As a qualitative social science researcher, I understood my ethical responsibility to human subjects as transcending the simple fulfillment of institutional ethics requirements. Simply by agreeing to participate in this research process, the interviewees expressed trust in me, a trust that I honored. As Weber pointed out (pp. 70-72), this trust can be betrayed in various ways, including losing sight of complex nuances of meaning that can occur through the process of transcription (p. 71). I took care to not jeopardize the well-being of the participants. I preserved their anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy, keeping in mind that the participants might be identifiable in many ways even though I used pseudonyms. Specifically, particular details of an individual's experiences might have inadvertently identified him/her; thus I paid attention to how I wrote up the results to avoid this problem. At times I was able to aggregate the data to preserve anonymity. For example, rather than attributing a comment to an employee in a particular office, I simply referred to the comment as being made by a university employee.

I was also careful not to identify specific individuals to one another within this institutional setting. For instance, the nature of a particular crisis or policy issue might have implicated a specific student or employee. In such a case, careful reflection on each next step in the research ensured that I did not place vulnerable individuals in difficult situations because of the research.

Researcher assumptions. The researcher's positionality and bias are intrinsic to qualitative research and can have both positive and negative effects on the inquiry. Merriam (1998a) cautioned both producers and consumers of

qualitative research to "be aware of biases that can affect the final product" (p. 42).

In an intercultural research context such as this, issues related to positionality and perspective assume even greater significance. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), the researcher's observations are "always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity" (p. 11). Because the student research participants were not White, English-speaking Canadians, consideration of the cross-cultural aspects of this research was critical at every stage of the research process. Inherent in the dominant liberal, multicultural discourse related to internationalization initiatives in Canadian universities are assumptions that I needed to be prepared to interrogate. This reflects the competing discourse emerging in the literature related to critical multiculturalism (e.g., Corson, 2001; May, 1999), which presents a concern regarding power relations, silences, absences, and missing voices. From a critical multicultural perspective, voices can be silenced because of a lack of dominant cultural and/or linguistic capital, vulnerability related to institutional power, or racism.

Addressing positionality: Cultural, linguistic, and power issues. The fact that I am English speaking and White posed challenges in my research when I interacted with students who were English language learners and/or people of color. Regular reflections in my research journal reminded me to pay attention to ways that these challenges presented themselves as the research progressed.

1. Language: I conducted the interviews in English, because I lack sufficient proficiency in any other language to be able to confidently conduct research in another language that an EAL student might have been more comfortable using. There are two interrelated problems with this: First, a student might not be able to express him-/herself as fully in English as in his/her first language; and second, a student's limited English proficiency may lead to the interviewer's misunderstanding his/her meaning. Strategies I used to address both concerns included (a) providing sample interview prompts in advance

to allow students time to understand, reflect, and think about how to respond in English; and (b) listening and speaking carefully, drawing on my knowledge of linguistics, languages, and language learning and my experiences with many students from diverse language backgrounds.

2. Culture/ethnicity: I endeavored to build rapport with the participants, again drawing on my experiences with EAL students from many different language and cultural backgrounds. I engaged in ongoing reflection and sought to make my assumptions explicit to myself. Checking back with the participants about my understandings when needed also helped me to recognize my cultural biases.

3. Power differential: As part of the formal ethics requirements for this study, I clearly described to the potential participants my research purpose, my positionality (i.e., a graduate student at another university), and the procedures I would follow to deal ethically with the participants throughout the research process. I did not know the identity of any of the potential student interviewees, and I made it clear that there would be no negative repercussions for them if they chose not to participate in the study.

Overcoming barriers such as those related to researcher assumptions and positionality associated with language, culture, and power differences is important to the quality of research interactions and analysis. As I discussed earlier, the qualitative researcher must remain sensitive to her biases:

> As LeCompte and Preissle (1993) observe, qualitative research "is distinguished partly by its admission of the subjective perception and biases of both participants and researcher into the research frame" (p. 92). Because the primary instrument in qualitative research is human, all observations and analyses are filtered through that human being's worldview, values, and perspective. (Merriam, 1998b, p. 22)

Limitations and Delimitations

My research skills and abilities might have posed a limitation to this study (Merriam, 1998a). Being immersed in a natural setting can be overwhelming (Boostrom, 1994), especially for novice researchers, and at times I experienced

"data overload." And although the unstructured nature of qualitative research can be appropriate and appealing, it can also lead to frustration and disorientation (Merriam, 1998b, pp. 20-21), and at times I struggled with these experiences. As I analyzed the data, I attempted to attend to "the intertwined problems of language, meaning, and context" (Mishler, 1986, p. 233). Ultimately, however, as a qualitative researcher, I was "always making inferences on the basis of partial information" (p. 247). What is more, it was not always clear "whether and how the missing information [might have been] relevant" (p. 247) to my interpretations.

A specific limitation of my research may also exist in the fact that I often grouped undergraduate and graduate students together in my analysis. Where I believed their experiences were divergent in a major way, I reported the findings separately. However, I am aware that the backgrounds of the two groups are significantly different. For example, graduate students have had greater experience with academic research and writing. Thus, wherever I report on the experiences of international EAL students, these may differ according to whether the students were at the undergraduate or graduate level.

In addition to these limitations of my research, I would like to make some delimitations explicit. First, I interviewed only international students, so I have no empirical data reflecting the experiences of domestic Canadian students. Thus, conclusions related to the uniqueness of international students' experiences must be considered tentative. Second, since a Foucauldian poststructural approach is concerned only with non-sovereign power, this research excludes a discussion of sovereign power, a type of power that I believe also operates in this institutional setting. Finally, I acknowledge that race is an important and relevant construct, but one that I did not use in my analysis. Many of the research participants were racialized subjects, and a consideration of this fact would have strengthened my analysis. This final delimitation may also be viewed as a limitation of the research.

In conclusion, with respect to qualitative research, practices such as planning carefully, building trust, reflecting, and allowing sufficient time enabled

me to grapple with the methodological challenges I have described. Although I have done my best, it is likely that I only partially overcame these barriers through employing these strategies. Therefore these factors represent and remain limitations of the research, along with the other limitations I have noted. These must be kept in mind when considering my analysis, along with the delimitations I have described.

CHAPTER 5: THE POLICY CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the policy environment at one Canadian university, WCU, to establish the context for the analysis of data from the interviews with international students and university employees at this university. I examined key policy documents at the national, provincial, and university level pertaining to internationalization to identify ways in which policy discourses operate to regulate practice at this university.

Policy documents such as the ones examined in this chapter are linked with others internal and external to the institution that produces them. Internationalization policies exist within a broader discursive regime of truth about the purposes of postsecondary education and discourses of internationalization. The purpose of this policy text analysis is to undertake specific analyses of local iterations of and responses to broader discourses and rationalities. Looking at key policy documents helped me to consider how they are linked intertextually to broader discourses. Intertextuality, as defined in chapter 3 of this dissertation, can be identified through shared discourses and rationalities. It can also be signaled by co-reference to other institutions in the discursive field. For example, mention of a key funding source might constitute one component of an array of intertextual linkages. Specific hyperlinks in the text of institutional websites also construe intertextuality, as do words and phrases that operate as codes pointing to ways of thinking and doing.

In this chapter I identify discourses and their constituting rationalities in key policy documents and explicate their systems of logic, their "rules of reason," and how they operate to generate particular sets of policy aims. I sketch out the discursive field within which the policies that most directly affect WCU international students operate and within which these policies are produced. Examining the construction and operation of elements of this discursive field fosters a particular understanding of the unique characteristics and constraints that govern how international students and other university people do their day-to-day work.

Rationalities are abstract. They can be thought of as systems of logic, as groups of statements and assumptions, and the linkages among them, which together function as rationales for particular discursive constructions and the practices that emerge from or are produced by them. They help us understand how power-knowledge becomes policy and how policy in turn produces power-knowledge. Rationalities establish the ways in which we can know and, therefore, what we can do. They are productive because they facilitate power through rather than over. In relation to these rationalities/knowledges, we can say or not, do or not. In other words, this type of analysis helps us to understand how power-knowledge is related to discourse and organized through policy rationalities.

Policy rationalities produce and are linked to strategies and tools and specific actions or practices that are referred to as technologies. Technologies may be explicit in an institutional document in the form of a memo, a university calendar, or a departmental website. At times they become apparent only in the actions of individuals. Thus, in this research some technologies appeared in the accounts of the research participants, although they might not exist in the form of written policy texts. Because they are perceivable (visible, etc.), they represent the materialities of discourse.

Seen from this perspective, although we might think of a document such as a mission statement as abstract, as operationalizing a set of rationalities, it regulates what we do or do not do under various local conditions, vis-à-vis the various technologies it puts into effect. For example, there are always exceptions to policies, but discursive elements of a policy delineate which exceptions are im/possible to be made with regard to a particular international student in specific circumstances. In this sense, it is not the central aim of a Foucauldian analysis to expose oppressive practices; rather, its purpose is to make visible how it is that individuals in institutions take up (or not) aspects (rationalities, technologies, and subject positions) of the diverse constellation of policies that characterize complex institutions such as a university.

Analysis of policy documents might reveal dominant discourses, rationalities, and technologies, which together can be understood in terms of how

they regulate bodies in space at the local level. An interest in power-knowledge leads to an examination of rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities that appear in discourse. Dean (2010) defined an analytics of a "regime/assemblage of practices" (p. 33) as having four dimensions: ways of thinking, characteristic forms of visibility, ways of acting, and ways of forming subjects. He suggested "how" questions that can be used to address each dimension:

1. Distinctive ways of thinking and questioning: How is/are truth/s produced? What are the ways of knowing, of thinking, particularly as they are related to academic disciplines? These are rationalities.

2. Characteristic forms of visibility: How can objects be seen or perceived? In Bruno Latour's (1986, as cited in Dean 2010) words, how do we "think with eyes and hands" (p. 41)? Examples include organizational flow charts as "diagrams of authority" (p. 41) or architectural features of a university that illustrate "how relations of authority and obedience are organized in space" (p. 41), such as reception desks, waiting areas, or academic advisors' offices. These are technologies.

3. Specific ways of acting: What are the (im)possibilities of acting, intervening, directing? These are also technologies.

4. Characteristic ways of forming subjects: How are subjects formed? What subject positions are available to whom and under what conditions? These refer to subjectivities.

The aim of such an investigation is to examine how particular rationalities are constructed and how they in turn become the regulators of practice through specific technologies and the constitution of specific subject positions. In other words, it is to suggest how power-knowledge can produce material effects on international students and university employees (in subsequent chapters I will discuss the actual effects that the research participants in this study described). I will use these three dimensions of discourse, rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities, to organize the analysis of the key policy documents I have selected for examination.

Before moving to the key documents I have selected, some brief comments regarding the global policy context are in order. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is one of the key global actors in terms of its role in shaping international education policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006) and thus is an appropriate example of policy discourses at the global level. Since the 1990s the OECD has been active in spreading the discourse of the knowledge economy (p. 252), but its involvement with higher education and internationalization goes back to the mid-1980s (p. 257). According to Rizvi and Lingard, Jane Knight and Hans de Wit, consultants to the OECD, "defined internationalization of education as 'a complex set of processes designed to integrate an international dimension into most aspects of the work of universities'" (p. 257); and in the mid-1990s they posited a broad rationale for the internationalization of higher education, including economic, political, cultural, and educational aspects. However, since the late 1990s there has been a shift to a primarily economic rationale (257-258); "the economic goals of education [have been] given priority over its social and cultural purposes" (p. 252). Connected to this economic driver has been the need of OECD member countries for skilled immigrants "to retain competitiveness within the global economy" (p. 258). Thus, international education has come to be seen "as a major source of recruitment [of skilled workers], even if this means 'brain drain' from the developing countries" (p. 258). The prominence of these goals of international education, economic benefits and the recruitment of skilled immigrants, will also be seen in the policy discourses at the national, provincial, and local university levels that I examine later in this chapter.

Turning now to the key policy documents from the range of policy documents related to internationalization that were available to the public, I chose the ones most relevant and useful to my analysis. At the national level I selected two AUCC (2007a, 2007b) documents because they seemed to be representative of policy issues and actors in Canada in the first decade of the new millennium. These documents report the results of a national survey of issues related to internationalization at Canadian universities that was conducted in 2006.

At the provincial government level in the province where WCU is located, no comprehensive policy documents specific to internationalization and postsecondary education were publicly available. Thus, I used two more specific texts that were relevant to my research: a 2010 mandate letter from the premier to the provincial minister responsible for postsecondary education[8][i] and documents containing information for the public about a program intended for international students who decide to immigrate to Canada.[ii]

At the university level a 2003 foundational document[iii] created to guide internationalization moves at WCU provided insights into the university's institutional discursive framework. This document represents the outcome of lengthy campus-wide consultations on internationalization at WCU and has served as a guiding function at the institution since that time.

I describe the documents in turn with respect to the discourses, rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities that might be produced. I conclude the chapter by considering how all of these are intertextually connected and how they might operate to align and regulate internal aspects of WCU's institutional operations and practices with broader discourses in provincial, national, and global realms.

National Policy Discourses of Internationalization at Canadian Universities

At the national level, policy documents generated by organizations such as the AUCC, CBIE, CMEC, and WUSC constitute part of the broad discursive policy context within which individual Canadian universities operate.

The members of the AUCC, formed in 1915, currently include 90 Canadian not-for-profit universities and university colleges (AUCC, 2013). The AUCC's mission is "to foster and promote the interests of higher education and university research, . . . [to] participate in the development of public policy to find

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[8] Roman numeral endnotes indicate confidential references intended to maintain the anonymity of WCU.

solutions to the economic and social challenges facing Canada, . . . [and to] work closely with governments, private sector and the public to raise the profile of higher education" (What We Do section, para. 1). The organization provides services to its members in these areas: "advocating for higher education; developing public policy; sharing information on postsecondary education; developing leadership seminars . . . ; managing scholarships and international programs; and publishing reports [and] publications" (para. 2).

The two related AUCC documents I have selected for analysis are *Canadian Universities and International Student Mobility* (AUCC, 2007a) and *Internationalizing Canadian Campuses: Main Themes Emerging From the 2007 Scotiabank–AUCC Workshop on Excellence in Internationalization at Canadian Universities* (AUCC, 2007b). In 2006 the AUCC undertook a survey of its membership to determine the state of internationalization at universities across the country. The *Canadian Universities and International Student Mobility* document provides a summary account of the survey findings specific to international student mobility; the *Internationalizing Canadian Campuses* document contains an overview of the 2006 survey findings, along with a report on the responses to the study that were generated at an AUCC workshop on internationalization at Canadian universities. This workshop, sponsored by Scotiabank, was held in Ottawa on September 16 and 17, 2007; the participants included "about 100 senior university representatives" and "external stakeholders" (p. 1). The latter included the Honourable Noel Kinsella, Speaker of the Senate; David Stewart-Patterson, the executive vice-president of the CCCE; Jim Balsillie, then co-CEO of Research in Motion; and Hans de Wit, a senior academic based in the Netherlands who is also the editor of the *Journal of Studies in International Education*. Linkages and thus intertextualities are indicated through workshop invitees, "external stakeholders," including senior Canadian government representatives and representatives of corporations such as Scotiabank and Research in Motion. Hans de Wit is a co-consultant/author of important OECD policy, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Internationalization is defined as "the process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension to the teaching/learning, research, and service functions of a university" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 1). Linkage to the OECD is also indicated here; the wording is very similar to that used in OECD policy dating back to the mid-1990s that consultants Jane Knight and Hans de Wit produced, as indicated earlier in this chapter. This AUCC document acknowledges diversity among Canadian universities in their missions, challenges, and approaches to internationalization. In addition to increased numbers of international students studying at Canadian universities (see chapter 2 of this dissertation for the most recent statistics), trends in internationalization reported in the survey include increases in measures of Canadian students studying abroad and the number of academic programs with an international focus (pp. 4, 5). The document also reported increases in the numbers of universities offering scholarships to international students: from 36% in 2000 to 69% in 2006 at the undergraduate level, and from 38% to 62% at the graduate level (p. 4).

Support services were offered to international students at only 47% of the universities that responded to AUCC's 2006 survey; where they existed, they included one or more of "ongoing counseling and non-academic support, orientation program upon arrival, designated international student support staff, academic advising or support, international student clubs, and designated international support office" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 7). An additional 17% of the universities were in the process of developing support programs, whereas the remaining 37% reported no support programs (p. 7) targeted specifically at international students.

After the survey results were reported to the workshop participants, they discussed the findings from their respective vantage points. One of the impediments to Canadians' studying abroad that the workshop participants discussed was inadequate language proficiency (AUCC, 2007b, p. 9). Interestingly, this is in contrast to another of the AUCC survey findings that the percentage of Canadian universities that require a second language for graduation declined between 2000 and 2006 (p. 4).

Discourses. In the discussions of university roles and responsibilities in the context of internationalization, several discourses appeared in these AUCC (2007a, 2007b) documents. In addition to university teaching and research, these discourses related to the following were apparent: liberalism, the market, and immigration; in the latter, international students were referred to as potential immigrants and workers (e.g., AUCC, 2007b, p. 7).

In framing the significant increases in international student flows to and from Canadian universities, the AUCC reflects a liberal discourse: Key rationalities underlying this discourse are the value of aid to developing nations and to some extent neocolonialism, as evidenced in the photos throughout the document (AUCC 2007b) that depict Canadian students and employees helping abroad. These include (a) "help[ing] build an elementary school in Togo" (p. 5); (b) conducting hearing tests on infants in Jordan (p. 9); (c) a student teaching a class in rural Kenya (p. 15); (d) students' assisting in a camp for underprivileged children in Grenada (p. 17); (e) "construction of schools, health centres, and irrigation canals" abroad (p. 20); and (f) "teach[ing] [Tanzanian] women to make a probiotic yogurt . . . to reduce the chance of contracting HIV" (p. 22).

The AUCC (2007b) also mentioned an award-winning Canadian university initiative with the aim of "better understanding the issues underlying wars and conflicts and how to reconstruct countries; . . . i.e., Africa where there are many war-torn countries" (p. 7) and "foreign-born" Canadian faculty members "who are keen to give back to their countries of origin" (p. 9).

The AUCC documents connect the discourse of liberalism to the language of the market: "Attract[ing] and keep[ing] international students to Canadian universities [is important]. This is especially true as *competition* increases among a greater number of countries for a *share* of the international student *market* [emphasis added]" (AUCC, 2007a, p. 6). According to the 2006 survey of its 89 member institutions, the AUCC reported that the second-highest reason for recruiting international students, after the rhetorical aim to "promote an

internationalized campus,"[9] was to generate revenue (10% first choice; 60% listed among top three choices; p. 6).

As I noted in chapter 2, in Canadian immigration and postsecondary education policy is evidence of a trend toward the conflation of immigrant and international student status (e.g., Association for Canadian Studies, 2011). For example, 35% of Canadian universities listed the need to be responsive to the nation's needs for new skilled workers among their top five reasons for their internationalization initiatives (AUCC, 2007b, p. 3). Because international students' visa status allows them limited opportunities to work in Canada compared with the opportunities available to those with landed immigrant status, this AUCC finding is aligned with the view that the boundary between international student and immigrant has become blurred. After graduation, international students often apply for permanent-resident (PR) status and move towards integration into the Canadian labor market. I will discuss this discourse later in the chapter.

Rationalities. The central rationality for internationalization identified in the survey responses from Canadian universities was to prepare "internationally knowledgeable graduates" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 3), which seemingly refers to Canadian students, not international students. Others include to "build strategic alliances with institutions abroad," to "promote innovation in curriculum and diversity of programs," to "ensure research and scholarship address international and national issues," and to "respond to Canada's labour market needs" (p. 3). The first category, preparing students, outranked the others; 94% ranked it among the top five reasons for internationalizing.

Workshop discussions revealed tensions among different orientations to internationalization. According to Britta Baron, Vice-Provost and Associate Vice-President, International, University of Alberta, "Canada is very much influenced by the liberal arts paradigm of global citizenship, i.e., preparing students who are aware of global issues and imbued with a global ethic" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 6).

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[9] 65% listed as first choice; over 90% listed among top three choices.

This, she argued, was in contrast with more instrumental, individualistic orientations towards internationalization that she described as more typical in the United States, where "students who go abroad to study tend to seek self-fulfillment and . . . personal enrichment" (p. 6). This statement is in contrast with other rationales for internationalization according to the workshop participants. For example, the value of preparing students with international knowledge and relationships, as David Stewart-Patterson, Executive Vice-President of the CCCE, explained, lies in the enhanced potential for their future employability and the potential for economic benefits: "Canadian graduates need to enter the job market with international and intercultural skills if Canada is to compete effectively in today's globalized economy" (p. 7). In addition, he expressed the view that "international students are a valued source of immigration to Canada" (p. 7).

Noel Kinsella, Speaker of the Senate, spoke about the benefits to Canada of internationalizing universities in terms of renewing the national labor force. He expressed support for the Bologna process[10] in its aim "to make academic degree standards and quality assurance standards more comparable and compatible throughout the European Union" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 7). An example of how internationalizing campuses can be aligned with the priorities of the nation is by "contribut[ing] expertise to the promotion of human rights and democracy, areas where Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada has increased its focus" (p. 7).

The workshop participants noted a contradiction in relation to student visas (AUCC, 2007b, p. 10). Although Canadian universities strive to recruit international students, some Canadian officials in overseas embassies continue the practice of rejecting individuals' applications for a student visa on the basis of their statement of intention to immigrate to Canada.

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[10] Initiated in 1999, this process is intended to increase the recognition of courses and programs and enhance the mobility and employability of higher education students and graduates within the European Union (Council of Europe and European Association for International Education, n.d.).

The workshop participants linked motivations for universities to pursue internationalization to federal foreign policy: Universities "have a unique and tremendous contribution to make to shaping Canada's place in the world, particularly given the federal government's commitment to make strategic choices as to where Canada can make a difference on the world stage" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 24). This document concludes by stating that the internationalization of Canadian universities holds the promise of enhancing "Canada's quality of life as well as its long-term economic prosperity and competitiveness" (p. 24).

Technologies. The creation of more senior administrative positions associated with internationalization and the higher priority accorded to internationalization in strategic planning at member institutions are reported as findings of the 2006 AUCC survey. These changes were interpreted as signaling increased internationalization. International student recruitment strategies are other instances of technologies reported.

By far the largest group of international undergraduate students at Canadian universities was from China (AUCC, 2007a, p. 5). The concern was that universities should not become overdependent on any one source of students. A recent shift in the focus of recruiting to India and the African continent signifies an effort to diversify. Competition for international students is currently likely to shift from Western English-speaking countries and Australia; in the future, it is likely that China, Malaysia and Singapore, Central Asia, Russia, Kazakhstan, South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile will be contenders, according to Hans de Wit (AUCC, 2007b, pp. 10, 11).

The AUCC (2007b) mentioned curriculum revision as key to internationalization at universities and suggested "joint programs" as an example of "best practices on internationalizing the curriculum" (p. 13). These are programs in which students take some of the courses for their program at home and some abroad via a contractual agreement between the two universities. A typical exemplar of a joint program is a 2 + 2 program, in which students take the first two years of an undergraduate program in their home country and the last two years at a Canadian university. There are various models of joint programs; at

the master's level the AUCC mentioned a 1 + 1 program, and at the PhD level, the co-supervision of students is an example. The AUCC claimed that they "involve a clear exchange of academic expertise on both sides" (p. 14); therefore, there is a reliance on liberal assumptions regarding reciprocal benefits for both institutions.[11] Also, this is an example of the new types of "cross-border programme delivery" that Knight (2008) reported as a current global trend in higher education (p. 174). Examples of these types include "branch campuses, franchise and twinning arrangements" (p. 174).

The matter of "integrating internationalization goals into the fabric of institutions" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 20) was a concern for the workshop participants, and they discussed strategies to accomplish this. One participant, John Mallea, president emeritus at Brandon University, commented that although the general claim is that internationalization will have beneficial results for universities, few universities have conducted research to determine whether this in fact has occurred. Peer review is one method of evaluation that the AUCC recommended, with the rationale that it would place greater emphasis on "quality assurance related to policies and processes guiding internationalization" (p. 20). Another strategy was to look to the examples of past winners of the Scotiabank-AUCC Awards for Excellence in Internationalization.

The 2006 AUCC survey reported lack of government support as a key finding: "lack of financial support for internationalization, lack of coordinated federal government strategy to enhance internationalization, [and a] need for improved coordination among provincial and federal governments and non-government stakeholders" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 22). The AUCC also compared other countries' government support for university internationalization activities ("competitors"), including prestigious international scholarships and large marketing budgets with institutional infrastructures to manage recruitment. The

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[11] Here there is a link in rationalities to the Bologna process mentioned in the AUCC (2007b) document (p. 7) and the desirability of "seamless transfer" of credits between Canadian universities and international universities (Speaker of the Senate of the Government of Canada, The Honourable Noel Kinsella, AUCC, 2007b, p. 7).

workshop participants also "saw the need for greater coordination at the federal level" (p. 23) among government departments and between federal and provincial levels of government.

The AUCC (2007b) perceived greater networking and information sharing among universities as necessary to facilitate internationalization (p. 23). Databases with information about the international activities of faculty members, case studies to illustrate and augment survey data, and more workshops for university employees and leaders were specific strategies that the workshop participants mentioned.

Subjectivities. These documents contain many comments related to university subjectivities, most of which are not specific to students (international or Canadian) or to employees (faculty or administrators). However, notable by their absence are references to "lower-level" or front-line administrators such as admissions officers and receptionists.

Two distinct student subjectivities in the AUCC documents were the international student and the Canadian student, although they share many characteristics. Comments linking international students and immigration led to a less clear distinction between international students and landed immigrants. Finally, the student-consumer subjectivity is evident in relation to the discourse of the market.

Student subjectivity (general). The AUCC (2007b) invited students to be visible in their openness to

- taking part in opportunities "to prepare for a global future" (AUCC, 2007b, p. 1);
- "hav[ing] an unprecedented openness to the world" (p. 2);
- becoming internationally knowledgeable" (p. 3);
- "engag[ing] in international development cooperation" (p. 3);
- acquiring "the skills needed to be both a global citizen and a competitive, skilled individual" (p. 6); developing "international and intercultural skills" to better position themselves upon entering the job market; and becoming "globally engaged citizens" (p. 7);

- being internationally mobile (p. 8);
- competing with colleagues for awards of excellence (p. 1);
- having a "huge" interest in "international issues and experiential learning" (p. 6); and
- "understand[ing] the added value [of] an international dimension" to their education (p. 6).

In addition to the general description of the university student subject position, international students were called upon to be open to immigrating and entering the Canadian workforce (AUCC, 2007b, p. 7). Canadian students were specifically exhorted to develop "international networks through study abroad" (p. 7).

Employee subjectivities (general). The AUCC (2007b) invited faculty members and senior and middle-level administrators to make visible their will to

- integrate "an intercultural and international dimension to the teaching/learning, research and service functions" (p. 1) of their university responsibilities;
- compete with colleagues (at their own and other Canadian universities) for awards (e.g., Scotiabank-AUCC Awards for Excellence);
- assess their institution's progress with respect to internationalization in relation to other Canadian universities (p. 2);
- take up the goal of creating "a society 'filled with young people who have an unprecedented openness to the world,' as called for in the Canadian government's recent speech from the throne" (p. 2);
- "promote innovation in curriculum and diversity of programs" (p. 3);
- "engage in research collaboration with developing country partners" (p. 4);
- help the university enhance its international reputation (p. 5);
- be an "internal champion" to "drive growth in internationalization" (p. 6);
- work with business: "Canadian business operates internationally [and] Canadian universities should do whatever is necessary to be the engine

of the country's economic success," according to David Stewart-
Patterson, Canadian Council of Chief Executives ([CCCE] p. 7);

- "export knowledge"; that is, provide "educational products and
services overseas" (pp. 14-15); and

- through knowledge exports, "recruit top international students" (p. 15).

In addition to these aspects of employee subjectivities, the AUCC (2007b)
specifically called on faculty to

- be interested in internationalization because "strong faculty interest
[was] rated [the] most important catalyst" for internationalization of
universities (p. 5);

- "ensure research and scholarship address international and national
issues" (p. 3); and

- participate in international faculty exchanges (p. 5).

Some of these student and employee subject characteristics, and the
technologies, rationalities, and discourses identified, also appear in the provincial
policy documents and many of them at the local level in WCU policy. I will
discuss the provincial policy context next.

Provincial Policy Discourses of Internationalization at Universities

The provincial ministry responsible for postsecondary education in the
province where WCU is located is the Ministry of Employment, Postsecondary
Education and Immigration ([EPEI] pseudonym).[iv] The institutional co-location of
the three areas of government of advanced education, employment, and
immigration is a feature of this new ministry created in 2010. Its predecessor did
not include immigration in its name. Because immigration is constitutionally
under federal jurisdiction in Canada, it might not be surprising that immigration
did not appear in a ministry name in this province up to this point. Later I will
discuss the emergence of the enhanced profile of immigration in the landscape of
this particular provincial government's administration at this time. The letter I
selected describes the mandate of this provincial ministry in the province where
WCU is located. Dated in 2010,[v] the premier of the province wrote the letter to

the minister responsible for EPEI. The following excerpts from this letter relate to my research interests:

> Your ministry is accountable for carrying out a number of priority initiatives . . . [including]:
>
> - In collaboration with post-secondary institutions, establish and act on an operational plan to recruit and retain more international students.
>
> - Ensure that post-secondary institutions contribute to the goals of building an innovative economy. . . .
>
> - Actively participate in inter-provincial Western Canadian partnerships related to labour market development and post-secondary education. . . .
>
> - Work to achieve the goal of 3,400 nominations under the Provincial Immigrant Selection Program [(PISP) pseudonym].[vi]

The provincial program, PISP, referred to in this letter is a relatively new one, initiated during the tenure of the previous provincial government.[vii] To better understand how the program operates, I located two additional documents: a description of the program and an application form. PISP was initially established to recruit skilled workers and business operators to meet provincial labor shortages in specific occupational fields. It was expanded to include other categories of skilled workers and temporary foreign workers when there were labor shortages; in 1998 there was only one applicant, but by mid 2003, 75 applications had already been processed that year.[viii] An international student category was added to the policy in 2004.[ix] Eligibility criteria[x] currently include graduation from any recognized Canadian postsecondary educational institution in a program of at least one full-time academic year, at least six months of work experience in the province (12 months of work elsewhere in Canada), and an offer of a permanent full-time job in the province. Eligibility criteria for graduates of master's or PhD programs are slightly different. Their graduate programs must be in universities within the province, and they must have completed them within two years prior to the date of application to PISP. They must intend to "settle and work" in the province. Acceptable evidence of the latter can be any one of a minimum of six months' employment in their particular disciplinary field, a job

offer in this field for a term of at least six months, or possession of sufficient funds ($10,000 per applicant) to live on for a short period of time.

According to a winter 2011 phone conversation with a ministry official,[xi] the ministry has been endeavoring to link internationalizing, immigration, business, and the job market. The student category of the PISP is another part of their strategy, as is more generally working with the federal and other governments to meet their policy goals. Specific initiatives arising from these collaborations include the production of a brand and a publication entitled "Imagine Study in Canada." One of the ministry's goals is to increase the numbers of international students enrolled in secondary and postsecondary education institutions in the province. The granting of off-campus work permits for visa students represents a recent policy change as a result of an MOA between the province and the federal government. After a pilot in 2007, the policy was adopted in 2009. International students attending university in the province are now allowed to work off campus up to 20 hours per week during the academic term and 40 hours during term breaks.

The ministry has also created an advisory board consisting of representatives from the universities and secondary school boards. With respect to its relationship to the universities, the ministry's representative stated that it did not "dictate" to them, but that they acted independently.

To flesh out my understanding of the discursive construction of provincial policy in these fields, I spoke with Beth,[xii] a former Member of the Legislative Assembly who had served in several cabinet positions related to education, employment, finance, and immigration during the 1990s and early 2000s. Beth recalled being approached at one point when she was the minister responsible for postsecondary education by organized groups of international students who lobbied her to loosen the regulations to allow them to be legally employed off campus because on-campus jobs were very scarce. Some also appealed to her for permission to apply for permanent residence in Canada. During that time frame, universities in the province were making major changes to facilitate the admission of many more international students while at the same time significantly

increasing their tuition fees. Also during this period, a group of international students from a specific nation approached her to explore the possibility of immigrating because of major political upheaval in their country.

Beth urged the federal immigration minister at the time to make changes to increase provincial control over immigration to meet provincial needs to address specific labor shortages and facilitate students' working—giving them more opportunities—all of which resulted in changes that contributed to the conflation of immigrant status and international student status in the province.

In her talks with the federal minister of immigration and with other provincial ministers, Beth discovered that her counterparts in two other provinces shared her keen interest in seeing changes to federal policy on immigration, international students, postsecondary education, and employment. The government of one these provinces represented a political party with radically different views on most other issues. One of these was the issue of standardized testing in K-12 education; on this issue, this province led the charge for increased standardized testing, and Beth and her government played the leading role in opposing such changes. However, with regard to the interconnected issues of facilitating international students' increased presence in provincial labor markets and recruiting international students as immigrants, these two provinces found that their interests aligned.

One of the ways in which provincial governments work together and with the federal government is through the intergovernmental body CMEC. Founded in 1967, CMEC's membership includes the ministers of education from each of Canada's 13 provinces and territories (CMEC, 2012) and constitutes a major technology of communication and policy development. CMEC provides opportunities for networking and exchanges of ideas both within Canada and with other countries and international organizations. For instance, the federal government works through CMEC to send ministerial-level representatives of Canada to international education conferences hosted by organizations such as UNESCO and the OECD. Beth recalled attending many such meetings. She also recounted her observation at some of the national CMEC meetings that a high-

ranking representative of an American national educational organization would appear when CMEC was holding its meetings. He participated in numerous informal after-hours exchanges with CMEC members, at times with an unambiguous policy agenda such as the promotion of increased standardized testing to facilitate international comparisons.

Technologies of educational policy borrowing were in evidence in Beth's story of a high-level policy analyst who had worked on educational policy in her province. He had moved on to work with the government of Ontario during years of intensive neoliberal education reforms. Subsequently, he had returned to Beth's province to work in the provincial government, presumably bringing with him discourses of reform. Educational borrowing/lending (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004) is a form of institutional isomorphism, the latter a term used to refer to the spread of policies and practices from one institution to another (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983). Isomorphism can occur through a diverse range of processes in institutions, such as inservice training and mentoring, both of which draw on normative discourses. It can also be facilitated through the existence of intersecting boards of directors, the promotion of best practices, quality control programs, and apprenticeship. In fact, bureaucracy itself is characterized by isomorphism. Specific to this research, I am able to see the potential for cross-partisan isomorphism created by this man's career experiences with the neoliberal reforms in the government of Ontario and subsequently his responsibilities in WCU's provincial government.

Discourses. In these provincial policy documents, the discourse of the market is apparent; for instance, the premier directed the minister to "ensure that post-secondary institutions contribute to the goals of building an innovative economy." There is also an explicit connection between international students and immigration in the mandate of the provincial ministry, as expressed in the 2010 letter from the premier to the minister—"In collaboration with post-secondary institutions, establish and act on an operational plan to recruit and retain more international students"—in the statements of the ministry representative and the former minister, as well as in the provincial program PISP.

Rationalities. I argue that among the many rationalities explicit and implicit in these discourses are the following:

1. The province needs new immigrants who will help fill labor shortages and help the provincial economy grow.

2. International students who graduate from provincial and Canadian postsecondary institutions constitute a desirable pool of candidates for immigration to the province.

3. By allowing international students to work while on a student visa, they will be self-financing as they attempt to make themselves up as acceptable Canadian workers. Those who apply to immigrate through PISP will have made themselves examinable as Canadian workers, at little or no cost to the public purse.

4. The provincial government should not be visible or direct in how it influences university policy.[xiii]

Technologies. Creating enabling legislation, agreements, programs, and policies to facilitate recruitment of particular types of international postsecondary students as workers and those with specific characteristics as immigrants entails a complex web of legislative procedures, negotiations, ongoing considerations of the political optics, and juggling of government priorities. One prominent technology is the PISP application process. According to the application form and related official information, there are intertextual linkages to federal government processes and to a range of official documents. This process relies on a parallel federal government immigration selection process, which is the next step for those who are successful in the provincial application process. The provincial application[xiv] must be accompanied by documents such as education certificates, birth certificates, letters from previous employers, offers of employment, and, if applicable, other documents such as marriage certificates, financial documents, trade certificates, professional licenses, or letters of reference from university departments.

Subjectivities. Possible subjectivities for international students include immigrant and worker/employee. Characteristics of desirable applicants for PR

status are evident in the PISP application form and accompanying FAQs for applicants: possession of a job or offer of employment in the province; absence of serious ill health; absence of a criminal record; ability to successfully complete a Canadian or provincial postsecondary diploma, certificate, or degree program; and an advanced level of English proficiency (minimum of Canadian Language Benchmark 4[12] for certain categories of employment). Refugees are not eligible. Of course, all of these criteria rely on rationalities with respect to what types of individuals constitute "good" immigrants, and together they contribute to the creation of discursive boundaries that might have inclusionary and exclusionary effects for international students who choose to pursue this avenue.

There are no specific references to subjectivities of university employees in the letter from the premier. However, general statements invite individuals to

- display an optimistic attitude (to focus on possibilities, not limitations);
- embrace change as a way to move forward;
- "adopt bold new solutions";
- aggressively pursue opportunities;
- be innovative;
- work towards merit-based rewards; and
- be enterprising.

These statements are intertextually linked to neoliberal understandings of the individual; neoliberal language describes provincial government policy directions towards an innovative economy and sustained economic growth and development. The reform of government was heralded, including the reduction of the public service through such technologies as "the workforce adjustment strategy," the "elimination of bureaucratic regulations that serve as barriers to growth," and employment of LEAN methodologies (p. 1).

The discussion now moves to university-level policy.

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[12] The Canadian Language Benchmarks are measures of English language proficiency developed and used by the Canadian government.

Local University Policy Discourses: Western Canadian University and Internationalization

Many internal policy documents affect the academic lives of international students at WCU. Some are general university policies and others pertain specifically to internationalization and international students. Policies that govern all WCU students, including international students, include the academic integrity policy, the academic promotion policies of individual faculties, student recruitment plans, admission policies, and WCU's university-wide Strategic Plan ([SP] pseudonym);[xv] others pertain specifically to internationalization and international students. Among the latter are its internationalization mission statement and documents citing various responses to these. Documents specifying English language proficiency requirements affect many international students, though they also can come into play with new immigrants, refugees, and Canadian students from Francophone or Aboriginal backgrounds.

The key document I selected for analysis, *Internationalization at WCU: Foundational Document* (*International Foundational Document* [*IFD*], pseudonym) *for International Activities at WCU*[xvi] is intended to perform a central, guiding function not only for WCU departments and programs that deal directly with international students and activities, but also across the university in diverse contexts. This document reflects the input of key individuals at WCU over the several years of development leading up to its 2003 form.

The *IFD* (2003) is one of a number of documents that the WCU refers to as foundational in the sense that they represent basic beliefs and agreements about important aspects of the university's positions and goals. Other such key policy documents[xvii] developed within the last eight years pertain to teaching and learning; outreach and engagement; scholarly, research, and artistic work; and Aboriginal activities. The *IFD* appears on WCU's website in a prominent location and has intertextual links, many of them in the form of hyperlinks, with several other WCU documents. Its 2003 date reflects the year it received formal approval from the WCU's faculty council.

The *IFD* (2003) "builds upon the university's mission statement to provide a vision for extending its already extensive range of international activities" (p. 1) and "is intended to describe, at the highest level, the general direction the University is prepared to take in this area and to provide a template for making difficult and important choices" (p. 2). A description of WCU's international vision and goals is followed by a discussion of priorities and objectives organized around five dimensions: "internationalizing the learning environment, enhancing international academic mobility, promoting the academic success of international students, strengthening international research and graduate training, and supporting internationalization through service and outreach" (p. 1).

Given my research interest in the effects of university policies on international students studying in Canada, I will focus on two components of the *IFD* (2003): "International Vision and Goals" and "Promoting the Academic Success of International Students." In addition, some aspects of "Internationalizing the Learning Environment" and "Strengthening International Research and Graduate Training" have particular relevance to my study.

Discourses. An analysis of the *IFD* (2003) reveals four co-existing discourses related to rationalities that underlie the internationalization of WCU: teaching and research, social justice and environmental sustainability, the market, and immigration. Several of these are illustrated in the following statement:

> A large number of faculty are already involved in international research, advisory work, training, and capacity building. They choose to be involved because of long-standing scholarly interests in a particular part of the world. . . . Some are committed to a social transformation agenda, with the goal of promoting socially just, sustainable, development. Others are attracted to individual and institutional benefits afforded by for-profit initiatives. . . . The University recognizes the importance of supporting a broad-based, inclusive approach to internationalization, and values the diversity of approaches that are being followed. (p. 3)

Elsewhere in the *IFD* (2003) are references to international students as potential immigrants. In the following section I discuss each of the discourses, teaching and research, social justice and environmental sustainability, the market, and immigration in turn, with attention to rationalities and subjectivities associated with each.

Teaching and research. Teaching and research constitute what is generally understood as the traditional discourse of Western universities.[13] With varying and shifting degrees of success, universities engage in an ongoing struggle to maintain a balance between these two functions and to nurture synergies between them.

Teaching. There are clear references to the university's responsibilities to its domestic students: "Universities have a clear and vital mandate to bring the world, in all of its cultural and physical diversity, to their students and other constituents . . . [and] to prepare our students for active participation in the global economy and society" (*IFD*, 2003, pp. 4-5). The claim is that internationalization initiatives benefit WCU students, a rationality that is used to argue for increasing the proportion of international students at WCU, as well as enhancing study-abroad programs for Canadian WCU students. The focus is on creating effective learning environments for WCU students to equip them for their future lives: "Our goal must be to enhance the international understanding of our students, and to give them opportunities to reflect on their society through the eyes, insights, and critiques offered by others" (p. 8).

Research. There is also a focus on facilitating research and scholarship. Here, the subjectivity is that of the scholar/researcher: "Initiatives that bring world-class scholars to [WCU] not only inspire and educate our own faculty and students but also contribute to the enhancement of the University's profile as an institution known internationally for excellence" (*IFD*, 2003, p. 9). We might ask how it is possible to recognize a "world-class scholar" and how this decision is made. University tenure and promotion practices have their own discursive truths, one of which is that research that is internationally recognized is more valuable than research that is not internationally recognized, as demonstrated in the

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[13] I acknowledge that *Western* is a contested concept and not generalizable. However, for the purposes of this study, I use this term to refer to English-medium universities in North America, which have historically been influenced by the educational traditions of Christian, European universities.

requirements for promotion from the rank of associate professor to that of full professor. About this we might ask how it is possible to determine whether research is internationally recognized. Typical indicators include publication in international journals, citations by international researchers, or presentations at international conferences, so these might be considered ways of measuring the "world-classiness" of a researcher. The document also mentions increasing "research and project funding for international work" (p. 7) as one of its priorities, as well as broadening and deepening interest in international research across the university (p. 7).

In sum, the rationalities connected with these statements regarding the importance of internationalization to teaching and research are connected with traditional beliefs associated with Western university mandates; for example, that research has both intrinsic value and value related to teaching and that teaching domestic students is a central function of a university. The subject positions of teacher and researcher are associated with this traditional university discourse, although for tenure-track and tenured faculty members, the two positions are considered one: teacher-researcher.

Social justice and environmental sustainability. Another discourse that lives and breathes in the *IFD* (2003) is related to social justice:

> The University has a long tradition of aspiring to social justice and environmental sustainability. We have demonstrated this commitment through active participation in international development projects and educational initiatives that enhance the capacity of our partner institutions and contribute to progressive social transformation. (p. 5)

Among the stated internationalization goals is to continue an emphasis on

> the importance of socially responsible research, to ensure that activities are implemented in accordance with established principles and practices for international research, including community participation in project development, respect for indigenous knowledge, and sharing of research results with communities and decision-makers. (p. 7)

Examples of fields of progressive activities include "child development and poverty" and "global environmental change" (p. 5).

The market. Alongside these two discourses exists unequivocal acknowledgement of economic rationales for internationalization initiatives.

There is mention of "individual and institutional benefits afforded by for-profit initiatives" (*IFD*, 2003, p. 3). In addition, the document states that "the promotion of WCU internationally has the potential to generate significant revenues for the institution (through student fees, research grants and contracts, and donations)" (p. 5). At the same time, there is recognition by WCU that "commitment in this field has its cost . . . so that these revenues will need to be reinvested to provide infrastructural support for internationalization" (p. 5), and to "provide vital support for academic success" (p. 12). The emergence of the profit motive among the incentives for internationalization signals neoliberal discourse.

Immigration. Immigration is mentioned explicitly in one location in the *IFD* (2003):

> Through its membership in national organizations such as the AUCC and the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), the University is able to work with other institutions to address pressing issues of mutual concern, including the streamlining of immigration procedures for international students. (p. 21)

The *IFD* (2003) explicitly acknowledges the co-existence of the first three discourses (teaching and research, social justice and environmental sustainability, and the market) as "approaches" (p. 3). Although in some ways, and certainly in some contexts, these and the fourth discourse of immigration can be seen as competing rationalities, thinking of them as discourses helps to account for their overlapping, indeterminate, and context-specific existence in everyday activities at WCU.

Rationalities. The power of discourses is derived from truth statements, or rationalities. These rationalities are evident in the university policy discourses that I have just described:

1. Internationalization benefits Canadian university students, as well as faculty members. The *IFD* (2003) claims that the careers of WCU faculty can benefit from international exchanges: "International teaching and research enable faculty . . . to enhance their career development by building new . . . areas of expertise" (p. 10).

2. Internationalization can contribute to social justice and environmental sustainability.

3. Internationalization can lead to financial advantages for Canadian universities and faculty members.

4. Universities should meet "global standards" (p. 1). WCU is called upon to make itself "an institution known and respected for its adherence to global standards" (p. 1).

5. Competition is valued: "In the new global environment our competition, our obligations, and our opportunities are all international" (p. 4).

6. Progress is valued, and to progress, WCU must internationalize: "If we do not internationalize, we risk becoming a parochial institution" (p. 4).

7. Faculty and staff at international partner institutions can gain valuable professional development through participation in exchange activities (p. 10).

8. Comparisons are useful: WCU's international activities can be described by comparing them with other Canadian universities; in doing so, it is possible to identify areas of excellence and deficiency: "The Current State Analysis [Appendix C] helps to identify areas where this University has excelled . . . and areas where we lag behind" (p. 2).

9. Reciprocity is valued: "Internationalization is a reciprocal process, where we share our insights and knowledge and where we seek to learn from the experience, cultures and research of others" (p. 4).

10. Partnerships with "governments, businesses, NGOs, and communities" (p. 22) in connection with international initiatives are important:

   (a) developing "strong, mutually advantageous partnerships" (p. 22) is beneficial for WCU, and

   (b) it is possible for WCU to engage in such partnerships while "ensur[ing] that its academic objectives and principles are respected" (p. 22).

All of these rationalities have the potential to come to life through the employment of discursive technologies.

Technologies. Recruitment of international students is an instance of a technology used to mobilize WCU's policy goals. As I discussed earlier, the postsecondary environment in Canada has been characterized by a downward trend in domestic student numbers, alongside increasing financial pressures; the decline of transfer payments to the provinces from the federal government through Established Program Funding, which began in the 1980s, has been a key factor (Cameron, 1997). These changes have had many effects on Canadian universities; among them has been a greatly increased focus on the recruitment of international students. Recruitment at WCU involves branding, marketing, and making choices about where and how its activities should be directed. For instance, WCU's international recruitment plan has included a focus on India over the past few years. Here, many education systems are English-medium. There is a lack of postsecondary spaces for India's huge population; consequently, many of its citizens consider attending universities out of the country.

Subjectivities. Certain subject positions are acknowledged in the WCU discourses that I have described, with implications for understanding how it is possible for faculty, staff, and students to "do" university.

Faculty. Several subjectivities for WCU faculty members are thinkable and doable in relation to the discourses that I have described. These include the teacher-researcher, the academic-activist, and the academic-entrepreneur.

1. Teacher-researcher: As I noted above, this subject position is associated with the traditional discourse of Canadian university. Internationalization moves at WCU indicate that "faculty with international expertise" (*IFD*, 2003, p. 6) are valued. Academic units are urged to "hire new faculty with international interests and expertise" (p. 9). Existing faculty members are encouraged to demonstrate interest in and support of international aspects of their teaching and research, such as mentoring, welcoming international

visitors and students (p. 15), and "support[ing] international students to pursue projects in, or relevant to, their countries of origin" (p. 15).

2. Academic-activist: When faculty members mobilize the discourse of social justice and environmental sustainability, they take up the subjectivity of the academic-activist. This subjectivity entails "commit[ment] to a social transformation agenda, with the goal of promoting socially just, sustainable, development" (p. 3).

3. Academic-entrepreneur: The discourse of the market produces the academic-entrepreneur. These subjects are mobile, strive for excellence, compete with peers, are motivated by the benefits of for-profit initiatives, enhance their individual careers through international activities and partnerships, and participate in performance evaluation systems in which workload, merit, tenure, and promotion evaluations reflect participation in international activities.

Administrators. The expectation that "faculty and staff" (IFD, 2003, p. 16) should support internationalization initiatives at WCU is inclusive of all WCU employees. Similarly, the general goal of "train[ing] our students to be responsive to the challenges and opportunities of the rapidly changing global society and economy" (p. 1) seems to apply to all employees, as do many of the characteristics described under "academic-entrepreneur" above.

Students. Two clear subjectivities emerge: the Canadian (or domestic) student, and the international student. This is evident in such statements as "facilitate more interaction among international and Canadian students on campus" (*IFD*, 2003, p. 9). Another subjectivity open to international students at WCU is that of potential immigrants to the province and Canada. In addition, within the discourse of the market/neoliberalism, the mobile and responsive student-consumer appears as a subject position that is available to all students, both international and domestic.

With respect to international student subjectivity, whom exactly WCU has in mind, and how an international student might be recognized are questions that can lead to determining how the international student as a subject and object of

discourse is formed. From an historical vantage point, among the students at the earliest Western universities were those who traveled from near and far to learn from respected scholars. However, because the first universities predated the emergence of the nation-state, these traveling students would not have been understood as *international students*. Today the international student has become both a subject and an object of discourse. Several things can be learned about conceptions of and assumptions about international students at WCU by looking at the *IFD* (2003).

As I mentioned above, although historically students have always traveled to attend universities, there has not been a distinct category of *international student* until relatively recently. Prior to the emergence of this term, the term *foreign student* was commonly used at Canadian universities; it has largely fallen into disuse, in part because of the possible negative, xenophobic connotations. It might be true that *international* has more positive connotations than *foreign*, but this category, or subjectivity, is also used to assign a status that creates a governable population in that it has been accompanied by the emergence of technologies that enable members of the population to be identified and counted. Thus specific fees can be levied and collected. Various institutional practices and technologies can be observed coming into play as the institution manages its international students. At WCU, students provide certain kinds of information about themselves as part of the process of applying for admission. I will discuss this further in the next chapter. As evidenced by its regular enrolment reports, WCU has been generating increasingly more detailed data relating to its international students.

The existence of two distinct subjectivities, the Canadian student and the international student, is evident in several instances in the *IFD* (2003). For example, "our vision for internationalization . . . entails a commitment to creating diverse, inclusive, and challenging learning opportunities for *our* [emphasis added] students, in order to prepare them to function in a rapidly evolving global society" (p. 5). And "our goal must be to enhance the international understanding of *our* [emphasis added] students, and to give them opportunities to reflect on

their society through the eyes, insights and critiques offered by others" (p. 8). Although the referent for *our* might be understood to be all students at WCU, it is more likely the case that *our* refers to domestic, or Canadian, students. After all, one of the rationalities underlying internationalization reforms is that universities benefit from learning from international students and international initiatives. In discursive terms, inclusionary and exclusionary conditions are created as an effect of the two subjectivities Canadian student and international student. These may also be understood in terms of dividing practices. Foucault (1982) explained:

> My work has dealt with three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects. . . . In the second part of my work, I have studied the objectivizing of the subject in what I shall call "dividing practices." The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals, and the "good boys." (p. 208)

One characteristic of the international student subjectivity at WCU can be inferred from the *IFD*'s (2003) statement that "diverse" (p. 6) international students are valued; that is, diverse in terms of country of origin and disciplinary interests. At Canadian universities in the first decade of this century, the single largest group of international students, at the undergraduate level at least, is from the People's Republic of China (AUCC, 2007b, p. 5). This is also the case at WCU. Thus it might be understood that although being from China is characteristic of the international student subject position at this university at this time, it is less desirable than being from other countries. Of course, this is not to say that WCU does not welcome Chinese students; quite the contrary. However, my personal experience and the interview data suggest that there are many reasons that diversity of national origin is an institutional aim, among them the fact that many Chinese students themselves express a preference to study in a setting with a diverse student body. Another reason is financial: It is not a sound fiscal practice to rely too heavily on one source of income, tuition income from one national origin in this case.

The goal of increasing diversity of disciplinary or programmatic interests can be linked to resource limitations, which have been evident not just at WCU, but also at all Canadian universities in recent neoliberal times. Undersubscribed

courses and programs are often targeted for elimination as part of institutional reforms. Filling empty seats by tapping new demographic sources is one strategy that can be used to forestall cancellation of courses or closures of departments. In practice, however, the programs of choice of international students tend to be relatively focused and limited, at least at the undergraduate level: Business and engineering[xviii] appear to be the academic destinations of most undergraduate international students at WCU. One of the institutional challenges for the university is to come up with budget strategies to fairly distribute resources to enable particular sectors of the university to meet the needs of international students in their areas. A further complication is that although WCU's arts faculty might not be the chosen destination of the majority of international undergraduate students, it is in fact where a large proportion of them study, primarily while they attempt to raise their GPAs to levels that make them admissible to their desired programs or colleges, such as business or engineering.

In addition to the "diverse" international student subject, another subject position characteristic of the discourse of internationalization at WCU can be seen in the *IFD*'s (2003) statement that international student recruitment activities should target "well-prepared and motivated students" (p. 11). Specifically, what is understood by "well-prepared"? The document notes that "international students face formidable challenges—language problems, cultures of learning, academic preparation, and social adaptation—when they arrive to study" (p. 12) at WCU. Elsewhere in the document are commitments to providing adequate support systems for international students. It might be assumed that, the better prepared that international students are to face these challenges, the less they would tend to use these support services. For example, students with fewer "language problems" (p. 12) might find it easier to conduct their academic work and engage with faculty, staff, and other students; conversely, these groups might find it easier to interact with these international students. Consequently, well-prepared students might be expected to use fewer institutional resources.

Several points are worth noting here. One is that a lack of proficiency in Canadian English is framed as a lack of preparation, or as a problem. In fact, each

international student at WCU is proficient in at least one language, and most in more than one. One of the student participants in this study, a doctoral student at WCU, reported his ability to use six different languages; his previous graduate work had been conducted in an additional language, his undergraduate education in a different additional language, and his elementary school in yet another language that, in turn, was different from his mother tongue, a language he continued to use at home. Critical applied linguists such as Richard Ruiz (1984) have named this perspective: that is, that a lack of proficiency in a dominant language is a problem, as a "language-as-problem orientation" (p. 12). An alternative perspective is the "language-as-resource" orientation, within which an additional language is understood as a valuable resource.

Other interesting assumptions are apparent in the potential recruitment strategies associated with the aim of attracting "well-prepared and motivated" international students *IFD*, 2003, p. 11). These include working with overseas "joint (2 + 2) degree programs" (p. 11) and recruiting international students who have completed their Grade 12 in Canada (p. 12). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, joint programs with WCU allow international students to take the first two years of their undergraduate program at a university in their home country and the final two years at WCU. The document mentioned no evidence to support the notion that students from joint programs or from Canadian Grade 12 programs are better prepared. I will discuss this further in chapter 6.

Thus, although the rationality for internationalization at WCU is that greater diversity among international students is beneficial, indications are that some particular types of diversity are more desirable than others. Subjectivity is implicated in that there might be conditions that shape possibilities for a particular international applicant for admission that vary according to indicators of diversity in language, culture, previous education, and so on.

A final comment about the *IFD* (2003) is that I noted several instances of concern for barriers to students and employees. For instance, the document called for an "audit of institutional policies . . . [to] identif[y] institutional barriers to international engagement" (p. 18) on the part of faculty and students.

Intertextualities and Shifting Conditions of Possibility

As I discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation, the effects of neoliberal globalization are evident in universities the world over. Thus, we would expect intertextuality among postsecondary policy texts across national borders (e.g., the OECD), as well as within Canada in federal and provincial government departments and nongovernmental organizations such as the AUCC, the CBIE, and WUSC, all of which are concerned with postsecondary education and internationalization.

Intertextual linkages among policy documents of WCU, the province, and AUCC reveal many shared discourses, rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities associated with internationalization at postsecondary institutions; they also share elements with OECD policy. A few discursive elements are unique to particular institutional sites. I will now discuss these commonalities and divergences. Most of the discourses of internationalization in evidence at WCU also appear in the AUCC documents. The social justice and environmental sustainability discourse appear only in the WCU document, although the AUCC document includes the discourse of liberalism in relation to providing aid to developing countries.

Drivers of internationalization at Canadian universities. It might be helpful to think about these intertextualities in the context of the major drivers of internationalization at Canadian universities over the past few decades. Among these are the traditional functions of Western universities (Altbach & Knight, 2006), revenue from international students' tuition (Altbach & Knight, 2006), aid to developing nations (Knight, 2008), the meeting of international needs for access to postsecondary education (Altbach & Knight, 2006), and, more recently, the immigration and labor needs of the nation (Belkhodja, 2011; Edmonds, 2012; Knight, 2008; Lowe, 2010), and trade (Knight, 2008).

The traditional functions of Canadian universities, that is, teaching, research, and service, have led to moves to broaden and deepen their international scope and activities, resulting in what Altbach and Knight (2006) termed *traditional internationalization* (p. 3). Second, with neoliberal government

reforms since the 1980s, Canadian universities have been utilizing the revenue from international student tuition to help make up shortfalls resulting from decreased federal funding (e.g., Altbach & Knight, 2006; Knight, 2008). Altbach and Knight commented that profits are now an incentive not only at for-profit educational institutions, but also at public universities, and the AUCC and WCU both noted revenue as one of the reasons for internationalization. Third, the desire to assist developing countries also generates international projects (Knight, 2008), and this is visible in the AUCC's liberal discourse and in some respects in WCU's social justice discourse. Fourth, Altbach and Knight used the expressions "access provision" and "demand absorption" (p. 3) to describe Western universities' efforts to meet the postsecondary education needs of developing nations, which tend to have too few university seats to accommodate their own citizens.

These four motivators of internationalization are closely connected to universities' internal mandates and missions. More recently, provincial and federal government policy directions related to immigration and labor have emerged as external drivers of Canadian university discourses of internationalization. According to Belkhodja (2011):

> In countries with a tradition of immigration like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, policies for selecting highly skilled immigrants are now favoring the category of international students. . . . International students have become a precious commodity for the economies of advanced industrialized countries. . . . Insofar as the OECD countries are seeking skilled professionals, international students with degrees from their universities represent an almost ideal solution to the labor shortages experienced by these countries. (p. 7)

A practical advantage is the circumvention of the challenge of assessing international credentials and work experience (p. 7).

In her article entitled "International Students as Canada's New Skilled Migrants," Lowe (2010) commented that this shift is part of a global trend and reported that Canada has been praised "for having favourable conditions—including policies, history and socio-economic fabric—to recruit and retain an increasing share of the world's international student migrants" (p. 1). According to Edmonds (2012), rather than focusing on traditional approaches to marketing their programs overseas, Canadian universities should think in terms of creating

"pipeline[s] to talent, networks, linkages and countries in strategic priority areas" (para. 8), the choice of which should be guided by federal government priorities.

Knight (2008) described a global trend among the drivers of internationalization at universities as a movement "from aid to trade" (p. 175). By this she meant that, rather than universities seeing cross-border education initiatives as aiding developing countries, they are increasingly understanding the ways in which they operate as a service that can be traded. Since 1998 the General Agreement on Trade in Services, has "clearly identif[ied] education as a service sector to be liberalized and regulated by trade rules" (p. 175) as specified by the World Trade Organization (1998, 1999). Neoliberal globalization has thus created "new territory for the education sector" (Knight, 2008, p. 175). Knight identified the risks and opportunities associated with this shift, but pointed out that academic mobility and cross-border trade in education services are realities that must be dealt with.

Internationalizing universities: Regimes of practice in the transformation of institutions. A regime of practice is a way of thinking about assemblages of rationalities and technologies: that they enable the production of objects (which then become examinable and governable) and can appear not just in one societal system, nor one institution, but also across and through many of these (Dean, 2010, p. 30). These "objects," then, can become objects of "programmes of reform" (p. 32). In the policy documents that I have examined in this chapter, we observe that regimes of practices related to internationalization at Canadian universities have produced certain objects and that these regimes of practice operate to reform and transform how we "know" and "do" university. Thus, the rationalities of these policy texts and how they set in place directions for change and, in turn, operate to generate certain technologies, regulate certain practices, and produce certain subjectivities can be understood as a program of transformation with the aim of internationalizing Canadian universities. As Ball (1994) argued, "Discourses . . . produce subject positions 'from which people are "invited" (summoned) to speak, listen, act, read, work, think, feel, behave and value' (Gee et al., 1996, p. 10)" (p. 5). I will now describe some of the discursive

characteristics of this program of transformation related to internationalization at WCU.

First of all, this program of transformation, or this regime of practice related to internationalization, is characterized by certain foundational statements. Underlying the dominant discourses of internationalization apparent in these policy documents are assumptions and statements related to the inevitability of progress and the notion that people who care about universities should concern themselves with helping universities progress and helping the world progress. More specific is the assumption that internationalization represents progress at this historical moment. Another key element of this discursive assemblage, or this regime of practice, is the traditional teaching and research discourse identified in the policy documents, with its traditional teacher-researcher faculty member subjectivity, and, for students, its traditional subject position of Canadian university student. With the implementation of internationalization over the past two decades, the subject position of *international student* has emerged in juxtaposition with that of Canadian or domestic student. Statements regarding the benefits of internationalization for the institution, the student, and the faculty also form part of the rationalities of this regime of practice.

As part of a discursive assemblage, all of these statements constitute the fabric of the rationalities in the regime of practice related to internationalization. They heighten the imperative for institutional transformation. In other words, they make it all but impossible to think otherwise. They are part of "a kind of intellectual machinery or apparatus for rendering reality thinkable in such a way that it is amenable to political programming" (Rose, 1996, p. 42). For example, within this discursive environment we might ask: If university employees care about their university, how could they possibly not want to internationalize? How could they stand in the way of progress?

Characteristic of this program of transformation, or this regime of practice, are certain discourses: the discourse of liberalism; the discourse of the market, or neoliberalism; the discourse of social change; and the discourse of immigration and labor. The first two operate as dominant discourses, whereas the third can be

considered a discourse of resistance. The immigration and work discourse is emerging as another dominant discourse. As Ball (1994) observed, "In complex modern societies we are enmeshed in a variety of discordant, incoherent, and contradictory discourses" (p. 23). I will consider each of these discourses.

Liberalism and neoliberalism. There are various forms of liberalism and of neoliberalism, depending on specific historical, political, cultural, and social contexts. However, as I noted in chapter 2, fundamental differences distinguish one from the other. Whereas classic liberalism relies on state intervention to maintain stable social conditions favorable to the operation of the free market, the neoliberal state considers itself noninterventionist, but governs at a distance. In the liberal state individuals rely on the state for the most basic human needs, whereas in neoliberalism individuals are self-reliant and "mak[e] continual enterprises" (Olssen, 1996, p. 340) of themselves. Both liberalism and neoliberalism are active and evident in the AUCC and WCU policy documents; only the discourse of neoliberalism is prominent in the provincial documents.

The discourse of liberalism. The WCU and AUCC documents demonstrate a pervasive rationality of liberalism. Both documents reflect liberal, humanist "truths" such as the possibility of reciprocity and mutual benefit for international partners. For example, these statements appear in the WCU document: "Internationalization is a reciprocal process, where we share our insights and knowledge and where we seek to learn from the experience, cultures and research of others" (*IFD*, 2003, p. 4), and "strong, mutually advantageous partnerships" (p. 22) are beneficial. Such statements do not attend to power and therefore run the risk of unintentionally ignoring barriers that can result in marginalizing conditions for some international students.

The discourse of the market/neoliberalism. The other dominant discourse of internationalization seen in all of the documents is the discourse of the market/neoliberalism. For instance, this discourse is evident in the intertextualities with senior representatives of the private sector: In the AUCC document these include the CCCE and corporations such as Scotiabank and RIM.

With the onset of advanced liberalism, according to Miller and Rose (2008), we have witnessed "an extension of rationalities and technologies of markets to previously exempt zones such as health and education" (p. 18). Furthermore:

> The spreading of modes of financial calculation and budgetary obligations to areas which were previously governed according to bureaucratic, professional, or other norms. The allocation of budgetary responsibilities to professionals—doctors, educationalists, civil servants, and those working with excluded groups—requires them to calculate their actions not in the esoteric languages of their own expertise, but by translating them into costs and benefits that can be given an accounting value.
> (p. 109)

Thus, in many public institutions today, truth statements that use logic related to counting and measuring are commonplace. These constitute rationalities that lead to the production of technologies at WCU such as categorizing and counting university students, employees, and programs; the entering of the data that produce spreadsheets and databases; and the use of these spreadsheets and databases to manage and govern. Foucault (1994) wrote:

> Government is possible only when the strength of the state is known; it is by this knowledge that it can be sustained. The state's capacity and the means to enlarge it must be known. The strength and the capacity of other states, rivals of my own state, must also be known. The governed state must hold out against the others. A government, therefore, entails more than just implementing general principles of reason, wisdom, and prudence. A certain specific knowledge is necessary: concrete, precise, and measured knowledge as to the state's strength. The art of governing characteristic of the reason of state is intimately bound up with the development of what was called, at this moment, political "arithmetic." Political arithmetic was the knowledge implied by political competence, and you know very well that the other name of this political arithmetic was statistics, a statistics related not at all to probability but to the knowledge of state, the knowledge of different states' respective forces.
> (p. 408).

Having been categorized and counted, it then becomes possible to compare discursive objects. There is the truth statement, found in the policy documents at the national, provincial, and local levels, that it is possible and beneficial to evaluate a program or an institution by making comparisons with others. The AUCC (2007b) compared Canadian universities with each other on a number of

measures. Canadian universities are compared and ranked in *Macleans*' annual survey (e.g., "How Does Your School Stack Up?" 2010); an example of global comparisons of universities is that produced by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education (Marginson, 2006, p. 905).

One of the effects of the production of "league tables" in public education has been that schools compete to select the best students in the hope that this will give them a competitive edge in improving school achievement scores in relation to other schools. Among the consequences of this practice is a further reduction of educational opportunities for "lower-performing" students (cf. Ball, 2008, p. 119).[14] When WCU stated that it seeks to recruit international students who are well-prepared and motivated, there appears to be a link to the discursive assemblage of accountability and league tables. Because WCU is ranked in relation to other Canadian universities on such measures as proportions of students who graduate ("How Does Your School Stack Up?" 2010, p. 158), the logic is likely that better prepared students will help WCU improve its ranking, thus increasing its competitive advantage in the business of recruiting new domestic and international students.

NPM (Hood, 1991, 1995; Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 109) refers to an assemblage of rationalities and technologies linked to neoliberal reforms of public institutions. As I reported in chapter 2, NPM emerged in the 1980s and 1990s with the goal of making the public sector more like the private. With the implementation of NPM, public institutions exhibit types of increased market orientation evident in the policy documents. Members of the public who use the services of a public institution have come to be called *customers*, *clients*, and, in some contexts, *stakeholders* or *shareholders*. The focus is on competition, outcomes, and efficiency. Incentives are a technology to motivate employees, who are evaluated using performance indicators. Evidence of NPM appears in the provincial government document that I discussed earlier (*IFD*, 2003), in these aspects of the premier's instructions to the minister of EPEI: "[Eliminate]

regulatory or bureaucratic requirements that serve as barriers to growth" and "[apply] best practices like LEAN methodology" (p. 2).[xix]

Among the new academic subjectivities accessible within the market/neoliberal discourse at WCU are the student-consumer and the faculty academic-entrepreneur.

The student-consumer. Under neoliberal regimes, power is understood to have "devolved" to the consumer (Rose, 1996, p. 54). Among the characteristics of "governing in an advanced way" (p. 57) is a new specification of the subject of government. The enhancement of the powers of the client as customer/consumer of health services, of education, of training, of transport specifies the subjects of rule in a new way: as active individuals seeking to "enterprise themselves" (p. 57), to maximize their quality of life through acts of choice, according their life a meaning and a value to the extent that it can be rationalized as the outcome of choices made or choices to be made. (p. 57)

Within this dominant discourse, individuals at universities understand themselves as freely able to choose. As consumers, or customers, students can consider themselves as purchasing goods and services when they enroll at university. From this subject position it is possible for students to feel entitled to receive academic products such as particular grades in courses. It is possible to believe that they are entitled to receive credit for a course or to pass an assignment simply because they have paid the tuition fee and performed actions such as attending classes and completing assignments, regardless of the quality of the work.

The academic-entrepreneur: The neoliberal university subject. The unremarkableness of the neoliberal subject denotes its hegemonic status. Its characteristics seem commonsensical because they are so familiar to us in the developed world at this historical moment. If these characteristics seem indispensable and necessary, it is because they are, at least insofar as we heed the

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[14] "'Local economies' of pupil worth" in which certain students are sought after and others are avoided (Ball, 2008, p. 119).

call to be neoliberal subjects within neoliberal discourse. The neoliberal subject is autonomous, individualized, entrepreneurial, consuming, and overarchingly self-managing and self-enterprising. Neoliberal university subjectivity is

- autonomous; in fact, it is the *illusion* of freedom and choice (Davies, 2005; Dean, 2010); this is intimately articulated with neoliberal rationalities and governmentality;
- individualized, lacking concern for the social good (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 155); lacking a conscience and adrift from values (Davies, 2005).
- entrepreneurial, competitive, and motivated by financial gain; faculty members' worth is "assessed in terms of the funds [they] are able to bring in" (Dehli & Taylor, 2006, p. 115). According to Dehli and Taylor, at Canadian universities "new faculty members . . . are inducted into the practices of proposal writing, grants management and dissemination, . . . [and] faculty are invited to view and conduct themselves in entrepreneurial ways, to network, and to look for opportunities" (p. 109). "Academics are worthy of respect because they bring in outside money" (Davies, 2005, p. 7);
- consuming; as "citizen-consumers" (Besley & Peters, 2007), the sense of well-being, belonging, identity, and so on is derived from individual acquisitions (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 114). As Davies put it, "The neoliberal self is largely defined in terms of income and the capacity to purchase goods" (p. 9), resulting in "a mindless, consumer-orientated individualism" (p. 6).
- distrusting of experts (Besley & Peters, 2007) and not critical (Davies, 2005) but skeptical (Dehli & Taylor, 2006, p. 105). In spite of this distrust, "actuarialism is a mobilisation of one predominant structure of expert knowledge" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 160) and enables the neoliberal subject to calculate his/her worth.
- calculative (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 215) and assumes individual responsibility for calculating risk and value related to self and for

acquiring skills (technologies) to do so, such as audit technologies (Shore & Wright, 2000). Dehli and Taylor described academics as being engaged in continual self-improvement (p. 110) and "liv[ing] in an existence of perpetual calculation" (p. 115). "Actuarial rationality and risk management" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 159) are invoked.

- performative; willing to make self visible (Ball, 2006) in specified ways, and participate in use of performance indicators to signify self-worth (Power, 1997).

- flexible, mobile, multiskilled; possessing "cosmopolitan dispositions"; and "able to deal effectively with cultural diversity, endemic change, and innovation" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 253).

Overall, neoliberal subjects are self-enterprising and self-managing and, to use Boltanski and Chiapello's (2007) concept, understand themselves as projects to be continually worked on. They are "perpetually responsive" (Olssen, 1996, p. 340) and make themselves up accordingly and in specific ways in relation to perceived requirements of situated social contexts and discourses into which they insert themselves. Ultimately, the neoliberal subject demonstrates the willingness to be surveilled and examined, using technologies of audit/accountability and performativity. All of these characteristics of the neoliberal subject are evident in the neoliberal university subject at WCU, including not just the academic-entrepreneur, but also university staff and students.

Canadian WCU students are able to make themselves worthy by being mobile and responsive and competing with peers for awards of excellence, scholarships, and bursaries; international students at WCU can do likewise, and can also enhance their visibility by being well prepared and motivated. WCU faculty members enroll in neoliberal discourses through practices such as competing with colleagues for awards, making themselves examinable through performance indicators, being motivated by for-profit initiatives, being internationally mobile, and enhancing their individual career profiles through their international activities. Both faculty and students make themselves more valuable by networking and creating international connections.

The interwoven discourses of immigration and work. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, linked with neoliberal rationalities and internationalization are the connected discourses of immigration and work within which the international student takes up the subject position of the immigrant-worker. This discursive shifting has been occurring partly in relation to Canadian provincial and federal government desires to attract particular types of individuals to meet local and national requirements for skilled immigrants.

The perception of international students as potential immigrants and workers is evident in the policy discourses of the OECD, the AUCC, the provincial government, and WCU itself. Changes to the regulatory environment that allow international students to work while they are studying at WCU have created conditions within which local employers can do the job of assessing international students as Canadian workers and within which international students can use their own resources as they make themselves up as acceptable applicants for immigration to Canada.

Conclusion

Thus, a picture of the discursive policy environment at WCU has begun to emerge: one of assemblages of truth statements and rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities. Powerful and dominant discourses are in evidence: the traditional university discourse of teaching, research and service; and discourses of social action, liberalism, the market/neoliberalism, and immigration/work. Working together in complex ways within the discursive institutional site of WCU, all of these operate as power-knowledge and therefore lead to the production of observable material effects on international students and university employees, some of which emerged in the interviews. Keeping in mind this discursive policy context, I now move to considering the data from my interviews with international students and staff at WCU. The next chapter looks at discourses related to the process of getting admitted to university and navigating through the requirements of academic programs.

CHAPTER 6: GETTING ADMITTED, GETTING REGISTERED

This is the first of three chapters that analyze the data from my interviews with international students and employees at WCU. This chapter focuses on admissions, registration, and programming; subsequent chapters focus first on language, literacy and learning and, finally, on discourses of success. Although the issues and negotiations that I will discuss throughout the analysis chapters are relevant to all students at WCU, I particularly emphasize international EAL students' experience of them and the effects that are specific to these students.

In some instances disjunctures, that is, instances of unexpected events or troublesome outcomes, signal the existence of competing discourses, or the questioning of prized certainties. Thus, they are of interest in terms of what we can learn about how policy operates discursively at the local level. In this sense, a problem might be used as an analytic, as a way in, as a signal of disconnects between expectations of the institution, employees, and students on the one hand; and on the other hand, of the actual effects of WCU's policies and practices related to admissions and programs on the international students I interviewed. Experiences that are not seamless present an opportunity to observe to understand how things work; that is, the operation of knowledge-power often becomes more visible when interrupted.

In this chapter I talk about the work that people do to make sense of, to understand, to create subjectivities, and to present themselves as legitimate subjects within the university as a bureaucratic-professional institution. I use the term *work* in Dorothy Smith's (2005) "generous" sense, which she defined as "anything done by people that takes time and effort, that they mean to do, that is done under definite conditions and with whatever means and tools, and that they may have to think about" (pp. 151-152). As Smith pointed out, "The work of . . . dealing with the university bureaucracy" requires time, and thus reduces the time available to students for their studies (pp. 147-148). Research has indicated that international students face problems adjusting to the new academic culture when they study in Canada (e.g., Dei, 1992; Lyakhovetska, 2004), and much of this

concerns learning to survive in a new context: the bureaucratic-professional institutional environment of a Canadian university.

Among the experiences reported in the interviews that I conducted vis-à-vis admissions and registration, most clustered around these categories: recruitment and admissions; documentation of international educational credentials; and planning, selecting, and registering in programs and courses. I point to assumptions underlying procedures and policies and note technologies connected to the implementation of these procedures and policies. The chapter concludes with comments regarding discourses, rationalities, technologies, and subjectivities that appear across these three categories.

Recruitment and Admissions

Both the process of recruiting students and the processes involved in student admissions involve making strategic choices. International students choose to apply to WCU; WCU decides whether or not to accept these students and about the conditions under which it makes each offer of admission. In its decisions regarding where, when, and how to recruit internationally, WCU's choices about types of desirable students are also evident.

Recruitment: WCU's choice of students. WCU casts its net for international students through various recruitment technologies, which include sending representatives to international education fairs, visiting Canadian and international educational institutions, maintaining working relationships with education agents abroad, and maintaining its website (E5). WCU receives a large number of international applications. For example, by August 2010, WCU had received 2,209 applications from prospective international students for the 2010/2011 admission cycle, which included Spring/Summer Session 2010, Fall 2010, and Winter 2011. By the same date, WCU had made 916 offers of admission to programs in direct-entry colleges for 2010/2011, and more would have been made after that date for students who started in the winter term (personal communication, L. Smith [pseudonym], April 21, 2011). Of course, not all offers of admission result in students actually enrolling; WCU's 2010–2011 Enrolment Report indicates that, of the 781 international students enrolled at the

undergraduate level by October 2010, 162 were new students. Thus, considerable institutional resources are required to "produce" each fee-paying international student at WCU.

In service of WCU's efforts to attract well-prepared and motivated international students, several specific recruiting strategies are listed in its foundational document on internationalization (*IFD*, 2003),[xx] which I discussed in chapter 5. These include "forming agreements with carefully selected partner institutions abroad (e.g., agreements with preparatory schools, joint (2+2) degree programs)"[xxi] and "strengthening efforts to recruit international students who have completed high school in Canada or studied in an English-language high school" (p. 11).[xxii] By doing so, as well as by focusing recruitment efforts in particular countries, for example, in India in 2010 and 2011 (E2 and E5), WCU is exercising its power to choose. Furthermore, each such choice is based upon rationalities and assumptions regarding the desirability of attracting students from a particular location or institution. A WCU employee talked about the benefits of joint programs:

> If the university makes an agreement with . . . a particular [institution], . . . [we] can look at those courses that they've taken and say, "We'll recognize those as part of this agreement, and we'll give you credit, maybe bulk credit or a block credit, if you're in this specific program. Whereas if [WCU were] looking at it for course by course credit, [we] wouldn't give them credit for it. . . . It would be nice for us to have more [2+2 programs]. It would be good for the students. Then they know what they're getting. I think, personally, that's the way to be guaranteed more students: . . . sign those agreements with legitimate institutes that you want students from. So they are a good idea, the 2 + 2. (E4)

This comment is a pragmatic rationale for joint program arrangements and is aligned with the comment about seamlessness in the AUCC documents (see chapter 5). From the admissions perspective, fewer institutional resources are required in the assessment of international education documents such as transcripts and course descriptions. What is relevant to this study is the sense of how the process of establishing such international agreements creates understandings of institutions as legitimate, as recognizable objects within co-constructed discourses related to academic goals, values, and expectations.

Thus, a legitimate institution could be expected to produce recognizable subjects, and for international students, these agreements also make WCU a more recognizable entity.

Another employee talked about Canadian-curriculum high schools abroad in relation to how they might be considered to produce graduates who are better prepared to enroll at Canadian universities:

> For example, there is a Canadian-curriculum school, like an international high school, all over the world. . . . So the [students attending this school] in China would study [at a] Canadian high school, as [do] Canadian high school students here. (E5)

Such schools are often staffed by Canadian teachers. As with joint programs, the sense is that graduates will be more recognizable as subjects within a discourse of Canadian universities. There is an assumption that international students from joint programs, Canadian high school programs, or English-language high schools will be better prepared than others who are not from such programs. This assumption might have intuitive strength, but is there evidence of this? Two of the international students interviewed expressed concerns about 2+2 programs.

One student spoke about his unhappiness with his experience with this type of program. When I asked what advice he might give to a prospective international student, he said:

> My suggestion is, if they can afford it, please do not study the first two years in China. Just come to Canada directly after . . . high school, because [in 2 + 2 programs] . . . the first two years in any studies are 100 level and 200 level courses in China. Which means when we come here, we must study the high level courses. . . . It's more difficult. Because I have no choices, I must study the courses related to my major. Like my second year here, I took 8 courses; 7 of them are mathematics. If you are not in the honors program, that's fine, because the required major courses is not that bad. I think for a non-honor degree program, you only have to study maybe 10 courses about your major. But for the honor program you have to study about 20. Which means you already finish the 20 nonrequirement courses in China. After you move to here, you have to finish the 20 major courses here. So it's very hard and it's boring, because every day you study mathematics. (S9)

This joint program might have been constructed in this way to give international students an opportunity to study most of their major courses in Canada, with the intention of allowing them to develop a stronger English language and Western

culture base in their main area of study. Alongside this student's abilities and achievements in mathematics, he was an accomplished photographer and had a broader range of interests than might be assumed of such a student. The joint program might have had academic or other advantages for him, but he voiced his displeasure with the program very strongly in terms of how it shaped his first two years in Canada at WCU. In his experience, it had created an unanticipated narrowing effect on his undergraduate studies.

Another student pointed out that participants in such joint programs might be those who had not obtained high enough marks on Chinese university entrance exams for admission to a public university in China:

> The students who graduated from high school need to take the college entrance exam in order to go to colleges or universities to study. We call that *Gao Kao* in Chinese. If they get high enough marks, they will go for studying. . . . If not, they have to make a choice between finding jobs and studying in private schools. Some of them who are living in richer families will chose private schools to study. . . . The tuition for the private schools is very high. It is around $10,000 or more. The tuition for public schools is much cheaper than that, . . . from $800 to $950 in general. I'm not sure about now because I have already graduated more than one year. (S17)[15]

This student's comments point out that students in joint programs are those whose parents are wealthy enough to pay the high tuition fees at one of China's private universities that has a joint program agreement with a Canadian university. These factors might raise questions about how, precisely, students from these programs are better prepared.

International students' choice of WCU. International students engage in consumer practices when they "shop" for an overseas university, and those who select WCU do so for a variety of reasons. For instance, an international EAL student looking for an undergraduate degree program might apply to WCU because it offers "two enrolments." Some Chinese interviewees used this term to refer to simultaneous offers of admission from WCU to its ESL program and a degree program (e.g., S17). According to WCU policy, after successfully completing the ESL program at WCU, students are allowed to enter WCU's

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[15] Clarification after S17 e-mailed the interview to me.

degree programs, given that they meet all other admission criteria. This is advantageous for an international student who wishes to avoid relocating after completing an ESL program.

Students from some countries, China, for example, often engage education agents (e.g., S17, S10) to assist them in connecting with universities that can offer features such as two enrolments or other desired characteristics. In addition to an agent's recommendation, students' choices to attend WCU are determined by other factors such as their parents' wishes, cost, personal connections, their GPAs, WCU's reputation in a particular academic field, or an individual faculty member's expertise and availability to act as a graduate supervisor. Parents' wishes are particularly important in many Asian countries, including China. According to one WCU employee:

> Parents of Chinese students tend to exert considerable control over them. The Chinese parents . . . control everything; . . . if they like [the WCU recruiter] and if they can trust [this person], they will send their kids, no matter what. It doesn't really matter what the students . . . think; it's the parents make the decision, because they pay a lot of money to send their kids here. (E5)

This control extends to many aspects of students' lives. As I noted in the previous chapter, most WCU international students, at least at the undergraduate level, are from the People's Republic of China. Chinese parents want their children to receive the best education possible. According to a WCU staff member, when Chinese parents select a university, "the biggest concern is whether they will receive a very good education, and whether they can graduate or not. That's the first question they would have. . . . The quality of education is the most important" (E5). "A very good education" can mean many different things, including the institution, the type of education, the program, the living situation, and so on. Parents who pay education agents to select the best university for their children and to facilitate the application and admission process might be entrusting these agents with the decision about which universities represent "a very good education."

A few students come to WCU because of personal connections; that is, social capital (e.g., S7, S14, S19). In other words, a family member or close friend

might have attended WCU or was currently a WCU employee. Such students have the opportunity to know WCU in ways that are possible through communication in their first language with trusted others who have firsthand knowledge of WCU and its local environment. Other sources of information for international students include WCU's website and materials obtained through WCU's international recruitment activities.

Graduate students also base their decision about which university to attend on their exchanges with chairs of graduate departments and potential supervisors. One graduate student talked about his reasons for choosing to study at WCU:

> So I searched for the professors at different universities, and I started with Canada because I've heard about the people and their behavior. So I thought that first I should try Canada, and then I should try USA, and after that, Europe. And I found three or four universities, [and WCU] was one of them. And when I corresponded to my current supervisor, who now I am working under his supervision, he said that, "Okay, I can give full fund to you and you can apply for scholarship, and if you get a scholarship, that would be better." So he actually applied for me. I sent documents to him and . . . actually I got admission from other universities too. But I saw the corresponding, I printed them, and I saw that this professor is typing in a very nice way. That was very important to me. . . . Like, very politely, and . . . he showed his interest to me as well. That's why I thought this supervisor want to work with me, not just have a student. And . . . now I can see that he is a very nice man. That's why I choose this professor. (S8)

For this student, discourses about Canada and its people, funding, and the polite and interested response of his potential supervisor were key attractors.

When I asked how he came to choose Canada and WCU for his master's program, a student from a European country told me:

> I like so much Canada. . . . There's so much nature, wildness, and people are friendly. Like in the United Kingdom, . . . people not so friendly. Because there's lots of immigration there, they['re] like, "More immigrants, they take our jobs." . . . But here is a better atmosphere. (S19)

In the case of this student, in addition to Canada's natural environment and openness to foreign students, it was international students already at WCU who had first interested him in this university. The same student talked about why he chose his particular program of study at WCU:

> It's because it is very broad. You learn lots of things, kind of know what's going on; you don't have any specialization. . . . After that, if I want go

work in private business, I can. I can be public servant, I can go work for
some nonprofit organization. I can go work for United Nations, if I learn
more languages and become smarter. I can go back to [my home country
in Europe], and I'll be perfectly fine. I can go to Australia and do some
job. I can stay here. It's good. If I [took a] specialist program with mobile
phones, you just stick to this program, . . . and after ten years you become,
"Oh, it's boring." Here you can start career, and after ten years change,
and you're still fine, because your degree is still valid. I think it was good
choice, and I'm happy. (S19)

His interest in pursuing this program was clearly related to his desire to better

position himself for employment in the global marketplace; this degree was a type

of currency. He was working to make himself more attractive to a wider range of

potential employers. As I discussed in chapter 5, in the neoliberal discursive field,

responsibility for creating and managing successful, employable citizens has

shifted from the state to the individual. Besley and Peters (2007) referred to the

"entrepreneurial self"; in relation to the "symbolic economy of the self, [we can

see] the importance of understanding processes of self-capitalization, self-

presentation, self-branding, and self-virtualisation as market processes that

simultaneously involve political, ethical, and aesthetic elements" (p. 171).

Choosing a particular university and program thus can be understood as part of a

process of risk assessment and calculation as an individual works on the project of

him-/herself.

  The application form. After students decide to apply to WCU, they must

complete and submit the application for admission form. Considering the process

of completing this form and assembling the application package, the task does not

simply entail inserting neutral information into spaces on the form; students are

also engaged with the project of making themselves up in relation to their

interpretation of what the application form is trying to elicit. Applicants must do

their best to anticipate what in some instances is impossible to be anticipated. This

is characteristic of all application processes, but the task is often more complex

for international EAL student applicants (e.g., Lyakhovetska, 2004, p. 204).

  When I looked at WCU's online application form, I was able to view only

one category at a time. It was not initially clear to me whether I would be able to

look at the next category without filling in the form on the page I was viewing and

whether I would be able to come back and change this information later. By entering personal data about oneself into a form on an institutional webpage, one is making oneself visible and thus potentially vulnerable. One way to mitigate these possible effects is to scan or survey the entire form before deciding whether or not or how to complete it. However, its digital format does not make this reading strategy easy to use.

Some specific instances of how the application form might be less than straightforward for an international EAL applicant to interpret: The first category requires applicants to write their first name and last name. In some cultures people write their family name first and their given name last, and they might not understand the terminology of *first* and *family* names. Although this particular form provided clear definitions of these terms through "Help" buttons, many forms do not, and resulting mistakes can lead to an individual's not being identifiable and much confusion down the line. In other cultures individuals might have only one name, a fact that many administrators in the Western world find unthinkable. Forced to produce a second name as part of the inscription into a Western bureaucratic institution, an individual might simply repeat his or her first name, a practice that from personal experiences raises suspicions in some institutional settings.

Some specialized terminology such as *visible minority* might be defined on the application form, but applicants might not understand its links to discourses such as education equity and the possible implications and consequences in enough depth to make them feel comfortable disclosing relevant information about themselves.

There is a presence of legal language, and in fact in some places on the application form there are no discourse markers to signal to the reader that the language is shifting to legal language. In one instance, the text abruptly changed from using the informal second-person pronouns (e.g., "You . . .") to a legal use of first-person singular forms (e.g., "I hereby . . ."). The requirement to obtain certain official documents and attach them to the application form might also be a challenge for a host of reasons. It is understandable that some international

students contract education agents to complete application forms on their behalf to ensure compliance with these foreign institutional practices.

Agents, ranking, and rating. Education agents perform a variety of services for international students and their parents. When I asked how she gained admission to WCU, one student explained:

> I did that when I was in China, through the agent. They just provide information about the different universities. I just give them the stuff they ask me to give them and they apply for us. . . . [At] that time, my language, my English wasn't that good enough, for checking, and doing all those things by myself. And they just told me what the procedures, and that helped me. (S10)

Another Chinese student reported that the agents know which forms are required by the Canadian Embassy, what formats to use, and many other details.

> I think most of Chinese who want to go abroad for studying, they go to an agent . . . because the agent can help you how to apply for the school. . . . Embassy need many information about students. The problem is we don't know what ambassador need, but agent know. Also, we don't know how to hand in our documents with an accurate format. You can hand in by yourself, but there will be too much detail that you are not sure. Choosing agent to help you is the easiest way. We are just going to pay the agent fee. (S17)

A WCU employee echoed many of the students' comments about agents:

> A lot of Asians, especially [those from] Korea, Japan, China, I would say about 90% of them, are guided by private agencies, by . . . people who don't know [the students] very well. And [the students] don't know them very well. . . . The agent [takes] care of 100% of the work, because [students] pay a lot of money: ten years ago, maybe $1,000 or $2,000 Canadian. And now, it's over $3000 Canadian. It's a lot of money to pay for the service. (E5)

Education agents possess arrays of expert knowledge and skills to fill the gaps. However, the involvement of agents has the potential not only to simplify the process for the international applicant, but also to complicate it. For instance, some countries have few regulations governing how education agents conduct their business. If an agent provides misleading information about a student to a university, the student might suffer the consequences. If an agent provides incorrect information about a university to a student, the student might also face negative consequences. For international students who utilize the expertise and

authority of education agents to help them select and apply to a university, the agents' knowledge of universities proscribes their own. Agents know students, their clients, in particular and limited ways; for example, their financial situations, grades, and intended majors and programs of study (E5). To assemble their knowledges of universities, agents might use ranking technologies such as those exemplified in *Macleans* magazine's annual Canadian university rankings report (e.g., "How Does Your School Stack Up?" 2010). This report claims to provide "everything students need to know" (p. 4) about Canadian universities.

Students also used ranking technologies and the knowledges thus produced as a way to know universities. One undergraduate student told me that WCU was the third-ranked university in her academic field in Canada; she chose it because "I'm not that hardworking student" (S6). This display of rationality showed that she evaluated herself to compare herself to a ranking of Canadian universities and used this comparison to select a university she judged to be a suitable match.

In brief, many assumptions and rationalities underlie the technologies and practices of recruitment and admission. One final assumption relates to access to digital information about WCU. In fact, potential applicants in certain countries or locales might have limited Internet access, even the educated middle class. For example, an international doctoral student (S20) spoke about obtaining information about potential universities when he was in his home country. He began researching universities online but had to go to a cyber café because his internet connection at home was inadequate. But even at the internet café, he had problems with intermittent electrical supply. In spite of these obstacles, this particular student was able to use the Internet to communicate with WCU and successfully complete his application process. However, his experience suggests that assumptions related to the universality of access to digital sources of information about universities might be unsubstantiated.

Documentation of International Education Credentials

An international application for admission to WCU must be supported by documents such as transcripts that show evidence of previous academic

performance and an English proficiency test score if the applicant's first language is other than English. I will discuss English proficiency assessment at WCU in the next chapter. Applicants must submit official transcripts from all postsecondary institutions attended. For an applicant without a completed postsecondary degree, secondary school transcripts are required to determine whether an applicant's grades are high enough for admission to WCU or to a particular WCU program. For example, S5 reported that he chose WCU because his GPA was not high enough to be admitted to the Canadian university that was his first choice. With respect to official documents that WCU requests, it is sometimes more difficult or even impossible for international students to obtain everything that is required, compared to domestic students. In addition, they usually face the challenge of providing acceptable English translations of these documents.

Transcripts. Official records of previous academic work are requisite for educational mobility. The university's assessment of transcripts is important to verify authenticity and comparability to WCU courses, and in the case of international transcripts, this process is complex and time consuming. One WCU employee compared the amount of time typically involved in processing domestic applications with the time involved in international applications: "In domestic admissions, . . . 50 [applications] a day, that would be a normal day; whereas with international, [WCU] can spend half a day or a day, on a file, sometimes, because there's just so many complexities" (E4). Another employee described some of these complexities:

> For every file that [we] see, [we are] assessing the authenticity of documents. . . . [We're] looking at documents . . . from all over the world, but primarily . . . China, Nigeria, Korea, India, Bangladesh. Pakistan is a big one too. And, you know, often there [are] . . . countries that pop up . . . that I'm like, Great! I've never seen this before. Let's go read a little bit about this country and the education system. Of course we have a lot of resources to help us make those decisions. But sometimes it can be very challenging, if you've never seen that kind of document before, or dealt with that country before. . . . And then [we] either admit or refuse, based on "equivalents." And I say that with some large quotation marks. Because the education systems are not necessarily equivalent to the Canadian system. And we're always doing our best to try to figure out the grading scale that is equivalent to ours, as well as prerequisites for each

college, and the classes that a student might take if they're declaring a certain major. Things like that. But that's a real challenge, because sometimes it just doesn't fit. And you're wondering, hmmm, am I just supposed to go with my gut here? Because we don't have a policy for this particular system. Or, the policy seems to not quite line up with what we would see from a Canadian domestic student. (E2)

This employee was using a variety of resources, including her own experience, to locate and construct new technologies of equivalence.

Other technologies used to read and interpret these international documents include the document alert system of the Association of Registrars of the Universities and Colleges of Canada ([ARUCC]; E2, E4), of which WCU is a member. Resources are also obtained through membership in NAFSA and various online resources such as the World Education Database. E4 told me:

There's a big international conference every year . . . NAFSA, . . . and they have a great website that has information. . . . [We] go for the credentialing workshops and admission workshops. And you meet people there, and then you can e-mail those people. . . . There are credentialing agencies in Canada. . . . We can e-mail them and say, "Have you ever seen this before?" Or with this listserv that we belong to. There's a Canadian one but there's also an American one. And so we can e-mail them both and say "Has anybody ever seen this?" or "Does this seem normal? What's the grading scale that you would use for here?" . . . [Also] we spend a lot of time on the web, on specific institutes, or we have an online database that you can research schools and education systems. So there's lots of stuff out there, but it takes a lot of time to look at your specific file, and see how it relates. . . . It's very time-consuming. (E4)

E4 commented, "There hasn't been a lot of money for us to invest in research material, but we're trying to put a list together of stuff that we think would be useful." In her struggle to make sense of and evaluate these international documents, she utilized resources such as credentialing agencies,[16] which are part

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[16] One example of a credentialing agency is World Education Services (2013a), which calls itself "the leading source of international education intelligence" (para. 1). It provides "accurate and reliable credential evaluation reports" (World Education Services, 2013b, para. 3) of academic achievements for "students, job seekers and immigrants . . . when seeking opportunities for further education, professional licensing, employment or immigration opportunities in the U.S." (para. 2) and for academic institutions, licensing boards, and employers who are "assessing internationally-educated candidates" (para. 3).

of emerging economies related to the institutional management of international credentials.

  Replacing a lost transcript. During the process of handling thousands of documents, it is inevitable, even though infrequent, that mistakes occur in large bureaucratic institutions such as a university. One international student's experience illustrates how the effects of an administrative error can have graver consequences for international students than for domestic students. S13 was preparing for his undergraduate program at WCU as he approached the completion of his ESL studies. For admission purposes, he had to request his transcript from his high school in China. He said:

> At that time I had already graduated for 2 years, so it's really hard to find the transcript. And you know in China the people are not as nice as here. And they were not happy at that time. Actually it's really hard to get the transcript in China. (S13)

His parents sent him the high school transcript they had obtained, and he mailed a paper copy to WCU Admissions. He described the problem that occurred when he contacted Admissions to check the status of his application:

> Someone in the Admission building signed for my letter and he lost it. He lost my transcript! And I went to Admission and, . . . they told me, "You have to provide a transcript." I said "I have already sent a transcript to the Admission Building. I can provide a reference number for the post office and you can check it. And I also know the name who signed my letter." So they just figured out who signed for my letter and he said "Oh, maybe I lost the transcript." So I said, "I *have* to get into the university." You know I'm older. I spent one and a half years at [the WCUESL program before starting university]. I don't want to just stay here doing nothing. I was not happy at that time. So I went back . . . and asked [WCUESL program employee] for help. And they notice to Admission and then Admission, they sent me an e-mail to apologize, because "I think you asked me to provide a new transcript and you just do nothing and you just say sorry to me and it doesn't mean anything, right? So I need an apology." So they apologized to me. And so I asked my parents to go back one more time to get a transcript. (S13)

This particular student's situation had a relatively positive outcome, partly because of his utilization of his connections in the WCUESL program he had attended. He seemed to characterize the response of the WCU employee as somewhat nonchalant in his phrasing of this person's response: "Oh, maybe I lost

the document." Whether this employee did in fact trivialize the mistake is immaterial here; rather, the international student's framing it thus suggests the possibility of a gap between WCU's and the student's respective knowledges of what was required to obtain official documents from the student's country. The student's account of how difficult it was to obtain his secondary school transcript was in contrast to how relatively easy it is for Canadians: In Canada it is usually a simple matter of making an e-mail request to one's provincial education ministry.

Transfer credit applications. In addition to being used to assess the suitability of applicants to WCU, students who wish to apply for transfer credits from previous universities require transcripts and course documents (e.g., S10, S2, S17). WCU follows a series of steps in its assessment of such applications (E4). The first step is to request the documentation of details regarding the course for which transfer credit is sought. Second, WCU ascertains whether the educational institution is accredited in the student's home country. Next, WCU converts hours and credits to determine the equivalencies to its own courses. In doing so, WCU might check its files to see whether the same institution has a history of transfer credits awarded. Next, department heads or designates determine which among these courses will count towards a specific WCU degree. If they decide that a course cannot be used towards a particular degree, it might still be used for elective credit. Sometimes students cannot or do not provide all of the required documents. A WCU employee commented:

> [Students] are pretty good in being able to get [the documents] we request from them. In most cases. And if they don't provide them, . . . we have cases where students either won't provide them, or can't provide them, then we do as much of an evaluation as we can, without them, just based on either history, or putting things together to give them pretty general credit. But at least enough if we've admitted them as an upper year student, they need to show as an upper year student. So we'll combine classes to give them very general credit. But still enough to show them as an upper year student, if need be. (E4)

WCU is in the process of putting its transfer credit history information into a database program, a very time-consuming project (E4), but one that they expect will result in a more efficient process.

Translation of documents. International students construct themselves as legitimate and recognizable to WCU through their use of documents. When an original document such as a transcript, course description, or course outline is in a language other than English, the student applicant is responsible for producing an English language translation, along with the original version in the student's language (E2). WCU then faces the challenge of assessing whether the translation is accurate; that is, whether it is equivalent to the original in meaning. With the range of languages used by incoming international students, this is a challenging task.

> We require all documents and course outlines for transfer credit to be provided in English. Most cases they're done by either the school . . . or by a translation office. . . . We used to take translations from the students. They could translate them if they wanted. But we've kind of stopped doing that. (E4)

Some of the WCU students I interviewed, probably describing previous WCU practices, reported that they themselves had translated descriptions of courses they had taken in their countries in support of their transfer credit applications (S2, S17). One student did not initially know that he needed to provide course descriptions and explained how he dealt with this when he understood they were required to support his application for transfer credit. When I asked when he had provided his translations of course descriptions to WCU, he responded:

> Actually, when I finished my [ESL Program at WCU], I was just back to China and I did . . . this translate from Chinese to English. And probably about three weeks ago I handed in [at the beginning of his first term]. I think they are evaluating now, but I don't know. . . . Everything is different [between Canada and China], so I was trying to do my descriptions in a more specific way [so that] they don't have to evaluate again. (S17)

Another student (S19) reported that the graduate secretary of the program to which he was applying helped him obtain an official translation of his documents. She knew of a translator of the student's language who lived in another Canadian city and offered to send the transcript to this individual. S19 was grateful; he understood that it is usually the student's responsibility to obtain translations. Another student talked about how much time she had invested in translating her home university course descriptions:

> I put so much effort in to translate the [document from my language] to English for the description of my classes at [my home country university]. . . . I think I could have asked somebody else to do it, but because maybe I would have to pay somebody, so I just did it by myself. . . . I took more than a day—two or three days. (S2)

To determine the equivalence of translations, WCU employees might use the technology of requiring translated documents to be marked as having been notarized or being on the translator's letterhead (E4). One WCU employee explained the process of verifying the authenticity of translated documents:

> E2: So for translations, we're normally seeing notarized translations. Usually students send in preliminary documents. And they have them officially translated by . . . I don't even know who these people are. But I mean, they usually come in these booklets that are stamped several times. I mean, you trust them, right? Because, I don't read Arabic. So you do your best with the translations that you have.
>
> I: So those translations are typically done in these students' home countries?
>
> E2: Yes, and sent to us as a package. So they send a copy of the original document, plus the translation. And the translation is usually notarized.
>
> I: And when you say notarized, what does that mean?
>
> E2: Well, it depends what country it comes from. From China, it comes in these white booklets, that have very neat photocopies of everything, plus a translation, plus a notarial certificate. And they affirm that it's a translation that is accurate, . . . so we use that to base admission in the initial stages of an application, and of course we're always following up with direct documents from the postsecondary institution. Often for high school, we would expect that the student present their original documents upon arrival, and so there's always a condition on their letter of admission [which] usually that has something to do with official documents: either showing the original, or having it sent directly from the institution in question.
>
> I: And if it's sent from the institution directly, then you would compare it with the copy, and the notarized translation, and make sure it's the same?
>
> E2: Yes.

Another way of assessing a translated document is by reviewing information on an international institution's website. If an English version is not posted, translation will be required. In the case of Chinese websites, a Chinese-speaking WCU employee provides invaluable assistance (E4).

The interpreting of international education documents requires an assemblage of institutional literacy skills. WCU officials read not just print, but also other features of text such as font, type of paper, and symbols such as notarial seals. Reading of information on institutional websites is also required. If questions arise regarding translated documents, WCU usually e-mails the student. This provides something that the student can read and reread to assist with comprehension, and it also ensures that WCU has a record of the interaction (E4).

Making sense of international documents. One WCU staff member spoke about the need for in-depth experience and knowledge of languages, dialects, and cultures in translating international documents to English, particularly information on a foreign educational institution's website:

> E5: A lot of information is provided in the local language. And there is no way for us to check on the internet. If you don't know that culture, if you don't know deeply about their education system, things wouldn't make sense to you.

> I: So are you saying that a lot of the official documents would be in the official language, in Mandarin, but would there be more written documents in local dialects or languages?

> E5: Yes.

> I: And does WCU have access to those?

> E5: A Chinese speaker probably would have more access compared to [other] people in the office. But . . . the level of the information is very different.

> I: What do you mean by the level?

> E5: Because they wouldn't translate word for word. Or they wouldn't provide the same level of information to people outside the country.

Therefore, the conditions of possibility for knowing an international educational institution in a non–English-speaking country vary according to whether or not the person viewing the institution's website not only has knowledge of that country's official language, culture, and sociopolitical realities, but also has at least some access to local languages, dialects, and contexts.

Thus, with respect to the assessment of international education documents, the fundamental assumptions are that international universities have equivalent or parallel technologies such as course descriptions and program requirements, that

professors follow course descriptions, and so on. In addition, many assumptions are related to translation; for example, that the technologies employed ensure that translated versions of documents are authentic and that the translations are equivalents of the original documents.

In/authenticity of documents. In a world where a degree from a North American English-medium university has a very high currency in terms of employment and class mobility, response to family and social pressure can result in a prospective international student's providing documents that a university requires but that are not authentic. WCU employs various strategies and technologies to assess the authenticity of documents. Employees spoke of "triggers" that alerted them to the possibility of a document's inauthenticity. These included aspects of the physical appearance of a document such as the size of paper, changes in fonts, and pieces that appear to have been copied and pasted from the Web or other sources. One staff member explained:

> And when our documents come, there's certain things we're looking for. . . . Lots of times . . . you can tell right away that they're not real. It'll be a photocopy, or something copied from the web, put on a piece of paper. So the quality is not there. Or, you know, there's certain sizes of paper that you should be seeing from certain countries. We request in most cases that documents come directly from an institute. Unless, there's certain countries that won't do that. (E4)

As I noted earlier, letters offering admission often include the condition that students submit an original version of documents upon arrival at WCU in Canada. Sometimes when WCU employees compare the two documents, there is a problem:

> [Sometimes] the marks represented on that transcript from the high school don't match what we get as an original document later from the student. . . they've already started classes, and have come in to show their original documents, and they don't match. (E2)

E2 described the steps taken to pursue the issue:

> [We] try to get a valid representation of what they actually did, and feel more secure that this is their actual performance in high school. And then we'll basically do their admission over again, and ask "is this student still admissible?" And if that answer is yes, then we'll send a letter to them saying, "There's a discrepancy, and we have noted it, but you are still an admissible student, so we're willing to overlook it." (E2)

In this particular situation, her response took into account the possibility that there had been no intent to deliberately mislead WCU.

When international students are asked to provide further details about a course taken at their home university, according to one WCU employee, it is sometimes a replica of WCU's course outline or calendar description in translation. E4 talked about these problems related to course outlines:

> Some countries won't send English translations and [students] need to have them translated somewhere. . . . where we can see where they've been translated. A lot of times we'll get a Word document with the translation [from the student]. And we just don't know where they're getting the information. A lot of times it can be pretty detailed information, that seems strange that they could just remember that off the top of their head. . . . So we have started asking that it come from the schools, or have a translation along with the original. (E4)

This employee was suspicious of a Word document because it could have been typed by anyone, which made it difficult to verify that it was an official document issued from an educational institution. She said that sometimes the English translation provided by the student is similar or identical to WCU's document; in such a situation, she told me, "We'll say, 'This matches this. So where did you really get it?' And most cases, they're [honest]; they'll say, 'Well, I couldn't get it. But I thought this was similar'" (E4). She went on to explain:

> A lot of times, students can't get more than a course description. Because a syllabus . . . in certain countries is not done. . . . [Through knowledge gained over the years, I've come to understand that] the students are probably just getting [the syllabus] done somewhere. . . . Yet the schools will send it with their stuff. But it's because we're asking for it, that they're providing it. They're making something for us. It's what we want to see. And actually we'll see that in [other] documents too. Particularly with China. We'll see them made up, so that it's what we want to see. . . . And so we're trying to work through that. Because we don't want them making stuff up for us, to make us happy. . . . We need to be more aware of what they can actually give. (E4)

International students' actions in such cases are driven by university demands for what simply might not exist. In this impossible situation, the rationality underlying the response is that students comply by creating exactly what the university is asking of them.

One employee expressed the view that a shift has been occurring over the past decade with respect to normative assumptions related to how educational achievement is documented:

> And I think, compared to 10 years ago, . . . other countries wanted to make something make sense for us. . . . But now we are trying to work together to make some of the policies [that] would make sense to *them*. So we're trying to adapt their policies as well. We try to make things work better and make sense to everybody. (E5)

Thus, discourses and official knowledges about what constitutes a Canadian university course might be changing, along with employees' awareness of the determinate, constructed nature of the policy in general.

Subsequent to admission, a student's application for transfer credit sometimes alerts WCU to the fact that the student's admission was based on incomplete information having been provided during the application process.

> A lot of times the way we find stuff out is that students end up wanting transfer credit for stuff that maybe they've never shown us before. Or have shown other schools and we see it on documents. So a lot of times it's [students] just not telling us. And then, if they haven't told us that they've attended another institute, their averages could change, depending on how we admitted them. So there are cases where we find out afterwards, and they're no longer admissible, and then they're done. (E4)

The employee was referring to the WCU policy that requires applicants to submit documentation from all postsecondary institutions they have attended.

Whether WCU deems an international student law abiding or a lawbreaker at WCU might simply depend on when a breach comes to light. When the inauthenticity of a document is discovered before admission, WCU considers it less serious than when it is discovered after admission. E2 talked about finding out that a document supporting an international application was not authentic at an early stage of the admission process:

> And so I kind of view applications that we haven't actually admitted them yet, as less serious, as when we've sent out an admission letter, and perhaps a visa application is already in process, and then we've revoked the admission. That is more serious. (E2)

Another employee concurred:

> It's much better for the student to be found out before he's a student. After he has registered for classes and has taken classes, he then has to go . . .

> through the college [procedures]. And then . . . he has to go to a hearing, and he has to prove his case. . . . The worst case scenario is, he could be expelled, him or her. (E4)

As I reported earlier, WCU sometimes requests documents that do not exist. For example, Chinese students might not have detailed course outlines for the courses they took in China because it might not be the policy of their universities to require professors to produce them. If students compose a course outline from memory based on what they have learned, it might be considered fraud. Alternatively, it might be viewed as compliance with WCU policy in that they are trying to provide what the university has requested. As one WCU employee commented about this type of situation, "I think the reason for that is, the policy that we have and the policy [their universities] have, they are not really matched" (E5). In situations such as this, international students might not fully understand the rationale for what is required and, similarly, might not grasp the implications of transgressions. In both of the above situations, the subject positions available to students—as either con artists or in compliance—appear to have been determined in large part by the structural characteristics of the policies and discourses at WCU.

Although employees often took up the subject position of advocate for international students, they also spoke about their subject position as "cop," or enforcer of university policies related to admission, assessment of official documents, and registration:

> And so you sort of catch them in the act, of submitting an inauthentic document. And of course that means we refuse them. And they can never apply to the university again, once it's been confirmed that the document is . . . forged, basically. (E2)

Another WCU employee talked about her role in assessing international educational credentials: "And if we get something back from the institute saying it's fraudulent, then we are done. We refuse [the student's admission application]. And we don't go any farther" (E4).

In speaking about her role of enforcer of university policy, one employee commented about the tension she experienced in balancing her responsibility to

ensure compliance with university policy with advocating for the international student perspective:

> E2: I feel uncomfortable when I'm doing that.
>
> I: Can you tell me more about that?
>
> E2: Well, there's an interesting divide, I guess, between the job that I'm hired to do, which is maintaining the integrity of this institution, and making sure that those policies and guidelines are all followed, and that students are treated fairly. I have a pretty huge amount of compassion, I think, for students that are in this position. And you know, expecting that a student will never ever be able to apply to this institution again, is perhaps a hard line to draw. I'm not sure I entirely agree with it. But that's what we do.
>
> I: Why do you feel uncomfortable—because you don't have the resources to be 100% sure that a document is not authentic?
>
> E2: Of course.

This employee's loyalty to the institution, coupled with an understanding of the rationalities that underlie WCU's policies and regulations, frequently led to her taking up a "law enforcer" subject position. On the other hand, her awareness of the effects of her decisions on international students, along with her empathy for them, sometimes created a sense of ambivalence with respect to her enforcer subjectivity. Her sense of discomfort was intensified when, she acknowledged, from a legal perspective there was a shadow of a doubt, and yet because of her quasi-judicial position, it was not possible to make a final determination of innocence or guilt in the same way that a court of law could.

One of the most striking aspects of the interview data related to admissions and programs was the sense of near impossibility that characterized many of the tasks with which employees were charged. When E2 told me about the situation in which there was a discrepancy between a copy of secondary school marks submitted prior to admission and the original document that an international student who was arriving to start classes brought to WCU (described earlier), my first impression was that this was a clear case of fraud. However, I quickly realized that the matter was not so clear-cut. I asked her how they could prove something like this to be fraud, and she responded:

> We can't, really. And that becomes a real issue. I think that's where [we] sort of advocate for some of these students, and talk with them about what we should do about this, we always fall on the 'give the student the benefit of the doubt' side of things. And basically say, "[The origin of this discrepancy] could be the high school. This could be the agent. This could be the parent. Are we going to punish this student because of this?" I'm pretty sure that I've sat across from students when I'm inquiring about . . . the discrepancy, and saying, "Can you explain this?" Some of them are so surprised—they just don't even know where it came from. . . . So I'm happy that we err on the side of letting the student submit their originals, and kind of get readmitted, as sort of a second chance. (E2)

So although in some circumstances an administrator understood that she had little choice but to judge the student in violation of university policy, in other situations, by interrogating her assumptions and carefully considering the evidence, she was able settle on an outcome that had less severe consequences for the student.

In conclusion, the fields of possibility for WCU's international students in relation to providing requisite documents and gaining admission are proscribed in specific and complex ways. Each time they choose a specific course of action, they draw on what they determine constitutes knowledge and authority in specific domains. They endeavor to recognize what is "proper" information, they work at acquiring rudimentary institutional literacy, and they attempt to gain familiarity with WCU technologies, discourses, and expectations. In the case of students who deliberately submit inauthentic documents, there is a wide range of potential consequences. For instance, a scholarship can be revoked for a minor offence (E2). An applicant can be refused admission for a serious offence (E2), or if already admitted (though this is very rare, according to E4), the student can be expelled (E4). On the other hand, if the student has already successfully completed coursework at WCU and the offence is judged as minor or unintentional, the student might be allowed to continue without official sanction. Throughout these processes international students are attempting to access an "admissible student" subjectivity, often under conditions that can make their attempts difficult or impossible.

Programs and Courses: Planning, Selecting, and Registering

International students also engage in ongoing tasks related to selecting and planning their academic programs and selecting and registering in courses. Misunderstandings based on differences in expectations related to different education systems can create barriers to academic success, particularly in the first year. For example, Canadians might take for granted their knowledge of what a Canadian university course entails, but not understanding how much work is involved in a three-credit course can result in international students' registration in too many courses, with unfortunate results. Not knowing the importance of paying attention to assignments, tests, and grades throughout the term rather than just focusing on the final exam can also lead to failure.

"Course": Official knowledges. A fundamental assumption vis-à-vis course selection is that an international student understands what a course is and what successfully completing a course entails. For example, students require knowledge of coursework such as online assignments, lab reports, term papers, group projects, and library research. Although the relative weight of term work and the final exam in course grading varies considerably among the scores of courses at WCU, it is common practice to accord a significant portion of the course grade to term work. Not all international students might understand. Some arrive at WCU having been successful in courses by focusing heavily or exclusively on performing well on final exams. For example, a PhD student spoke about how hard high school students must work to attain a high enough grade on the national college entrance exam to gain admission to a desirable university in China, in contrast to the effort required after they enter university, with the result that they often consider university courses easy. Furthermore, studying is distributed differently over the term. He explained:

> In China, we don't have so many exams in a course. And even don't have so many homework. So, the students at the Chinese university . . . are pretty easy to study. . . . After we came here, we found that so many homework, so many midterm tests and final exams. Because in China, we don't have to do the homework. We only have to take the final exams. And maybe a midterm for only 10%, final for 90%. So many students don't study. They just study when the final comes. (S9)

This posed a problem during S9's first term at WCU, with the result of low grades. Although he had learned from his mistake, his low GPA had consequences later when he applied for graduate studies. Learning a new culture entails learning what to pay attention to; to be successful in typical WCU courses, international students must attend carefully to coursework during the term, and not just the final exam.

The interview data contained other illustrations of international students' struggle with the discursive construction of a Canadian university course. They endeavored to make sense of what a credit unit means, how much time it can be expected to take for an EAL student to spend outside the classroom for a three-credit course, and how to manage their time over the term.

In Canadian universities, courses are known through brief descriptions in the university calendar, but also through syllabi, or course outlines, that individual professors create to describe how they will conduct the course in a particular term with a specific group of students. The course outline lists many details, such as the professor's name and contact information, textbooks and resources used, number of contact hours over a specified period of time, approach to teaching the course content, the course evaluation scheme, and topics to be covered. As I reported earlier in this chapter, E4 discovered that particular official documents such as course outlines do not exist in all universities, so, clearly, such ways of knowing about a course are not universal.

A student from another country (S8) expressed his opinion that a graduate course in his field at WCU was equivalent in terms of workload to three or four graduate courses at his home country university. There, he had found that taking six or seven graduate courses per term was manageable. This type of knowledge might be difficult to access beforehand, and a new student might make the mistake of enrolling in too many WCU courses to be able to complete them successfully.

Selecting programs and courses. Students' decisions regarding the selection of academic programs and courses are influenced by many factors, such as the program requirements and the advice of others. New students reported

receiving guidance from education agents in their home country (e.g., S10) or from teachers at the senior level of WCU's ESL program (S10, S16). One student, when I asked how he selected and registered for courses, said:

> You know at the end of [our WCUESL program], [our teacher told us]: "You guys should think about your major, and start think about the class you are taking." . . . So then later, we have to discuss by ourself, with our [ESL program] classmate, "Well, what class did you choose?" (S16)

Others received guidance regarding course selection and registration from college-level academic advisors and department heads (e.g., S1, S10, S13). After having taken some undergraduate courses, another WCU international student had used "Rate My Prof" for information about professors to help him select courses.

The graduate students in this study reported that, especially at the beginning of their studies, they took the advice of their graduate supervisors (S12, S20) about how many courses to take, which courses to take, and what other research and/or teaching duties to assume. Some started with many courses, and others with just one course. Although it might be customary for Canadian graduate students to follow their supervisors' advice, particularly at the beginning of their programs, international students tend to be more vulnerable than domestic students if there are negative outcomes from following this advice. For instance, if a student fails to complete a required prerequisite course in a timely fashion, his or her program completion date might be delayed past the time for which the international student's funding is available. If they take too many courses in one term, with the result that failing grades result, students might be required to discontinue their programs and return home.

With respect to course load, some students chose or were advised to carry heavy course loads for their first or subsequent terms at WCU, whereas others took only enough courses to maintain full-time student status. S6, S10, and S13 reported that they took five courses during their first undergraduate term at WCU, and each of these students had successful outcomes. S10 chose calculus as one of the courses in her first term and described it as easy because she had already learned the content in her home country. Other students who enrolled in five courses in the first term did not fare as well.

Sequencing of courses can be crucially important. If a required course is not offered on a regular basis, for instance, a student might need to register in it later than or prior to previous planning. S3 provided the following account:

> In the second year, I had to [take] this course, but at that term I still had to take another two graduate level courses because in my college, some courses they only offer every two years. So this was a chance I take. So that means one regular term I had to take three courses—that's really a tough job. But I still [passed the graduate level course[s]. . . . But I failed [the undergraduate] one. (S3)

S17 also reflected on the sequencing of his undergraduate courses; he had decided that taking senior courses at WCU would be "trouble" if he did not first take junior courses at WCU to gain basic knowledge about the Canadian approach to a particular subject area—in spite of the fact that he had already successfully completed a number of similar junior courses at his home country university. For this reason, rather than attempting to obtain transfer credit for all of them, he planned to retake some of them at WCU. Here the student was displaying knowledge of WCU course sequencing and transfer-credit rationalities and practices, and putting it all to work to produce the best academic outcome for himself.

Registering in courses. Course registration has been conducted online at WCU since 2005 (L. Smith [pseudonym], personal communication, April 15, 2011).[xxiii] Some international students found this method convenient. However, a number of assumptions are operating here. One is that all WCU students have adequate access to computers, Internet service, and programs, along with appropriate computer literacy skills, to allow them to register online. Not all students enter WCU equally familiar with using computers to accomplish such administrative tasks. Students from two different Asian countries talked about having been unaccustomed to performing tasks such as seeking information about courses and programs online. One student explained:

> I like to talk with people and ask them questions. But here, they do stuff more online. I want to ask them directly and got the answer right away. But they just like "oh you can check it online." They just show us the website page, we went "Oh, we didn't know that." Because we're so used to asking people, and talking, and dealing with things face to face. (S10)

Another student commented that it was convenient to use WCU's online registration system, but then talked about how time consuming it was to register for his first WCU courses:

> S16: Oh, there are some problem. Because there are . . . not enough seat [in specific faculty].
>
> I: Some of the courses were full?
>
> S16: Yeah, it's crazy; . . . all the course are full. You have to check [WCU's online system] every two hours, to see if there is a seat. Then I jumped in.
>
> I: So you did find a seat.
>
> S16: Yeah. . . . I always check the [system]. Time by time, time by time. Then I—oh, there is a seat; oh, jump in.
>
> I: So how long did that take you?
>
> S16: Maybe 5 times a day. It's crazy. If I really want to get this course, I check, check, check, 5 or 6 times a day. . . . I guess 2 weeks. Yeah. Keep doing that.
>
> I: So finally, you were successful.
>
> S16: Yeah.

To be successful, this student would have required access to a computer with Internet access not just once or twice, but several times a day over two weeks.

Sometimes these international students consulted other students from their home country, and sometimes they talked to other international students or Canadian students. One brand new student happened to meet another student from his country, one from which WCU has few students. The student who had already been at WCU for some years showed the new student how to register for classes (S1). Other students in this study also benefited from the advice of friends and classmates (S5, S16) as they learned the institutional ropes:

> Actually, one way is I got some information from my friends because they chose some classes before. We could share some information like notes, like past exams, and even which professors are good, and which are not good, . . . which classes can get good grades. . . . That way—just ask some people. (S5)

Another assumption about course registration is that students have the required information regarding course sequencing, program requirements, and so on, although WCU's online system does have the capacity to guide students'

choices in certain ways, to align course selection with program requirements and resources. Before arriving at WCU, some international students have never read institutional texts such as university calendars, course descriptions, or official transcripts. Because the culture surrounding education systems in China is different in a number of ways from Canadian systems, parents or teachers might do all of the administrative work for high school graduates. In China, teachers and parents typically make decisions for students and handle all of the administrative work involved in their education. A WCU employee who had participated in recruitment activities said that the students she had encountered expected her to continue the "taking-care-of" role that their secondary school teachers in a Canadian-curriculum high school in China had formerly performed:

> We go there twice a year, to the same school. I'm basically the only person they talk to, so they prefer to send e-mail to me personally; they don't want [me to] direct them to the generic e-mail account. . . . And the principals at those schools are usually . . . retired teachers from Canada [who] work very hard and . . . take care of their kids. And they're very nice people; they try to help their students. So they prefer the students contact me because they know I speak the language. . . . After the presentation I will sit down and talk to them one-to-one, like an informal interview. I will talk to them and ask, "What are your questions?" and see their transcripts, and tell them whether they're eligible. And after the first time I meet with them, they will keep sending e-mails to me, if they're really interested to come. . . . When they graduate . . . they will keep sending e-mails to me, and ask all their questions, . . . like admission questions, like immigration documents, or could be the weather, the clothes, and just everything. They just want to talk to the person they have seen. So these are like the continuous follow-up e-mails you're going to receive from the students. . . . Some of them will still contact you if they want to transfer to another college or to another university, or if they have any problems register[ing for] classes. . . . Sometimes I feel like I'm a home-stay mom! And more than that, a friend! (E5)

This employee's caretaking role began as a recruiter, and she moved through various responsibilities in relation to admission, immigration, orientation, and academic advice, all in response to the expectations and demands of international students with a different set of expectations regarding a school employee's subjectivity.

In summary, choosing involves judging: students, parents, and education agents judging courses, programs, and universities; and universities judging

individual student applicants as well as countries and programs when they make decisions regarding international recruitment plans. Such judgments are possible for employees when they engage with discourses and technologies of equivalence, authenticity, and officialness. They examine documents such as international transcripts to determine whether they are authentic and official. In the case of course transfer applications, they examine syllabi and course materials for their similarity and equivalence to WCU courses. The administrative workload associated with these policy practices at WCU is enormous.

Assumptions related to recruitment, application, admission, and registration policies rely on knowledges/rationalities such as the belief that international students who have completed a Canadian curriculum high school or two years in a joint program are more suitable and well-prepared vis-à-vis undergraduate academic work at WCU than international students who have completed other secondary or postsecondary institutions in their home countries. Discourses of authenticity, officialness, and equivalence are clearly in evidence considering the local effects of international policy at WCU in the areas of admissions and registration.

It is clear that students, parents, education agents, universities, and credentialing agencies operate in an emergent economic system. The stakes for international students and their families are in relation to students' constructing themselves as entrepreneurial, employable subjects in an uncertain and shifting global economy. As I mentioned in chapters 2 and 5, the stakes for Canadian universities involve their very survival in the neoliberal economy of postsecondary education in Canada; international student tuition comprises an essential part of their revenues.

Getting academic advice. The task of effectively meeting the complex academic advising needs of international students can be challenging for Canadian universities. To aid students in their academic planning, each faculty at WCU designates certain staff and faculty members to provide academic advice to its students. To assess its undergraduate academic advising policies and practices, WCU recently conducted a review. One WCU employee commented that the

Faculty of Arts in particular required adequate resources and support to facilitate "an improved access to academic advisors; . . . otherwise they can't service the [international] students" (E1).

Some international students I interviewed reported problems accessing timely and useful academic advice regarding their programs. When I asked whether she had met with the academic advisors in her faculty, one student said:

> [In] my second year, I got to see them, because I couldn't explain my problem very well to them: . . . "You can't just help me at the front desk. I need appointment with somebody, talk about my plan, and things like that." And then finally they made appointment for me . . . because I was struggling with psychology and sociology and also economics. . . . I wanted to do double degree in psychology and [business]. But they told me it's not part of program here. . . . So I wanted to just know if there's any chance I can transfer my credits from here to [business] school. Maybe I can work two more years, to get another degree. Things like that. And I can't remember what did they tell me. But since didn't solve my problem, so I have to figure it out on my own, I guess. (S10)

I was curious to learn whether this student would persist in her efforts to get advice from an academic advisor, so I asked whether she would return to her faculty office for academic advising; she responded, "Definitely I will go back again this term. I just want to make sure what I'm taking is okay for the next term" (S10). This particular student had the resources to persist, but others might not.

All university students benefit from timely and effective academic advising. However, inadequate access to advice regarding course selection can trigger a chain of particularly negative effects for international students. For instance, if a student does not have adequate background or resources to succeed in a course, it can result in a low grade or a failure. In turn, if this leads to international students' being required to take a year off their studies, it is more difficult or sometimes impossible for them to do so; their study permit might not allow them to work, they might not be able to find work as easily, or their funding arrangements might not permit this. Another possible result is significant delays in completing their academic program. This has the potential to cause greater family, social, and financial challenges than for domestic students. International travel can be very expensive, and if a student cannot afford to travel home to visit

family and friends, a delay of a year or more to complete a program can result in their being away for four or more years instead of two or three.

Program monitor. Before they begin their coursework, students must plan their programs of study and make decisions about courses and sequencing of courses. Students at WCU are expected to bear part of the responsibility for steering their academic work. S2 reported satisfaction with her progress in an undergraduate arts program. She was thinking about what she needed to do to complete her program, and she told me she had just requested her program monitor. I learned from her that at WCU *program monitor* refers to the process of reviewing students' completed courses in relation to their goals and WCU program requirements to assist them in planning their next academic steps. Having learned some key institutional language such as *humanities* and *natural sciences* and technologies such as how to request and utilize her program monitor, she had greater control over the management of her academic work.

Between two faculties. One international student (S1) talked about having applied to WCU's engineering faculty from his home country. He was informed by letter that because his GPA was not high enough, he "would go through [WCU's Faculty of Arts] for a year" to raise his grades, and he received a letter of admission to WCU's Faculty of Arts. He spoke to me about his experiences with what he perceived as contradictory advice after he arrived at WCU from academic advisors in two faculties: the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Engineering:

> I took advising from two people in two different [faculties]. I had an advisor in [the Faculty of Arts] and then the person I was dealing with at WUSC also knew somebody, the advisor at Engineering who they recommended I should see. So yeah, they gave like, I would say, contradicting information. . . . It was kind of difficult, . . . outrageous stuff. . . . Then on my own I then decided okay, looking at the course work here, maybe I'll take this one instead of that one. (S1)

At WCU's fall term international student orientation, S1 remembered having heard that new students should "contact the [faculty] office for advising on which courses to take." However, because he was, in a way, between two colleges, he was unsure which one he should approach for advice; thus, he went to advisors at both. He attributed his decision to take a very difficult math course in his first

year to advice he had received from these faculty advisors. In retrospect, he wished that he had either not taken this course or taken a more introductory course first. He talked about this in the context of how difficult the previous year, his first year at WCU, had been.

> S1: Last year it was really difficult for me, especially because I had been out of school for a really long time. . . . Oh, I think ten years. . . . So that's a really long time when you come back. It's like you've never been even to high school. Everything is so new.

> I: So that was a really big adjustment then for you.

> S1: Yeah, especially when it comes to like math. It really gave me a hard time, the calculus.

> I: Did you pass the math class the first time or did you have to do it again?

> S1: I actually had to do it again in the summer.

> I: And did you get it the second time?

> S1: Yeah. Oh it really gave me nightmares actually. I would say one of the biggest challenges actually was actually having to work my way to Engineering, especially, and I don't think I had enough information. I only realized later that, . . . actually, I didn't have to take some of the tough courses that I took, like the hard math, the computer programming. Because I realized late that what really mattered most for me to transfer to Engineering was a good average and then I could still take most of the required courses when I'm in Engineering. . . .

> I: So you're saying that you could have taken those courses later in your Engineering degree, but you didn't need them before?

> S1: Yeah, it's not like they were a requirement as such.

As a result of having failed this one math course, the completion of his program would take considerably longer than he had originally anticipated. The failing grade had lowered his GPA below the minimum that his faculty required, and he was placed on academic probation, which limited the number of courses he could take per term. The change of pace in his program was creating serious family and social problems for him.

I asked S1 how he had arrived at his current understanding that he should first be taking courses that enabled him to increase his grades. He responded, "Actually, I'm the one who realized that, . . . [and] when I went for advising at the beginning of the term, . . . they agreed that was the best thing to do." For the upcoming academic year this student planned to seek academic advice from his

current faculty, and only after beginning courses in engineering would he seek the advising services in that faculty. In chapter 8, I will further consider the matter of academic advising.

Learning about courses and programs. As I alluded to earlier, students are expected to obtain much of the information they require about courses and programs from WCU's official website. This mode of constructing knowledge entails a number of assumptions, each of which creates conditions of possibility specific to international EAL students. First, it gives a student time and space to reread as necessary for adequate comprehension. It might also offer quick answers to specific questions without requiring the student to assemble the linguistic and cultural resources to produce an effective question in English. Second, effective use of online information about courses and programs relies on a shared understanding of specialized institutional language, language that international students are still in the process of acquiring. Finally, the process of locating specific information online is not highly interactive. If they encounter a problem, it is not always easy to determine how to solve it in a timely way. In addition, without real time and real actor interaction, the student does not have access to a variety of cues to meaning, such as employees' body language, office signs, employees' business cards, names and individuals' positions on doors, or the spatial arrangement of people and objects in the office.

Face-to-face and telephone communication occurs much less frequently at WCU than in pre-online days. One international student expressed frustration with respect to using the telephone:

> S10: I usually go to the front desk to ask for an appointment. On the phone, that would be more difficult, though, because . . . I need to use my . . . hands, and I can't explain things well.
>
> I: Do you find it more difficult to talk on the phone?
>
> S10: I think . . . nonverbal is really important.

This student was more accustomed to face-to-face communication, which she was seeking at WCU. Others such as Hussin (2007) have reported similar findings regarding international students. She described a study in which the international student research participants considered person-to-person contact very important,

and she commented that "face-to-face contact . . . [was] a useful starting point for more fruitful email, phone and online interactions" (p. 368) at the university.

Graduate studies. International graduate students shape their decisions on courses and programs in somewhat different ways; there are different assumptions and conditions of possibility. One factor is the role of the graduate supervisor. The dominant subject positions of graduate student and graduate supervisor and the assemblage of rationalities and technologies associated with graduate studies in the discursive field of Canadian academia are characterized by a set of power relations between student and supervisor that sets up the student to be particularly vulnerable. International graduate students might be even more vulnerable than Canadian students when they insert themselves into this discourse, in that they have fewer resources to draw on if they encounter unfair practices. For a newly arrived international student, it might seem unthinkable to challenge advice from a graduate supervisor, especially for the first term of courses. For a variety of reasons, international students often arrive just at the start of a term and therefore do not have the space from which local Canadian students benefit to become acquainted with their department and supervisor and discuss their program in person over a period of time.

Some of the graduate students interviewed had arrived just at the beginning of a term and followed their supervisors' instructions without question. I asked one new doctoral student how he decided which courses to take in his first semester at WCU, and he said:

S20: With the consultation of my supervisor.

I: Was that done by internet? Or by phone?

S20: No, I came here, and I met my supervisor.

I: The first week of January?

S20: Yes.

After a 48-hour plane journey from his country, this student arrived at WCU on January 1, met his supervisor, chose his courses, and started attending class all in the same week. He was taking just one course when I interviewed him during his

first term, and this seemed to be creating space to allow him to successfully adapt to his new environment.

In contrast, another international student I interviewed (S12) reported that her supervisor had told her to take five courses during her first term as a master's student. She did as he asked and, not surprisingly, did not complete all of her courses successfully. What surprised me was that she failed only one of them. However, as a result, the completion of her program was in jeopardy.

S3 arrived at WCU in the summer just over three years prior to our interview and had immediately begun the data collection for her master's thesis research under the direction of her supervisor. She completed the data collection that summer, in the fall term enrolled in the courses that her supervisor had recommended, and passed them. Unfortunately, in a subsequent term she failed one course, and the department required her to leave the program. She wanted to give up, but she said:

> I paid too much for this program. As well as my supervisor. All the people involved in this program. That's a big problem. I cannot consider only myself but also the funding provider. . . . My supervisor said, "Your program is only a two-year program, but now you spend three years, and I spend lots of money to support you and to give you stipend." (S3)

When I asked her what ensued, she said, "Actually, I don't want to think back" (S3), because it was too traumatic. "I even suffered depression, and my parents cried on the telephone; they said, 'If you cannot endure any more, just sign [the form to withdraw] and come back.'" S3 asked for and received support and advice from her supervisor, some Chinese professors at WCU, and an employee in WCU's International Department who first helped her to "calm down" and then, after he listened to her story, recommended that she speak to a professional counselor in WCU's student counseling office. She did so, but commented, "I felt not very comfortable in my head, with my stomach. . . . I even went there with no hope. I just tried." She participated in several counseling sessions.

In the end, S3 said, "It cost me almost one year to win this war. . . . Both of us [her supervisor and she] spent lots of time and make many efforts with this." The mutually acceptable decision that they finally reached was that she was allowed to take a different course as a replacement for the one she had failed. She

passed it and after our interview successfully defended her thesis. However, because of this experience at WCU, she changed her mind about pursuing a doctorate and an academic career and immediately returned home to her country after she completed the program.

In the academic culture of some countries, students never challenge or contradict teachers, even at the graduate level. In these situations it is customary to take the courses that their teachers select for them, without question. Although expectations vary among Canadian professors and graduate programs, there is usually space for students' preferences to play a role when they choose courses or select research topics and in decisions related to key aspects of academic programs.

Pace. Some students reported speedy progress through their programs. S9 had just begun a doctoral program, and I asked him how long it had taken him to complete his master's program at WCU. He said two years: "Yeah, . . . pretty fast. . . . I only have 2 or 3 months to finish my thesis, . . . but I did it" (S9). However, in terms of completing a given program of studies, official knowledges regarding how long it takes for students to complete them rely on assumptions that do not always hold for international EAL students. Despite this, there is considerable buy-in to the expectation that international EAL students will complete their academic programs within the same time frames as English-speaking Canadian students will. In fact, some international students expect to proceed even more quickly than their Canadian counterparts do.

International funding agencies' assumptions related to timelines can create conditions within which successful completion of a program seems merely a remote possibility. Knowledge about and control over the time required to complete a degree is important to all students. For international students, whose tuition fees and living costs are high and who often deal with extreme levels of homesickness and loneliness, it is urgent that they be admitted to their desired programs and complete them as quickly as possible. Canadian students might have more flexibility in that they can attend university part time and work part time if they need to do so to improve their academic performance. Recent changes

to federal and provincial regulations have expanded opportunities for international students to work while they attend university in Canada, but finding a job can be challenging. Canadian students also have more opportunities to get on with the nonacademic aspects of their lives during their student years; in contrast, international students might feel that they cannot do so until they have finished their degrees and returned home to their countries.

If Canadian students have an academic problem such as failing a couple of classes, they might decide to take a year off and work, and then return to university. This possibility is open to them because they live in Canada, but it is not necessarily open to international students. For one reason, international students' study permits issued by the Canadian government require them to attend school. For another, they usually have less social, cultural, and linguistic capital than domestic students have, a fact that can limit their chances of obtaining work.

Several of the students interviewed expressed frustration and anxiety about things that had gone wrong in terms of being slowed down in attaining their academic goals. In Canada university students are expected to be enterprising and independent. However, in some cases there might be no way for international students to find out what they need to know within a reasonable time frame. As I reported earlier in this chapter, S1 encountered problems when he did not know to which faculty to turn for academic guidance.

One component of the international students' sense of urgency was the limited funds available for their studies. Another reason was that they were homesick and either lacked the financial resources to travel home for a break or had determined not to return home until they had completed their degrees. One student had postponed plans to start a family until he returned home with his WCU degree. As I will discuss shortly, the stakes are often different, or more intense, for international students than for Canadian students. Timing and deadlines became problematic for S18 when he discovered that his WCU department had changed the conditions and requirements of the graduate program to which he had agreed when he committed to attending WCU. When he was informed, it was too late for him to apply to other Canadian universities because

his funding allowed him a certain number of years to complete his graduate studies, and switching universities would have required more time.

In brief, decisions that students make about courses and programs vary in terms of their consequences; not every decision has life-altering significance. However, it is not always easy to know in advance how important a decision will be and what information is required to make good choices. International students might consider entry to this realm of decision making puzzling or seemingly impossible. As one WCU employee remarked, "You can see international students at a distance, trying to pick what to do" (E1) with frustration and a sense of powerlessness. This employee, along with each of the others interviewed, had extended him-/herself far beyond what the university required to understand and meet the needs of international students. In spite of these efforts, they all described instances in which they felt uneasy about the limitations on their abilities to help international students. Although in theory individuals have almost unlimited choices about how they will conduct their lives, in practice they are likely to select from a very small subset of options. Many choices are impossible or nearly impossible because of specific historical and political exigencies in particular social situations. Limits to what international students can say and do exist in relation to how possible it is for them both to know and to be known in a foreign country, at a new and relatively unfamiliar institution such as WCU.

Discourses of Admission and Registration at WCU

In this final section of the chapter I consider the discourses, rationalities/truth claims, technologies, and subjectivities that operate and their effects on international EAL students and employees at WCU in relation to admission and registration. I suggest how subject positions taken up by international students and the WCU employees with whom they interact operate to reproduce and produce particular knowledges as an effect of knowledge-power.

I observed many aspects of the status quo of North American academic discourses, subjectivities, and power relations being reproduced in the process of international students' admission to WCU, selection of and registration in courses, and participation in the range of institutional technologies involved in

recruitment, admission, and registration. One clear instance of reproduction was in the discourse of graduate students and the power relations inherent in the subjectivities of graduate student and graduate supervisor. There was also evidence of new knowledge being produced in relation to what a course is and how it can be documented in mutually intelligible ways as WCU officials negotiate with colleagues in universities in other countries.

Institutional literacy practices at WCU. Navigating the administrative systems of WCU requires institutional literacy skills. Students and employees are expected to be familiar with the literacy practices of the university as a Western bureaucratic and professional institution. Dorothy Smith's (1987, as cited in Turner, 2006) institutional ethnography serves as a framework for grasping "the significance of [documents] in the organization of standardized sequences of work and institutions" (p. 159). A document such as an application for admission is an institutional text that exists "as a material presence in local situations in which it is activated by a reader" (Smith, 2005, p. 186). By reading and interacting with the application form, international student applicants and WCU admissions officers activate this text and participate in institutional literacy practices that demonstrate "the powerful organizing potential of the document" (McCoy, 1999, p. 196; as cited in Smith, 2005, p. 175), in that by producing specific types of data and entering them into WCU's database, the international applicant is produced as a recognizable subject in the university institution.

To continue with the example of the application for admission form, applicants work at "fitting the actualities of [their] lives to the institutional categories [of the form]" (Smith, 2005, p. 199), thereby making themselves "actionable" (p. 199). In doing so, there are inevitable "disjunctures between the actualities of [students'] experience" (p. 199) and the boxes on the application form; applicants are invited to enroll in the discourses of Western universities as they do their best to figure out what is being asked and then represent themselves textually through the completion of the form.

As I noted earlier in this chapter, fair and appropriate assessment of international students' education documents relies on university officials' specific

constellation of institutional literacy skills, such as the ability to recognize official documents by paying attention to fonts, notarial seals, and the size of paper; to recognize the equivalence of original and translated versions of documents; and to glean relevant information from international institutions' websites to help them as they struggle to contextualize international documents. All of these are much more time-consuming tasks compared to those required for the evaluation of domestic education documents. They therefore require highly motivated and skilled university employees who are accorded sufficient institutional resources to complete their work. WCU employees interviewed for this research exhibited these requirements and had the support of the institution; however, this is another instance of how conditions of possibility for international students can be determined by historically specific factors at a particular institution.

As they fill out forms and interact in other textually mediated ways by taking up WCU administrative practices, international EAL students must engage in literacy practices related to bureaucratic technologies, such as alphabetical order and categorization of files by subject, date, and so on. Another aspect of institutional literacy at WCU is how the university uses information technology for official communications. However, its reliance on this for the provision of information and online registration does not match all international students' skills, preferences, and experiences. In addition, when telephone communication with WCU offices is required, comprehension can be much more difficult for international students, particularly for those who use EAL. I will further consider the matter of institutional literacy and discursive practices in chapter 7.

Traditional discourses of Canadian university education. The interview data related to admissions and registration were characterized by many rationalities connected with traditional discourses of Canadian universities (see chapter 2). Bureaucratic rationalities (see Weber, 2004a, 2004b) are key. These include the imperative for time and resources to be used efficiently. There is a reliance on written documents and, in particular, "the files." Officialness and authenticity are expected in bureaucratic institutional texts. Institutional policies and regulations should be followed to ensure that standards are maintained; the

expectation is that following bureaucratic procedures will result in equitable conditions for all. At times quasi-judicial decisions have a moral character. The compliance of employees to the rules and authority of the bureaucracy is expected, and university students are expected to be rational and independent. Technologies of equivalence are employed in relation to translation between different languages, different cultures, different discourses of education, and different institutional practices.

Subjects in traditional discourses. It might be said that traditional university administrators act from a professional civil-servant ethos, with primary allegiance to employer and institutional policies. They rely on bureaucratic technologies and rationalities and are comfortable with a hierarchical organization with its reporting up and complying down. This subjectivity is characterized by a professional approach to tasks, with responsibility for acting independently within policy parameters. There is an expectation that, in general, others with whom they interact know the rules and comply with them. With respect to advice to students regarding course selection and planning, the dominant subject position that Canadian university professors, including graduate supervisors, take up has authority but expects students to respectfully challenge at times. The dominant student subjectivity at Canadian universities is that of an independent and usually relatively young adult who makes decisions for him-/herself and is a critical consumer of and participant in institutional communicative events related to gaining admission to university and making choices regarding programs and courses.

Judicial discourse. Universities operate as quasi-judicial systems when they work to maintain academic integrity or determine whether a student has submitted an authentic or fraudulent document. Within this discourse the international students at WCU whom I interviewed assumed subject positions such as law-abiding student or con-artist student; the WCU employees with whom they interacted were called upon to function as detectives as they assembled information and documents, conducted interviews, and tried to determine whether the students complied with the university's regulations. In the few cases in which

the WCU employees were certain that an infraction had occurred, they took up a judge subjectivity as they determined the appropriate consequences for the offence and weighed the "crime" against all of the knowledge that had resulted from their investigative work. When it was not clear that a student had intentionally tried to mislead WCU, they employees gave the student the benefit of the doubt and took up an advocate subject position.

These employees juggled many factors as they upheld and enforced the university's policies in situations in which they became aware of the impossibility of knowing with certainty. Acting with compassion and wisdom, they advocated for international students in an institution where these students encounter many opportunities to be misunderstood. As I explained earlier in this chapter, sometimes it was simply a matter of the timing of a sequence of events that resulted in an international student's either being deemed a con artist, with serious consequences, or simply being rejected as a suitable candidate for admission to WCU without official records so that the student could apply elsewhere in Canada. If the university required a student to submit a document that simply did not exist, as in the case of course outlines in some countries, the employees I interviewed tended to view the international student's fabrication of such a document as the response to an unreasonable and impossible demand rather than as fraud.

In loco parentis: Alternate international/cultural discourses of university education. Canadian discourses of university are not universal. For example, the teacher subjectivity in parts of Asia is quite different from the Canadian teacher subject. With respect to the management of elementary and secondary education, the Chinese teacher is like a parent who is trusted to look after students, make decisions, and make arrangements for students. Following high school, and complementary to this teacher subject, the normative subjectivity for young undergraduate students is like that of a dependent child who obediently follows the authority of teacher-parent subjects (E5).

To place this in context, in China today several factors have converged to cause parents and teachers to exert extreme pressure on young people to excel on

the national university entrance exam, the *Gao Kao*. These factors include the one-child family, the singularity of the door-opening status that graduates of China's prestigious public universities enjoy, the small number of seats available in these universities, and the rapidly developing national economy. According to a recent *Globe and Mail* article (MacKinnon, 2012), a degree from one of these universities almost guarantees a good job, and therefore obtaining a very high mark on the *Gao Kao* "is the only hope many Chinese have for vertical mobility" (Zhu Dake, Professor at Tongji University in Shanghai; as cited in MacKinnon, 2012, para. 15). As a consequence, parents and teachers monitor and manage many students throughout elementary and high school as they groom them to achieve success on the *Gao Kao*. MacKinnon described practices such as the delivery of nutrients intravenously to students in classrooms to boost their performance, doctors' administration of birth control pills to young girls to eliminate the effects of menstruation during exam periods, and families' moves to cramped rented quarters near the exam site to avoid wasting study time on daily travel. On a daily and ongoing basis, these students are observed and questioned about every aspect of their lives, rarely get enough sleep, and have little time for play or relaxation.

Few students are successful in the way that is hoped; for example, in 2010, of the 80,000 applicants who took the *Gao Kao* in Beijing, only about 600 were accepted into the country's top two universities (MacKinnon, 2012). Thus large numbers of students who do not attain the marks they need to enter one of China's top universities must make other plans: find a job, apply to a private university with high tuition fees, or apply to study abroad. Those who elect to enter a university abroad take with them a discursive understanding of a teacher subjectivity that creates disjunctures at Canadian universities such as WCU; they often expect WCU administrators and professors to take a personal interest in them, to monitor them closely, and to look after them. From these disjunctures, new subjects have emerged, such as the employee-parent and the dependent-student.

Employee-parent subject. Unlike the employee subject typical at Canadian public universities who expects students to largely care for themselves, the employee-parent is expected to act *in loco parentis*: to take care of students, provide detailed information, and make decisions and arrangements for them. As a WCU recruitment officer reported earlier in this chapter, the Chinese students she first encountered in their home country expected her to act as their parent through the processes of being admitted, registering, dealing with immigration matters as they obtained their study permits, and becoming orientated to Canada and WCU. In the Canadian-curriculum high school in China that she described, retired Canadian teachers mobilized the teacher-parent subjectivity. In taking up the parent subject position, this WCU employee (E5) was engaging with the dependent child subject position that international students often take up, particularly with young undergraduates from countries such as China. The friend subjectivity she mentioned might be seen as an intermediate position taken up as international students move from the dependent child position towards the independent adult student subjectivity that is more common at Canadian universities.

Part of the nature of the employee-parent subjectivity is its personal, face-to-face character, and, as I mentioned in relation to IT technologies at WCU, some of the students interviewed expressed discomfort with the impersonal nature of some of their IT-mediated interactions at WCU. A Japanese student told me that she was accustomed to frontline workers' willingness to have personal relationships with students at her home university, and she was looking for this at WCU.

Graduate supervisor subject. As I noted earlier in this chapter, several of the graduate students reported having followed their supervisors' directives precisely and immediately, without questioning, after arriving at WCU. For some of them, the academic outcomes were positive, but for several, they were disastrous. The Canadian graduate supervisor subject certainly exercises authority, but students are expected to make their needs and opinions known, and

program matters are expected to be negotiated. Clearly, there is a disconnect between these respective discourses of graduate supervision.

> ***Dependent-student subject.*** At Canadian universities students are expected to function as independent adults. Although the transition between high school and university is challenging for all students, the leap might be much greater for young international undergraduate students, particularly those from countries such as China. With respect to selecting courses and getting registered, a Chinese student commented:

> S10: Our classes [had] already been decided. It works so different. . . . We took all classes together. We have one teacher who response for us all the time, so four years. And usually two, so one for our classes and one for our life. Because we live on campus, in a dormitory. So they taking care of us like kids. But no freedom though. That's the price we pay.

> I: How did you pick your classes for the your first term at WCU?

> S10: I just pick it online. And I got some help from [WCU's ESL program] when I was in [the senior level class]. They invited some people like who work in the university to . . . tell us like how to register the courses and things like that. It was very helpful. . . . I learned a lot from [WCU's ESL program] because they take special care of us.

A WCU employee echoed this idea of dependency and stated that young students from some countries (e.g., China) are accustomed to being taken care of:

> Yes, just so many things are challenging. Because the university system is different. In China, all the courses are settled by the professors, or by the school. You don't have to worry about anything. But here, you have to choose all the courses by yourself. You have to make the decisions by yourself. . . . Everybody treats you as an adult. But in China, no. Every student is taken care of. (E5)

> One of the students I interviewed (S9), a doctoral student from China, held the view that the staff in WCU's ESL Program should be in closer touch with the parents of their young Chinese students. He was a serious, mature student and was concerned about the behavior of many of these students. WCUESL's action, he believed, would help to prevent some of the problems that very young students encounter often right out of high school, because they are unaccustomed to coping with the freedom they experience in Canada.

> A Chinese undergraduate talked about negotiating the tension between the two subject positions: dependent child, "a boy," and independent adult, "a real

man." When I asked why he chose WCU when he selected a Canadian university, he said he had wanted to avoid universities in big cities because

> there are too many entertainment places [so] you cannot focus on your studies. . . . That was what I thought when I was 21 years old. Now I'm going to be 24 years old. I can control myself whatever what is happening or what is going to happen. I'm a real man, not a boy anymore. (S17)

He was thinking about himself as "a real man" at the age of 24. He mentioned his ability to "control [him]self" as a sign of being a man, in contrast with how he had acted as a boy; he referred to control over his time management and disciplining himself to spend time on his studies rather than entertainment as a developmental accomplishment, but it might also be seen as a move to a more Western student subjectivity. In China the role of parents and teachers is to control boys and girls.

Employee as facilitator of student agency. In contrast with the employee-parent subjectivity (e.g., the WCU employee [E5] who felt like a "home-stay mom"), some employees (e.g., E1) mobilized the subjectivity of facilitator of student agency when they acted to scaffold international students' development of skills to take charge of their own situations. A dominant discourse of leadership sees it as being invested in an individual, and usually in a person whose job title reflects that leadership role. An alternative discourse views every person as capable of taking up a leader subjectivity in particular circumstances. In this discourse, student leadership might be understood as a type of agency. One employee talked about attempting to facilitate student agency:

> When it comes to the expertise associated with working with international students from a less hands-on, and a more "you've got to learn it on your own" and "students need to run things and help each other" [approach], that requires a whole level of training and experience and attitude and materials. (E1)

He spoke about working with the staff in his office and across campus to engender a sense of shared leadership and responsibility for meeting the needs of international students and to create conditions within which international students' active engagement could develop. By acting in these ways, this employee was taking up an alternative leadership subjectivity and attempting to create more space for student agency. For those international students who were operating from a dependent-student subject position, this approach would create

conditions favorable for them to develop access to the independent-student subjectivity that would enable them to "fit" better into the WCU environment.

Neoliberal discourses at WCU. As I discussed in chapter 5, neoliberal discourses are woven into the fabric of internationalization policy in the Canadian postsecondary context. Competition is considered the natural order, and "competition and consumer demand have supplanted the norms of 'public service'" (Larner, 2000, p. 13). In the practices of recruitment, admission, and registration at WCU, neoliberal discourses are certainly evident; the university operates in many ways like a business in the global international education marketplace. Individual students are responsible for working on themselves to produce themselves as recognizable and acceptable WCU students. Neoliberal regimes depend on IT; the rationality is that digital communications are the most efficient, and university people, both students and employees, have the ability to use these technologies. Paradoxically, this characteristic may be in contradiction to the personal, face-to-face nature of institutional interaction that Asian "customers" might be seeking. Rationalities and practices of competition, comparison, ranking, audit, and accountability are evident in how international students, their parents, and education agents choose WCU through "league tables" such as *Macleans* magazine's "How Does Your School Stack Up?" (2010) as they search for "a very good education."

One way that WCU searches for its "prepared and motivated students" is by signing agreements with international universities to create joint programs, as I discussed earlier in the chapter. This can mean that it is selecting from a pool of students whose parents are wealthy enough to afford these Chinese private-university tuitions or that they are offering students an opportunity to attend university that they would not have in China because so many well-qualified students are not able to be accommodated at top Chinese universities. WCU also seeks students who have studied in English-language or Canadian high schools. However, cursory knowledge of the uneven learning conditions for international EAL students at such high schools calls into question WCU's assumption that these students are any better qualified than those from regular Chinese

universities. Nevertheless, putting aside WCU's assumption that international students from such schools and programs are well prepared, such students are more recognizable as legitimate WCU students because of assumptions tied to their academic work such as the belief that international students' adjustment to a Canadian university environment will be smoother for them if they have been successful in one of these types of education systems.

The processes of international students' admission and registration in courses activates WCU's practices of naming, counting, and accounting for its population. International admissions officers use services such as ARUCC, which are not necessarily in and of themselves neoliberal technologies, but which are part of the assemblage of new global economies related to managing internationally mobile students. WCU's, parents', and students' use of international education agents is another part of this assemblage.

Parent-consumer subject. When parents search for the best international university for their children, they mobilize a consumer subjectivity, and when the university engages with them, it is drawing from NPM discourse (see chapters 2 and 5) in which public educational institutions view their students as clients who are buying a service in a competitive marketplace. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, one of the criteria that parents use when they shop for a university is whether it will provide a good education for their child (E5). In trying to determine this, they might access texts such as "How Does Your School Stack Up?" ("How Does Your School Stack Up?" 2010), which are produced using practices of comparison and ranking; they might try to match their child in terms of his or her grades to a university based on how it is ranked.

Student-consumer subject. The neoliberal student-consumer subject was evident in relation to the administrative practices discussed in this chapter. One student took up a dissatisfied consumer subject position as she described an experience resulting from her request for a letter from the administrative office of her faculty to document her student status so that she could apply for an American visa to travel to Disney World during her Christmas break:

> I got so mad at them. . . . I told them that two weeks before I left [to get the visa]. The week before I left, I went to the office to ask if they had done those things for me. And they said, "You know, this is a very big university. . . . We have to go through the process. . . ." But I have a friend [who] was going to Disney World with me. She is in University of Western Canadian Province ([UWCP] another western Canadian university; pseudonym). [When] I told her about [my situation], . . . [she said] she got the letter next Monday. Well, I think [UWCP] is quite big too, but how come they only took two days, and I've been waiting for a week and more, and I still didn't get my thing done? It's so slow. (S10)

Although one or two weeks might not seem like a long time to some, this particular customer was not satisfied. An employee also referred to this subject position; his point was that students were not, but should be treated as clients:

> We don't treat [students] like they are actually clients. When it comes to complaints, . . . we don't treat them like they're paying for service. We treat them like they're employees: "Well, this is how you file a complaint. With the office of such-and-such." And you go, "Well, that's how *we* file complaints, against each other. But that's not how somebody buying a product files a complaint." (E1)

Although some of the students and employees expressed a level of ambivalence about the "university as a business" discourse, the dominance of this discourse was acknowledged in statements such as the above. As I pointed out in chapter 5, from the neoliberal NPM perspective, the consumer of public services is entitled to receive prompt, attentive, and efficient services, and the student-consumer subjectivity exhibits this sensibility.

Entrepreneurial-student subject. In western Canadian universities, the normative practice is for students themselves to assume responsibility for planning their own academic programs and coursework. The neoliberal context takes this further: University student subjects are also responsible for using their student experiences to make themselves up as globally employable citizen-workers. International students labor to make themselves up as recognizable by and acceptable to WCU through their applications for admission and appended official documents. Beyond this, they are working on themselves as projects, with the aim of producing themselves as suitably credentialed and experienced candidates for successful competition in the global job market. As I reported earlier in this chapter, S19 described himself in just such a way: He related the

logic behind his choice of WCU and the particular program in which he had enrolled.

Thus, we can see some of the uneven yet unmistakable ways in which neoliberal rationalities and practices have come to be inserted into traditional Canadian university discourses, sometimes creating conditions that are challenging to administrators, graduate supervisors, and international students, at the same time that they present new opportunities to experiment with different ways of thinking and acting. The discursive field is even more indeterminate given the international discourses and subjectivities brought into play by international students such as the dependent-student subject and the *in loco parentis* employee-parent subject.

Uncertain Times

University students' and employees' descriptions of the material effects of WCU's internationalization and its discursive realities reveal moments of ambivalence and uncertainty, along with moments of satisfaction with creative problem solving in uncharted territories. There are instances of spaces to experiment with new subjectivities and practices and different ways of experiencing the world.

In describing how she implemented WCU policies and procedures in her work with international students, one long-time employee talked about having to deal with a vast amount of complex information: "You have to be able to not always go by specific rules, in a way, I guess" (E4). Another staff member (E2) expressed similar sentiments. Each of the employees spoke of frequently being placed in positions where they needed to decide whether a particular policy applied in a specific case and, if so, how it should be applied, when the policy had been constructed with English-speaking Canadian students in mind, not international students.

The employees often acted as advocates for international students. In discussing how she dealt with possible document fraud (reported earlier in this chapter), the administrator judged it fair to give the international student the benefit of the doubt when it was not possible beyond a shadow of a doubt that an

infraction had occurred. Another employee had argued for the option of allowing international students to stay in the newly built WCU residences. She described earlier negotiations as frustrating:

> I had one meeting with the Residence, and I fought very hard for the [WCU ESL program] students. But they said no. . . because by the time the students finish [their ESL program], it would be the end of August, and they want a commitment to be made by June. And no matter what I do, they can't take the risk. (E5)

Yet another employee talked about his role of advocate in terms of helping international students understand and negotiate WCU policies.

> And so the international student is having to navigate that system. Just like any student. But the international student doesn't understand the system. Appeals processes and everything else for that matter. And they know you all work together. And it can be, it must be confusing for the student. Especially some students, who think that the person they're talking to should be able to just make the decision. So they're with the dean, and they think "Can't the dean make the decision?" Well, actually the dean can't make the decision. Somebody else has to make the decision. (E1)

These accounts show that employees acted from the subject position of advocate for international students in various situations, including defending against unproven labeling, arguing for inclusive policy, and mediating existing university policy.

The employees shifted between subject positions as their various work responsibilities required them to change roles in their relationships with international students. The international students sometimes found it challenging to understand where the employee was coming from. One (E1) said that although his customary role was that of advocate for international students, at times he was required by the institution to play an enforcement role. He spoke about his role of designated representative of the federal government when he calculates academic standing for students who have applied to WCU for a work permit:

> It's a different relationship. We don't have this relationship anywhere else. So then I sit in an office with a student and say, "No, you've got 59, and you can't have a . . . [work] permit. . . ." And they say, "Well, who makes that rule up?" And you go, "We decided it." "Who's *we*?" "The university." "Why are *you* telling me?" "I'm the DIR [designated institutional representative]." You know, I'm responsible to say that to the

student: "[I'm the] DIR of [WCU]." For the government. To uphold this policy. So it's the law. And we have policy to go with the law. (E1)

In a context in which international students are already struggling to recognize new subjects at a Canadian university, it is easy to imagine how this further complicates the challenge.

The same employee explained how students as well as his colleagues had to try to understand the different roles that he plays in specific contexts:

And I find that I must determine very early on what my job is in that relationship with that student. So if I become their advocate, then I have to tell my colleagues that this is my job, with the student: "I'm the student's advocate." It reminds me somewhat of the . . . sheepdog and the coyote. You know that cartoon? You check in together but then you spend the whole day, . . . and we actually try to negotiate with each other. You know, the student needs to come in and see that we all work for the same institution, but we do different jobs, we play different roles, we all fit together. So I have to say, "Look, I'm the coyote this time. So, I'm not the sheepdog." [Or] "You're the coyote, I'm the sheepdog." (E1)

This employee was able to use his awareness of how he took up different subject positions in response to different situations to facilitate others' understanding and accomplish institutional tasks.

One of the dilemmas for employees was the need to shift between advocacy and enforcer subjectivities. E1 thought that creating a position of ombudsperson might alleviate some of these difficulties:

Sometimes things happen, and it could have been done differently [with a] very different [result]. I believe the institution is listening, but there's no ombudsman; there's really nowhere to go for the student that isn't somehow connected to an office directly. (E1)

A final comment concerns a type of meta-awareness of some of the WCU employees and international students of the discursive nature of university policies and the modes of subjectivity that are available. Examples include a student's reflection on being a "real man" and employees' comments about their discomfort with playing the role of enforcer of university policy and needing to make explicit to colleagues and students when they shifted subject positions from advocate to prosecutor and vice versa. As E1 commented about a WCU appeal process, "*We* construct it"; his implication was that the process could be changed.

In conclusion, the local effects of internationalization at WCU are particularly evident with respect to regimes of practice related to admission and registration. International students are kept busy "making themselves up" as recognizable subjects by using all of the resources available to them. It is often puzzling for students to figure out what is expected of them; in some cases, an incomplete comprehension of the rationale for what is required can mean that the implications of actions elude them until it is too late. To merely survive in this new world they have entered, some international students act as dependent children who seek and sometimes find university employees who are willing to engage in this discourse of dependency and take care of them from a nurturing parent subjectivity. What some international students do to present themselves as acceptable subjects can result in their acting from transgressive subjectivities such as con artist. In the quasi-judicial discourse in which they discover themselves because of such transgressions, they encounter WCU officials who agonize over decisions regarding students' innocence or guilt and shift from one subject position to another and back again: upholder of university policies, prosecutor, defense lawyer, student advocate, and judge.

WCU employees grapple with how to deal with what in many ways seems an impossible array of tasks. In their daily tasks they do their best to standardize, to determine equivalencies, and to recognize the in/authentic as they work across international spaces. They struggle with missing documents (e.g., E4), with constructing plausible narratives—"Does the story hold?" (E4)—with a lack of resources (e.g., E4), with institutional restructuring (E5), with staff turnover (E5), with students "yelling at [them]" (E4), with desperately trying to keep up with the time-consuming process of dealing thoughtfully and fairly with applications and other correspondence from students, and with students who "don't read those letters" (E4).

The previous chapter pointed out some of the intertextualities that exist among institutions and levels of government in relation to international students at Canadian universities. In this chapter I mentioned the linkages between WCU and NAFSA and ARUCC with respect to the assessment of international education

documents as well as connections between WCU and the government's ministry of Employment and Immigration; WCU acts as an agent of the government and participates in practices of assessment and documentation that create possibilities for international students to work during their student years, in this way legitimizing their status as Canadian workers in precisely specified ways. WCU also works to align its policies and practices with government priorities, urged by federal government representatives who participated in the AUCC (2007b) internationalization workshop discussed in chapter 5.

Examination of the local effects of internationalization reveals the complexity and near impossibility of employees' doing their jobs and of international students' doing theirs. However, the bizarreness and the impossibilities can also be seen as creating spaces—spaces not only for the negative, the uncomfortable, and the strange, but also for the new, the positive, the exciting, the creative. The next chapter describes the experiences of international students and university employees with discourses related to language, literacy, and learning at WCU.

CHAPTER 7: DISCOURSES OF LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

> The common factor in the analysis of social organization, social meanings, power and individual consciousness is *language.*Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ouselves, our subjectivity, is *constructed*. (Weedon, 1997, p. 21).

This chapter describes experiences related to language and literacy. Language played a key role in the experiences of my research participants. Language is integral to discourses and their rationalities; through discourse, language operates as a primary power-knowledge technology. It operates to create conditions that both limit and produce opportunities. Language denotes membership in the social world and is integral to the formation of subjects. It "coordinates subjectivities" (Smith, 2005, pp. 75-98) and can be understood as a "signifying practice" (Pennycook, 2007) that contributes to the "constitut[ion of one's] identity as a particular kind of subject" (Cameron, 1995, p. 16), especially for those who are bilingual or multilingual (Norton, 2000). By performing the English language and their own languages in the social worlds of the Canadian university, international EAL students create and recreate themselves as they try out different ways of "doing" university at WCU.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: First, I present pertinent aspects of language use and language learning to contextualize the research participants' experiences with language. A section on issues related to measuring and assessing EAL students' language(s) follows. The third section focuses on academic literacy: the language required for students to successfully engage with the academic tasks they are expected to complete. It then addresses the phenomenon of plagiarism in relation to students' lack of facility with academic literacy. The next section returns to the matter of institutional literacy that I introduced in the previous chapter and more closely examines the language aspects of this form of literacy as critical to successful navigation through the institution. The chapter concludes with a discussion of its key elements, including academic literacy, institutional literacy, plagiarism, and TOEFL test fraud; it ends

with a discussion of how all of these come together as the research participants constituted themselves as subjects at WCU.

English as a Discursive Construction

Pennycook (2007) talked about "the myth of English" (p. 23), the belief of many that there is one correct set of standards for the English language. In fact, "English is a translocal language, a language of fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations" (p. 6). The global community of English speakers is characterized by "polycentricity (many norms of correctness that differ with an easy or uneasy intelligibility)" (Lo Bianco, 2000, p. 93), and English is best understood as "a network of interrelated models" (p. 93). Although English is not first in the world in terms of the number of native speakers (Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001, p. 9), more people use English as an additional language than any other additional language because of its economic strength; countries where English is the first or official language are the wealthiest in the world, and people want to gain access to the technology and expertise of English-speaking countries (p. 10). The spread of the English language around the globe is linked to British imperialism (e.g., Phillipson, 1992) and colonization (e.g., Marginson, 2006). Still today, Marginson commented, "by spreading English language . . . practices, global education markets colonize non-English cultures and identities" (p. 905).

Hegemonic privilege is associated with English and English speakers. The attitude "If you don't speak English, there's something wrong with you" is widespread. Those of us who speak a language that is dominant in a particular society are notorious for our ethnocentric tendencies. For native speakers of English, living in a primarily English milieu means that learning another language is optional. For speakers of other languages, learning additional languages is often not a choice, but a necessity. At English-speaking Canadian universities, discursive rationalities and technologies are predicated on the notion of the primacy of English.

International EAL students already have at least two languages when they arrive at WCU. In fact, they bring rich linguistic resources to WCU. However,

they can be visible as deficient English users rather than as expert bilingual or multilingual users of language. S20, for example, was fluent in five languages. When EAL students at WCU require a second language credit for their academic program, they sometimes take a course in their own language, if such a course is offered at WCU; at other times they choose to learn yet another language. Some students I interviewed reveled in this opportunity to further expand their linguistic repertoires; the students who took additional language courses out of interest included a Japanese student who was learning Chinese (S2) and a Chinese student who was learning German (S17). The latter student said, "I need more challenge. Like going abroad, speaking two or more than two languages" (S17). Others questioned why they were required to learn an additional language when they already knew English and their native language. Some Canadian universities allow graduate students to use their own language to meet a language requirement, which seems particularly appropriate when they have fieldwork to do in that language. For example, international joint programs (discussed in chapter 5) at the graduate level allow more space for languages other than English to be used during thesis defenses or other parts of programs (AUCC, 2007b).

Privileged Dialects

Even though the English language enjoys special global status, not all varieties of English are met with equivalent responses.[17] A language varies not only according to the geographic region where it is typically used, but also according to social and economic factors such as class and race and to places where people have lived or been educated. Traces of these aspects of a person's history appear in the language they use. Dialects vary according to pronunciation, vocabulary, pragmatics, and, to some extent, grammar. In their article "What Colour Is Your English?" Creese and Kambere (2003) talked about the experiences of speakers of African English in Canada in terms of how "accents discursively patrol the borders within Canada" (p. 571). These immigrants faced

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[17] Some of the student research participants spoke a dialect of English other than Canadian English.

marginalization in their encounters with other Canadians; they were ignored or offered "corrections" to their language use (p. 568), despite possessing high levels of English-medium education and having been in Canada for several years. Others interpreted their African English dialects as signifying limited English proficiency. Sterzuk (in press) has also argued that dialect can be indexical to race in relation to her studies of international students in a Canadian university context.

Users of a particular language invariably notice differences in language variety. Those who use a different dialect are considered to "have an accent." People do not perceive themselves as having an accent, and thus it is part of an "othering" practice of differentiation to comment on someone else's accent. Dialect differences are noticed and judged, even though such judgments might not always lie within individuals' realm of conscious reasoning. The privileging of certain dialects of English over others becomes apparent when differences are framed either as different ways of talking or, alternatively, as errors. For example, in Canada, a speaker of Standard Australian English or Standard British English would be described as speaking differently, whereas a speaker of Indian English is more likely to be framed as not very competent in speaking English.

These assumptions and practices not only privilege English at WCU but may also define the color and class of English that is most recognizable as part of desirable student subjects. As an effect, this contributes to how students see themselves and raises questions about how dialect operates as a marker of social realities such as class, colonialism, ethnicity, and education. S4 spoke an African variety of English, thus displaying traces of colonialism and ethnicity; however, his language also had subtle markers of class and education and hinted at membership in an elite postcolonial group.

Regardless of which dialects students use, my experience is that if students speak a dialect of English other than Standard Canadian English, they are often assumed to be able to function in English at a Canadian educational institution

comparatively easily. English proficiency can be demonstrated for the purposes of admission to WCU with an educational background from an English-medium secondary school or university.[18] WCU assumes that the variety of English used at such institutions and the students' own dialect of English are similar enough to Standard Canadian English not to constitute a major barrier to students' academic success at WCU. Given the nature of the linguistic demands on students in terms of academic and institutional literacy, which I will discuss later in this chapter, this might not always be the case.

India is a case with current relevance because, as I mentioned in chapters 5 and 6, WCU has been increasing its efforts to recruit international students from India. Although many prospective WCU students from India are proficient in English, it is not Canadian English. As a result, according to one of the research participants, they often have trouble with their academic tasks and encounter academic difficulties at universities such as WCU.

Clearly, the dialect or variety of English that students use is a complicating factor in relation to university admission and academic achievement, in part because of the attitudes of others and normative assumptions about individuals on the basis of their dialects. It is a significant challenge that EAL students encounter as they endeavor to make themselves up as recognizable subjects in the discourse of academic success at WCU. For example, while resident in Canada, speakers of African English such as S1 and S4, find themselves engaged in learning the Canadian dialect of English in addition to the dialect they already use. At the same time, they can be at a disadvantage when Canadians assume that these individuals know more and can use Canadian English with more facility than they actually do.

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[18] More specifically, 2.5 years of full-time attendance at an English-medium high school, including certain English courses with grades above 70% in Grade 12, leading to matriculation; or successful completion of 18 credit units of transferable university courses at an English-medium institution. All of these should have been completed within 5 years prior to the admission application.

Measuring and Assessing Language

Before beginning their academic work at Canadian universities, international EAL students encounter discourses of measurement and assessment, because they must provide evidence of their English proficiency. Given the complexities of language and language learning, language testing and measurement remains a contested field (e.g., Hyland et al., 2008). Measuring involves making an object visible in a particular set of ways, and evaluating involves the examination of that object. According to Foucault (1995), the examination is a technology that "compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes" (pp. 182-183). When EAL students participate in language-testing practices and then submit the official results to the university, they are agreeing to make themselves examinable and visible as proficient in English (or not) and thus acceptable and recognizable (or not) as admissible WCU students. Their language proficiency becomes reified as an object of discourse, which allows them to be compared with WCU's benchmarks and with other applicants and to be included or excluded as admissible or inadmissible.

English proficiency assessment at WCU. At WCU applicants can select the type of evidence of proficiency from a list of possibilities recognized as legitimate and authoritative, including specific minimum scores on one of several English proficiency tests or successful completion of WCU's ESL program.[xxiv] The worldwide English-testing industry manages and offers a variety of standardized tests for the consumption of students and educational institutions. The calculation and management of English proficiency can be understood as a regime of practices. Because it is impossible to control all aspects of processes as complex as language learning and use, many assumptions exist. With respect to English-language tests, the assumptions are that tests are reliable and valid (e.g., that they measure what they purport to measure), that test security procedures will be followed, and that the benchmark set by the educational institution, the minimum score, is high enough to be indexical to a sufficient level of English proficiency, but not so high as to present an unnecessary barrier to applicants. If

students meet the English proficiency requirement by successfully completing WCUESL's academic English program, they are understood to be equipped with sufficient English proficiency to allow them to achieve academic success. A similar assumption is held for international students who meet the language requirement by completing specified amounts of English-medium study at the secondary or tertiary level, as I described earlier in this chapter. Technologies in play include protocols for secure reporting of official test scores and submission of authentic documents such as evidence of successful completion of the WCUESL program, and transcripts or graduation certificates from English-medium educational institutions.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, applicants for admission are initially known only through WCU's official examination of proscribed types of evidence and via particular regimes of practices. Knowledge of applicants' abilities is obtained from texts such as official English language test score documents, transcripts, photographs, and passports. These are provided to the university by the applicant or on the applicant's behalf by an education agent, an educational institution, a government department, or a testing company in which the university has vested the authority to assess language proficiency. If WCU requires further information about an applicant's language, face-to-face meetings between the applicant and university staff might be requested. In such situations additional evidence is produced. Applicants' faces might be "read" in comparison to their passport photos or their official test-score photos, with the goal of ascertaining whether they represent the same person. A short writing sample, the production of which university representatives observe, might be examined and normatively judged in relation to university entrance standards. The applicant's oral English skills might be similarly observed and assessed during the interaction required in an in-person meeting. At the level of graduate studies, applicants' language abilities might also be assessed by considering the writing skills evident in their application package. In some cases a faculty member who is a potential supervisor might communicate by telephone with an international applicant, in part to elicit English language production, which is then informally assessed.

International EAL students can choose to study English in their home country until they attain a high enough score on an English proficiency test to meet the admission requirements of a Canadian university. Alternatively, they might decide to study English in Canada and meet the English proficiency requirements after coming to Canada. S5 explained:

> I got a 72 [on the TOEFL] in China. And then I tried to pass the new TOEFL two times in Canada in [WCU city] and the first time I failed. [The] last time I passed but [at] the same time that I was [studying in the advanced level course at WCUESL]. One year, the whole year from 2007 to 2008, from August to August I studied . . . [from low intermediate through to advanced levels]. Then, I made it, I went to university, in September 2008. (S5)

Students such as S5 often hedge their bets in this way. They periodically take English tests such as TOEFL, IELTS, or CanTEST while they are concurrently studying English in the WCUESL program. If they obtain a high enough test score to gain admission to WCU, they have the option of discontinuing their ESL studies and moving directly into their degree programs. Through such actions, students work on themselves in particular ways to produce versions of themselves as acceptable subjects within the conditions specified in WCU's admissions policies.

"There's always that gray area." As an effect of international EAL students' working to constitute themselves as acceptable, many of them are judged as such. However, in other instances WCU policy does not create the conditions within which it is possible for them to constitute themselves as acceptable in terms of their English proficiency. Referring to the university's English proficiency policy, E2 told me:

> There's always that gray area; you're saying, okay, this student does not qualify for any of these ways that we have. . . . I know that this student has claimed their first language as French, let's say. [But] they spent Kindergarten through Grade 11 at an English-speaking institution in Ontario. And then their parents moved to . . . Morocco, and they finished their Grade 12 in the Moroccan system, possibly in a combination of French and English. [According to WCU policy] we would look at that final year of high school to determine whether they pass the English proficiency requirement or not, and we would say no, because they don't have that Grade 12 at an English speaking institution. However, when you look at their history, and you understand that this is probably a bilingual

> speaker, even though they were honest and said their first language was French, I don't know. . . . So then that's the point where . . . I don't have a lot of discretion. (E2)

This WCU employee struggled to apply WCU policy in a case that did not fit for an applicant who, in her judgment, likely has sufficient English for admission to WCU, even though Morocco was not on the list of countries specified by WCU's English proficiency policy as signifying English proficiency because English is the official national language.[19]

One international student I interviewed is from a former British colony and had attended an English-medium university in his home country. Because his country is on the list, he was not required to submit additional evidence of English proficiency (S1).[xxv] However, he told me that in his country most local children do not speak English before they start school:

> I'd say, the language of instruction is officially English, . . . but, . . . yeah, . . . it is English. Let me see. . . . I was just going to say we have what we call public schools. And then there's private schools, which are also called English-medium schools. So that's where mostly international students will normally go to the English-medium school—the private schools. (S1)

In the private schools the instruction was entirely in English. However, in the public schools it appears that, although the nominal language of instruction is English, instruction is at least initially conducted via students' local language, and English is gradually introduced. Although it might not be formally understood as such, this is a transitional bilingual program. In such programs students transition from using their first language when they enter elementary school to using only the official school language by the time they graduate (e.g., Bunyi, 2005). In addition, in this context education might involve practices related to submersion; that is, the use of the new language (English in this case) for instruction without adequate attention to scaffolding learners' development of that language. The results of such practices can be that students acquire neither the academic content nor the new language in an effective way. As Cummins (1979, 1984) and others

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[19] WCU's list includes countries such as England, Australia, New Zealand, Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Australia, and Jamaica.

(e.g., Vorih & Rosier, 1978) have argued, the negative effects of such bilingual programs include the likelihood that learners lack a sound literacy foundation in their first language, thus creating less than optimal conditions for academic achievement or the development of a second language. Thus the nature of the English-medium education of these students entails practices, technologies, and assumptions that are different from those associated with the private English-medium submersion schools in this student's country and English-medium schools in Canada.

TOEFL fraud. One issue that arose in the interviews was fraud related to prospective students' submission of official English proficiency test documents in support of admission applications. At the time of my interviews two employees discussed a recent rash of fraudulent TOEFL score documents. Initially, they were alerted to the problem when one international student told another he had paid someone to take the test for him; this student then told a WCU staff member, and other students subsequently tattled on yet other students.

When WCU suspected TOEFL fraud, the staff first gathered information in informal ways. They asked the applicant to come into the office so that WCU could compare the photo on the official TOEFL score document to the WCU applicant: "We would ask them questions, you know, about the test, where they wrote the test, about what they wore to the test." An iBT score of 100 is very high; a score of 80 is the minimum required for admission to WCU. When it became apparent in a face-to-face meeting and in a writing sample in the WCU Admissions office that an applicant who claimed to have a score of 100 was not able to function above an intermediate level in English, it seemed highly probable that the applicant had provided a test score that he/she had not him-/herself attained. When the applicant was contacted and asked to come to or come back to WCU to meet with Admissions, "some of them wouldn't even come in. They were gone. And some of them would come in, and then we would sit down with them. I don't think any of them actually just came out and said it" (E4). These

processes involve actions of a quasi-judicial nature.

In cases where there seemed to be no doubt that fraudulent TOEFL documents had been submitted, the employees asked TOEFL to formally cancel the test score and rejected the applications for admission. Official notifications about particular offending students were sent to others at WCU as necessary, and sometimes to other Canadian universities as well. The employees used the ARUCC system described in chapter 6 to send out document alerts: "By us sending out document alerts, we had numerous calls from other universities. I mean, one student had, I think, 13 TOEFLs. . . . It was ridiculous."

WCU does not post a document alert in a suspicious case with no proof of fraud. An employee commented on this dilemma:

> We wouldn't alert other universities to it, but we might refuse the student from this university. Because the university reserves the right to reject anything; it's a private institution. You know, there's not a human rights code about it, right? So we can refuse. But ethically we wouldn't report to other universities based on just that. We would have to get more information. (E2)

In these cases there was a lack of closure. I asked, "So you'll never know for sure?" and the employee replied "No, we'll never know. But I don't know if that's so bad." In other words, unless WCU staff are absolutely sure that a fraudulent TOEFL score has been submitted, they do not always take further action, and the negative consequences for the applicant are limited.

When I asked if they knew how the cheating took place, one staff member told me about some of the rumors circulating:

> There are stories that they pay someone to go in with their ID and write the test for them. And then there are stories that you can actually go to certain centers, and there are employees . . . that will take a large sum of money—we've heard quotes of $6,000 or $7,000 Canadian—to allow you to get your picture taken and then send somebody else to write the test for you. But we don't know if that's true. It's just hearsay, right? (E2)

The WCU employees also wondered how well test officials were monitoring and enforcing test-taking policies. TOEFL has official test centers all over the world. When individuals arrive to take the TOEFL test, the staff take their photograph, and it becomes part of the official test score document. With IELTS, another common English proficiency test, students take their own

photograph to the test center. It was not clear to the WCU employees I interviewed whose role it is to verify the identity of the test takers. TOEFL contracts out the administration of its tests to companies with local test sites. A WCU employee wondered, "Who's making sure that everybody's doing their job? Because we feel like somebody's not. Somebody's not looking at something" (E4). Regardless of the source of the problem, WCU made some policy changes as a result. For instance, it began to require students to take their passports to the admissions office when they arrived at WCU "so that we do have something to compare stuff to" (E4).

When students come into the office and are questioned about their test results, sometimes

> the student will just bolt; they'll be, "They're onto me. I'm out of here." Which frankly, is the best thing they can do, because if they were to push the issue and go through with the further verification process, then they'd be in more trouble than if they just retracted their application and . . . went to another university. (E2)

In cases such as this, no further action was taken. However, the academic consequences for students who succeed at English proficiency documentation fraud are usually dire. Even students who legitimately pass an English proficiency test struggle with academic tasks, so students who have not passed can find academic work extremely challenging. One employee commented, "I feel sorry for these students because they're struggling" (E4). Another employee concurred:

> You can really see that in the results. As kind of just my own personal interest, as kind of an experiment, I just recorded . . . the student number, and made myself a note [to] just check on this person next April, and see how they did. Because there were a few students we were very suspicious of, but we had no proof, and we didn't really know what to do. So we admitted them, because [we thought] "well, fine, go try." And you know, they didn't do well, and it was sad. But what are you going to do? . . . They typically either completely failed, or their first year was a bunch of withdrawals. Which doesn't hurt them academically, but they still probably paid for all of their classes. Their first year was basically a wash, because they tried the class, and decided it was too hard, so they pulled out. That could also have some implications for renewal of their student visa, because they have to maintain full-time enrolment in order to get a renewal. Because the government's going to check up on them and say, "What were you doing?" And if you have a transcript full of withdrawals, that's not full-time enrolment. So I think that once they do something like

this, the problems that come after it just keep on compounding, and that's hard to watch. (E2)

The employees clarified that no records were kept in students' official WCU files when there was an unproven suspicion. However, there were often negative effects on both students' academic performance and on their visa status with Canada Immigration and Citizenship.

There are also negative effects on the admissions staff. One told me that the part of her job that she really hated was having to call students into the office regarding suspicion of test fraud. Employees also expressed discomfort with the feeling that they are looking at all international applicants with suspicion just because of the actions of a few.

Therefore, although WCU has managed to maneuver through this particular challenging set of circumstances, some of the employees had questions:

> Part of our frustration is that we don't understand why the two biggest English proficiency examinations are not watching and matching up the people with their records. You know, when someone's taken a TOEFL 13 times and there's different pictures on each one, why aren't they recognizing that? And why aren't they looking at the picture that the student brings in with the person that's bringing it in? So we have some questions for TOEFL. (E4)

In response to ongoing concerns about test security, test agencies such as TOEFL constantly work to improve their policies and practices. According to a recent news update from ETS TOEFL (2012), the Educational Testing Service is "introducing the use of biometric voice identification to maintain fair and reliable TOEFL testing" (Top News: Biometric Voice Identification Software Implemented to Increase Test Security section, para. 1). The new voice identification software is claimed to be "similar to the highly advanced speaker identification platforms used by government and law enforcement agencies" (para. 1) and was to be phased in gradually. Although consumers of test results might appreciate the practical advantages for test security, this move raises questions about how the physical bodies of international students and their movement through international spaces are currently being monitored. The invocation of discourses of risk and surveillance that powerful others in government and the law use is not necessarily innocuous.

In summary, in the case of suspected English proficiency test fraud, university staff members are called upon to act in quasi-judicial ways, which places them in subject positions with which they expressed some discomfort. The assignation of guilt or innocence was not always possible within the conditions they described, and in such cases international student applicants received the benefit of the doubt. There was evidence of intertextuality with other Canadian universities through technologies such as the ARUCC system and with the Canadian government in how international students were able to represent themselves as authentic with respect to the international student visa renewal process. Finally, the use of biometric technologies invokes discourses of international surveillance and national security, particularly because an American company manages and controls the TOEFL, and TOEFL is used all over the world.

Tests and academic performance: Disjunctures. Even though students meet the English proficiency requirements for admission to WCU, still they often encounter a range of challenges related to using English in their academic work. In fact, the specification of appropriate benchmarks for readiness to start university studies "has proved to be very difficult" (Brindley & Ross, 2001, p. 150) because of methodological problems and the complex factors that influence language ability as it affects content learning. Some of these factors include age, maturity, other languages and literacy levels, motivation, education, and culture. Understood in discursive terms, testing relies on assumptions of time, efficiency, comparability, and measurement, assumptions that are socially constructed and particular rather than universally true.

Thus, even when a student attains the level of English required for admission to WCU, many situations arise in which the nature of a particular communicative task poses specific language-related challenges. I mentioned the example in the previous chapter of international students who found it difficult to speak on the telephone with WCU office staff (S10, S16). Liu (2011) described her feelings of being unable to function in her graduate course or in her daily activities despite the high TOEFL and IELTS scores she attained prior to

beginning her program at a Canadian university (p. 79). In a longitudinal study of a Japanese undergraduate at an American university, Spack (1997) reported the student's struggles with the language-related demands of her courses and contended that her high TOEFL score did not "measure the cultural factors that affected her language learning and interactions" (p. 14). By favoring applicants who are graduates of Canadian English-medium high schools, WCU is not necessarily selecting students with adequate academic language skills. Li (2004) described the experiences of four Chinese students who came to a Canadian high school to prepare for Canadian university. They found academic reading and vocabulary especially difficult, as well as comprehending university lectures and classroom interaction, contributing to class discussions, and asking questions of professors. When they received feedback on term papers, these students understood what was wrong but did not know how to revise their written work to produce what was acceptable.

Some students I interviewed reported that their estimation of the value of what they learned in the WCUESL program increased after they were in university (e.g., S13). Prior to meeting the English proficiency requirement for admission, some viewed this as an obstacle that they needed to surmount to begin their journey towards degree-credit studies rather than as an opportunity to develop skills that would make their academic work easier. They came to realize how important strong English skills were for their studies and how challenging it was to find the time to focus on English language development at the same time that they were taking university courses.

English proficiency tests such as TOEFL, IELTS, and CanTEST report a test taker's score both as an aggregate and as scores in component skill areas such as listening and reading. Educational institutions that use such test scores to determine whether prospective students have adequate English language skills to enable them to study using English are advised by the testing agencies to consider not just the aggregate score, but also scores in component skills in relation to the nature of the language that specific academic programs require. For example, if a particular program considers facility in English writing particularly important, a

prospective student's writing test score should be taken into consideration. According to a survey of Canadian universities' English proficiency requirements for admission, this recommendation has not always been followed (Fredeen, 2008). Until about the 2008–2009 academic year, WCU did not specify the minimum TOEFL subscores required on the new iBT that has become the version of the test most often submitted by students (E2). The story of one international student highlights this issue. I asked S19 about his first term in a WCU master's program:

> Oh, is very tough for me because I don't speak English. I leave [my country] . . . May 2007, with knowing in English "Hi, my name is [X], and I want to work." And I go to Ireland without any money. I find job after 2 days and start working. And I work in every country where I travel . . . and I learn English by speaking with people, and just hang around English countries. Finally, I have kind of good understanding. I understand when you talk to me. I can express myself. And of course, my grammar structures are not perfect, but people understand me, I can send message across. People get kind of wrong impression that my English is good. But actually, I don't study English like that, I don't read and write. If I read that [points to written page], I understand less than if you read this [aloud] for me. When I hear, I understand more. Because many words I never see on the paper, I just heard, and I know how it sounds. Now I improve. But start, was very hard for me. Like, this academic stuff very dense. . . . And I start read, and I don't understand—I translate words, and I don't understand. And I was scared. . . . I think, "[X], you stupid idiot, what you done! Why you come for useless master's degree without speaking English!" (S19)

This student's comments speak to two issues. First, as I discussed above, WCU does not always consider component subscores of English proficiency tests in decisions about admission. Yet, according to this student's experiences, his levels of reading and writing proficiency were not adequate for the academic tasks required of him. Second, EAL students such as this one might give the impression of being fluent and competent in English when, in fact, their ability to use English for academic tasks such as reading and writing might be at a much lower level.

Another new graduate student I interviewed gave me the impression that he was relatively fluent in English, and he seemed at ease with WCU's ways and cultural patterns (S20). However, he said the following about English proficiency in relation to the academic work required of him in his doctoral program:

> Actually now I am a little fluent, while speaking. It is by practice. But back at home, I had no practice, to speak English, or I had no chance to speak English. So even I knew the things that was difficult to express in the class, or on the exam. And moreover the vocabulary; we have limited vocabulary [in English]. Even though if I know something, that I cannot explain it the way I want. Sometimes I don't find the right word, and sometimes I don't find, you know, how to manipulate . . . the grammar. And even . . . I want to say something, but. . . I cannot say the way I want. So I have to make it a little bit different way. (S20)

Even though he had surpassed the minimum English proficiency requirements of WCU, he still had considerable challenges because of English. He said, "Scoring and doing in a practical way, it is different" (S20).

As I indicated earlier in this chapter, the dialect of English that individuals use can have various effects not only on intelligibility, but also on Canadians' attributions to these individuals. The focus on the recruitment of international students in India over the past few years has contributed to the visibility of issues related to dialect differences at WCU. Many languages are indigenous to India.[20] Many Indian citizens speak English as their first language, and English is one of the official languages of the country; however, as well, many citizens have a different first language. According to university policy, an English proficiency test is required for applicants whose first language is not English, but it was not clear to me whether this policy is always strictly adhered to, possibly because of the desire to increase international student enrolment.

Thus, although students might be visible and recognizable as proficient enough in English to begin their studies, as determined by the ways in which WCU implements its regime of language proficiency assessment practices, these examples of international EAL students' backgrounds and experiences and the effect in some cases on their abilities to participate in the academic practices expected of them at WCU point to the importance of more carefully considering the nature of academic literacy requisite for their studies.

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[20] More than 400 living languages, according to *Ethnologue* (2013)

English for Academic Purposes: Developing Academic Literacy at WCU

In this section of the chapter data from the research interviews relate to the language that students use and need to negotiate meaning using English as they do their academic work at an English-medium university. Starfield (2002) wrote that "new [university] students enter a profoundly textual universe—an academic discourse community—where texts circulate as currency and meaning is primarily textual" (p. 125). because much of the English required at university is written, I use the terms *EAP* and *academic literacy* somewhat interchangeably, but I use *academic literacy* more specifically to signify "the activity of interpretation and production of academic and discipline-based texts" (Leki, 2007, p. 3).

As I mentioned earlier, the assumption is that students who demonstrate the level of English proficiency required for admission to university have attained a minimum standard that will allow them to perform basic academic tasks using English. One senior undergraduate student had a different perception of her English proficiency. S11 had chosen to spend time in Canada in an ESL program to improve her English prior to starting her Canadian university program because she thought it would be more worthwhile than studying in China and passing the English proficiency test there. She thought that the type of English she could learn in Canada would be more useful to her in her university studies. Indeed, she had accomplished much of what she had hoped during her English language learning at WCUESL, but she had further goals in relation to developing her English skills. Even after having successfully completed WCUESL's academic English program, as well as most of her undergraduate WCU courses, she still saw herself as needing more improvement, which she expressed with some frustration: "For me, I feel like my English is varies from very suck [very bad] to reach certain level. . . . [Because] I can communicate, it's very hard to improve more" (S6).

As S6 found out, it takes a great deal of time, effort, and determination to learn academic English. Some argue that language proficiency should not be used to "restrict international students' access into certain programs" (Dei, 1992, p. 10). However, another way to think about this is that adequate induction into

the realm of academic English creates conditions more favorable to students' academic success.

In addition to S6, other students expressed the view that a low English test score was not just a barrier to their attaining their academic goals, but also an indicator that a higher level of proficiency would be beneficial to their academic work. Some people assume that working in such disciplinary areas as engineering or math does not require as much English as areas such as the humanities or social sciences. One of the research participants, a PhD student in mathematics, used to think that he did not need a high level of English language skills for his studies because mathematics is a language unto itself. However, he came to believe that, to be successful at an English-medium university, strong English proficiency is important even for math courses.

> When I apply to Canadian university, you know, my TOEFL exam not good because I only got 557. And if I want to go to [another Canadian university], I must have the 580. Yeah. That's why I come here [to WCU]. And I got ESL offer from [three Canadian universities] but I don't want to waste one year on my language skill. Because before I come here, I thought maybe language is not that important, that because I am study math. Yeah, but maybe I'm wrong. Because some people in China say that . . . the math is a language, right? No, that's not true. (S9)

Other students also commented that their views about the importance of English had changed through the course of their studies at WCU; that greater English proficiency expanded their opportunities for their academic work and engagement with the social and academic goings-on at university.

Thirty years ago Cummins' (1981a, 1981b) research with bilingual children led him to argue that although second-language learners might develop basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) relatively quickly, the acquisition of the assemblage of language skills required for advanced academic work (cognitive academic language proficiency [CALP]) takes much longer (five to seven years). The distinction between BICS (also referred to as *surface fluency*) and CALP is important because learners might give the false impression through their surface fluency that they are fully competent in English. Students such as S19 and S20 exhibited a high level of surface fluency. However, their experiences

with their academic work at WCU did not always suggest that their CALP skills were strong.

Trying to express complex ideas and using academic vocabulary. In the following exchange I asked S20 about his experiences related to language when he first arrived at WCU to begin his doctoral program:

> S20: At that time, I was like a dumb. I knew. I can understand. But to answer and to express myself clearly . . . .
>
> I: When you say dumb, do you know it can have two meanings? One, someone who is stupid, and two, someone who can't speak.
>
> S20: Yeah, I was stupid. I mean, I couldn't speak English. And that I think that people might think I am stupid, I am dumb. You know, if you don't have any language, you cannot communicate, and you cannot share. So it was a challenge, a problem, at that time. And is still sometimes, now.

This student was frustrated because he lacked the language he needed to express his complex ideas in English. More dramatically, he reported feeling stupid. I asked him what language he used when he worked with complex ideas:

> S20: Complex ideas? Actually, whenever I think, it is not English in my mind. Then when I have to write, . . . I translate it.
>
> I: So do you think in your first language, most of the time?
>
> S20: Yeah.

This student was proficient in two languages from his home country. In addition, he had learned a third language that he had used when he attended secondary school and university in a neighboring country and a fourth language when he traveled to yet another country to obtain his master's degree; English was his fifth language. With a wide linguistic repertoire and many varied professional and life experiences, he found it frustrating that he was unable to express his ideas in English.

The acquisition of adequate vocabulary, particularly academic vocabulary, is a key factor in EAL students' ability to use English for academic purposes. It has been argued that nonnative English users require receptive knowledge of between 3,000 (Nation, 1990) and 5,000 (Laufer, 1997) words[21] to allow them to

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[21] Words are defined in terms of families; for example, "analysis, analyze, analytics."

undertake studies at English-medium universities. Applied linguists such as Coxhead (2000) have compiled lists of the most frequently occurring English academic words and word families.

Several student research participants reported vocabulary knowledge as an ongoing challenge (e.g., S20). Because English has structural similarities with certain other languages that share a closely related linguistic ancestor (such as German) or has traded vocabulary because of intersecting histories, speakers of some languages have an advantage over others with respect to English vocabulary acquisition. For instance, EAL learners who speak Romance languages such as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, or French tend to more easily acquire English words borrowed from Latin. Furthermore, academic vocabulary in English has a disproportionate number of words with Greek or Latinate roots, in contrast with everyday English vocabulary, which is another advantage to this group of learners. However, only a small minority of the students interviewed had any familiarity with languages of the Germanic or Latin families, and none spoke them as mother tongues.

"You ask me what I read about—I don't know!" Academic achievement depends on students' ability to read quickly with a high level of comprehension. Studies such as those of Bayliss and Raymond (2004) have found correlations between L2 reading proficiency and academic achievement, in their case at a Canadian university among two groups of students: international students from China in a master's program and Canadian Anglophones in an undergraduate law program. Courses with heavy reading loads present major problems for EAL students. S19, who demonstrated a very high level of surface fluency during our interview, talked about his struggle with the academic variety of English required for his studies, reading and writing in particular. I asked him how long it took him to do the reading for his courses:

> It take me all time. I work, and I study, work, and study. I barely have any time off. And to write something, it takes me long time as well. I take just two courses, and it's . . . usually one, it would be fine for me. Two courses is very, very hard. And it depends on the subject as well. I have two subjects: Public Policy Processes, and Aboriginal People and Public Policy. And I take any reading for Aboriginal People, read it, I understand,

and I can speak to people about it. Of course, there are words and sentences which are tricky. But I get message. But for Policy Processes, is very theoretical. I can read whole article, very carefully; you ask me what I read about—I don't know. (S19)

Undergraduate students are generally advised to allocate an average of two to three hours to studying outside of class time for each contact hour of a course. What is considered a full course load is determined partly on the basis of this rough calculation. For EAL students, the time required to accomplish the out-of-class reading and writing is considerably greater than for English speakers.

"We make a little path, get the readers into the mood . . ." Learning to produce written English work that is acceptable in academia is another challenge for international EAL students. Several students I interviewed expressed appreciation for the academic English writing skills they had developed in the WCUESL program. S2 claimed that she had no problem writing term papers because of what she learned there. When I asked which parts of the WCUESL program were most helpful, another student commented:

I think the most helpful is . . . the term paper, because we have done that, so it's easy to do this when we doing the essay in the class, in the university. . . . There are some guys, just directly from China, they didn't know how to write the essay. Like what's the particular form, they didn't know that. . . . So I think this is the most helpful thing here. (S16)

Another student specifically mentioned having made use of her knowledge of APA format in citing sources and writing reference lists. APA format is included in the curriculum at the advanced level of the WCUESL program.

Another undergraduate student, who reported that her experiences at WCU's ESL program had given her many advantages in her undergraduate studies, commented specifically about her writing. I asked her what in particular she had learned about writing that was helpful. She explained:

In China, we like to . . . we don't go to the point directly, to say something. Like, how to say that . . . make a little path, and let the readers to get into the mood. And put the most important thing in the end. That is not quite right; it's not working here. Because we need to put, like, thesis statement in the first paragraph, and develop your body paragraphs. (S10)

Writing effectively requires the logical organization of ideas; however, studies of contrastive rhetoric (e.g., Kaplan, 1966) have pointed out that what is

considered logical in one culture and language might not be understood as such in another. These studies have described "cross-cultural discourse patterns" (Silva, Leki, & Carson, 1997, p. 419); despite critiques of such research (e.g., see Connor, 1996), "there is a general recognition that rhetorical form is a product of a culture's world view and social conventions" (Silva et al., 1997, p. 419). For example:

> Japanese writers, . . . according to Hinds (1987), are socialized in their literacy development to (a) read between the lines to interpret a writer's intention, and (b) to assume that readers will be able to "fill in the gaps" of the texts writers produce. (p. 419)

In teaching English for academic purposes, the goal is "not to eliminate [the] traces [of alternative rhetorics] and replace them with the correct rhetoric, but rather to add English rhetoric to the second language student's repertoire" (p. 420). Being able to write in ways that course professors recognize as academic and logical in the Western intellectual tradition is certainly a requisite for academic success at WCU.

"Excuse me, can I join you?" In English programs such as WCUESL, students learn about the formal, academic variety of English that characterizes academic writing and the more informal variety of spoken English that is appropriate for interaction with classmates. They learn that appropriate language use varies according to social context, and they develop the ability to control the variety of English they employ according to the sociolinguistic requirements and expectations of particular communicative tasks and social contexts. One former WCUESL student learned to use "polite language" in socializing with other students and interacting with professors:

> S11: When people want to join some groups, they use some words, polite words. I use those, and they say "Oh! Welcome" or something like that. And when I have to present my opinions, I use that kind of words and sentences. And they know me better, I think, instead of using my own words. . . .
>
> I: So for example, tell me one of the polite expressions that you use.
>
> S11: They are very simple ones, like, something like "Excuse me, can I join you?" or "Do you mind if I say something?" Or "Excuse me, could you repeat it again?" Actually I also use some of these words to ask questions to teachers. But maybe if I just say "repeat it" or "pardon" or

something like that, it's not very polite to teachers, but I don't know—maybe for [Canadian] students it's okay; I don't really know. But I think for teachers, I should use these polite words.

This student discovered that the acquisition of Canadian English academic language gave her access to a world that many international EAL students desire to enter and opened doors to developing socioacademic relationships, which I discuss in chapter 8.

Plagiarism: "They Made Me up Like a Plagiarizer"

S4 was from a former British colony where English was the official language; he did not attend the WCUESL program and was not required to provide an English proficiency test score. In the third year of his program he experienced an academic crisis related to plagiarism. At the time he was troubled by some deaths among his family and friends in his country.

> Yeah, I kept my marks up till last year, or year before last, and then everything just came crumbling down. I had a couple of deaths back home. . . . That was really tough for me. So that affected my grades a lot, brought me down. I had to drop from [my WCU Faculty]. . . . The semester before this . . . I took an English class. . . . I wrote an essay and I can't . . . like, I am not acquainted with the ways of, what do you call it, . . . proper referencing academic works from other people. I wasn't that good in it. . . . So my English prof . . . reads it, thinks I plagiarized. . . . I know of other international students that had similar issues that basically profs called them and said, "Okay, I'm giving you a chance, this is how to reference it. Go work on it and then bring it back" and she never gave me that. . . . She didn't try to contact me, nothing, no other way, in no way at all. And then sent it to the disciplinary panel. What was really funny about it was the day before I got the letter from the disciplinary panel about the plagiarism, I saw the teacher in school. That was after the exam. . . . I [said], "Hey, how you doing, I hope you're having a nice summer." Just I was being friendly. That's just to show how unaware I was of the crime they alleged me of. . . . Because if it's something you're aware of you wouldn't. . . . But I was just happy to see my teacher. And she smiles, and . . . I'm a good person reader . . . [it seemed that] she was shocked or surprised that I was talking like that. I was wondering. . . . But when I went online . . . I look at the mail and I see the letter, so then I understood why she [was surprised at my manner].
>
> I went to the disciplinary panel, sat in front of them and told them my case. And I said everything, and . . . from the reply they gave me, they knew I was being honest and everything. But [because] I had been in the university for this long, they assumed I should know how to reference, how to not plagiarize. . . . But [in spite of] the fact that I've been in this

university for this long, . . . all my classes had nothing to do with writing. They were computer science classes, math classes, . . . so you can't tell me "you've been in here for this long, so you should be able to know how to do this." . . .

So they penalized me. I tried appealing it and they still stuck to the decision. . . . My education was hanging on the ropes at that point in time because I was [on academic probation] and . . . when that happened, it took off 45 percent of the mark I had. So that totally brought my case worse and got me to a point where I was almost getting kicked out and required to discontinue from the university. . . . I'm sorry; when I talk about . . . it again, it pisses me off. (S4)

This student's perception was that the correct procedures were not followed in this academic integrity case. I asked him whether he had checked into the policies related to plagiarism:

No I didn't, but I knew something was wrong. . . . I had so many other things to worry about, and I was fighting for my education. . . . I was at a point where I just wanted to . . . see . . . how far they would want to destroy me, and then . . . I was fed up. (S4)

He was very angry about the way events had unfolded. I asked whether he had had an advocate at the disciplinary committee meeting:

No, I didn't go with any advocate. We had the chance of an advocate, but I didn't go with any because I just thought I could plead my case. . . . I speak well and I know myself. . . . When someone asks a question, before I answer, I think I'm good at picking out where the person is leading towards, . . . because behind every question there's a reason, an answer. And then I'm the only one who can explain myself more clearly. Also usually at those meetings, disciplinary committee meetings, there's supposed to be another student. There was no student in my case. . . . But I didn't like to ask if it's okay, I didn't care to bring it up. . . . There's a lot of things I would have used to beat the case . . . if I *did* all those things they accused me of, if I did them intentionally. (S4)

He was emphatic that he had not intentionally plagiarized. He thought that his case was so strong and so clear that if he had just had a chance to explain it himself to the disciplinary committee members, they would have understood. Thus, he had not paid much attention to the policies before the first meeting:

Because like if I did it intentionally, all those [policies] there, I could have brought it up, right? And that would have given me some power under my belt, also, right? But that wasn't even considered. Because I believed I didn't do anything wrong, right? So I should be able to—the truth sets you free—but in my case it didn't. I had such a strong case. . . . And even during that semester I was taking a . . . computer science [class]. . . . I

showed them my drafts that I sent to my prof, with his comment, "oh, your referencing is poor, oh you don't know how to reference, go into the ESL, the English help desk at the university, and let them show you." I [did that]. . . . You'll see . . . comments on the last draft: "oh your referencing is getting better but you need to work on this, this." . . . So this was evidence that . . . I was trying to learn how to reference, that I didn't know how. . . . But still, that didn't count either [for the disciplinary committee]. . . . It's not directly related to the other, which is also bull. (S4)

I asked S4 whether he had had any previous experiences with plagiarism at WCU. He told me that this was the first time. He was not allowed to rewrite the paper:

They wouldn't. That was all I asked for. I said, "Okay, I know I made a mistake. Give me the opportunity to rewrite this paper; my education depends on this. And still they didn't . . . because of the assumption that [I had intentionally plagiarized].

It seems that S4 was on the verge of violence as a result of the injustice that he perceived that he had experienced:

And when I think about it, during that period I was totally in a different state. I was in a state of self-destruction. I was pissed. I was pissed at the world, I was pissed at the university, I was . . . a total nut case. . . . I was just a walking time bomb, a talking time bomb. . . .When you look at the States, look at the shooting that happened in Virginia, Virginia Tech, then people say, "Oh, those internationals came and did this," I'm not saying for me that's [inaudible], not at all, but what I'm trying to say is, like, . . . some universities don't understand the pressure or the differences . . . in certain students. And they wonder why the hell did this guy do this, what kind of a beast this is, but forgetting that it's the same people that fed the beast, you know, like you're the one that fed him and gave him all those reasons to . . . .

I was so fed up. I got to the point where . . . if I got to be asked to discontinue, I would walk up to the President's office and sit down and talk to him and let him know what my mind was, exactly how I felt, that's how frustrated I was about everything. They don't understand when everything just falls down to you, like in my case everything just came down to me all at once, right? (S4)

When S4 described his desperation when he felt that he was not being heard, he noted that people can become violent in such situations. He commented that he found it strange that people with power in an institution do not understand how they are complicit in the actions of people who become violent when they feel they have been wronged.

I asked him what he had done since this incident to learn how to write papers. He mentioned several WCU sources of assistance that he had sought out and found useful:

> I'm still not very good at it but I think I'm pretty decent at it. I didn't even know if you take a picture of a website you have to reference that picture also. Those kind of things you don't get taught back home. I don't even think in Canada, I bet you there's a lot of Canadians don't know they have to do that. (S4)

An unanticipated but positive outcome of this crisis was that he would soon be graduating with two degrees:

> Actually, . . . trouble makes you realize what opportunity it is. If I didn't go through this mess I wouldn't realize that I can come out with two degrees, X and Y. Because I've been going through all these problem; they're looking at my classes and they're looking at what I could take . . . to skyrocket out of this.

> I've been taken down several times and I'm standing on my feet. And . . . I know people that would give up university at least for a little bit. . . . But I never did that. I stood on my legs and then I said I was here to do this, and I'm going to finish this. And now it's the people that's supposed to help me get to my goal are trying to persecute me for something I didn't really do wrong. . . . What I went through last semester wasn't easy at all. Well, what does a man do? Stand up and continue. For myself, I'm going to graduate from this university. (S4)

S4 told me that WCU had accused him of plagiarizing: "They made me up like a person [who plagiarized]," which expresses his sense of distress and the pressure to assume a subject position that he was unwilling to take up. His WCU professor and the disciplinary committee understood him as a plagiarizer. His battle was one of resisting this and reframing himself as an international student who had not had the opportunities necessary to learn how to write an essay and use discipline-specific conventions for citing sources.

There are many possible reasons for students' plagiarism. There is considerable consensus that lack of academic literacy is to blame, especially with respect to struggling EAL students (e.g., Bretag, 2005; Shi, 2004). Bretag talked about students' lack of the "academic skills necessary to synthesize a range of texts into a coherent argument" (p. 2). Some have proposed contrastive rhetoric explanations for plagiarism. For instance, Flowerdew and Li (2007) described

"conventions of Chinese traditional literacy where memorization of classic and model texts is strongly emphasized" (p. 442), in contrast with the "centrality of the authorial self" in the West (p. 443).

Another reason for plagiarism is that students might not understand their university's policies. WCU's academic integrity policy includes a page with a list of specific descriptions of situations in an attempt to explicate what is and is not academic misconduct. Although they serve the purpose of explicating the general policy, the language used is dense and includes academic and legal language. For example, this opening statement invokes legal discourse: "The following constitute academic misconduct that may be the subject-matter of an allegation under the Student Academic Misconduct Regulations." [xxvi] Further on, readers of the policy might not be familiar with academic vocabulary such as *mode*, *attribution*, *relatively*, and *deviate* and legal vocabulary such as *authorized* and *verbatim*. References are not always clear: In "as described as such in the text," it is not clear to which text the policy is referring. Another example of a referencing problem is "any stated rule," because it might not be obvious to international students to which rules the phrase refers.

Given the challenges associated with learning what plagiarism is, it might not be surprising that studies have shown that many students (both English L1 and EAL) have difficulties identifying instances of plagiarism (Shi, 2004, p. 2). In a number of studies the students did not always see a problem with their textual practices (Shi, 2008); some EAL students thought it was acceptable to copy passages verbatim if the source was cited, if it was a case of shared knowledge, or if they had translated something from their own language into English. In English-speaking academia many assumptions are related to what plagiarism is, even though there are "no hard and fast rules on citation practices in scholarly texts" (p. 72), and there is a lack of consensus on a precise definition of plagiarism (Prior, 1998, p. 296; Shi, 2004).[22] Another issue is that sometimes the formulaic nature of language in general and of discipline-specific genres in

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[22] For example, "minimum of three words . . . (e.g., Hodges, 1962)" (Shi, 2004, p. 6).

particular call for the use of certain formulaic expressions and technical terminology. Knowing when this is acceptable and when it is unacceptable takes time to learn.

Researchers have argued that inappropriate language reuse can be developmental (e.g., Flowerdew & Li, 2007, p. 259) and decrease as EAL students gain knowledge of plagiarism in an English university milieu. In Flowerdew and Li's research, students' first drafts were based on others' writing, and each subsequent revision was more the students' own language. Students develop "appropriate disciplinary discourse" (p. 259) over a period of time; as they become inculcated into their academic disciplines, they "obtain a feel for" the conventions of writing by reading the literature, but they also experience the "tension . . . of both [being] expected to 'assume the appropriate discourses' of the disciplinary communities into which they are being socialized and yet to show 'the required mastery in their own words'" (Currie & Newson, 1998, p. 2; as cited in Flowerdew & Li, 2007, p. 459). According to Young and Gaea (1998, as cited in Shi, 2004), "Citation skills develop along with one's disciplinary knowledge" (p. 1).

As literacy practices differ according to discipline, so do understandings of plagiarism; disciplinary variations are evident in understandings of what plagiarism is and is not (Paterson, Taylor, & Usick, 2003, p. 149). Science writing is one academic field for which particular characteristics and genres have been described (e.g., Swales & Feak, 2004). For instance, using direct quotations "is somewhat against the norm in science/engineering disciplines" (Flowerdew & Li, 2007, p. 444), which thus requires more paraphrasing and summarizing, skills that are difficult for EAL students. However, science writing tends to be more formulaic than writing in the humanities is (Flowerdew & Li, 2007), so that developing writers can model their writing on the patterns in published writing in their field to a greater extent than is possible in some other disciplines. Genre also plays a role in markers' judgments about academic integrity. Because of the formulaic characteristics of scientific writing, copying in particular parts of

scientific research reports is considered less problematic than in other parts of reports (Flowerdew & Li, 2007).

Casanave and Vandrick (2003, as cited in Flowerdew & Li, 2007) described published journal articles in a student's field as being like "textual mentor[s]" (p. 449). As they become increasingly familiar with the style used in these journal articles, students come to recognize what sounds "right" and authentic, and they gain confidence in their ability to emulate this writing style. Nevertheless, although imitation can be a useful learning strategy, as Flowerdew and Li commented, quoting a professor, "It is hard to walk by the river without getting wet" (p. 461).

Despite the challenges, the ultimate responsibility for staying within the bounds of acceptable behavior lies with students. Unfortunately for international EAL students, the conditions within which they are able to gain access to this knowledge might not always allow them to learn what is required in a timely way. According to S4, WCU assumed that he would have learned the regulations during his previous two and a half years of courses, even though he had taken courses such as maths and sciences that did not require essay writing. It is also possible that assumptions that he was proficient in English because of his high level of surface fluency in English and that he was more familiar with the rules governing academic conduct than international students who are perceived as speakers of English as an additional language played a role in the series of events related to his alleged plagiarism.

Those responsible for detecting plagiarism often make assumptions of unethical behavior and judge plagiarizers as immoral and "morally deficient" (Paterson et al., 2003, p. 151). Plagiarism is framed as an academic crime. However, in practice, the degree of seriousness of plagiarism is often determined by the marker's perception of the student's intentions (Bretag, 2005, pp. 5-6; Flowerdew & Li, 2007; Paterson et al., 2003, p. 149). Unintentional plagiarism because of ignorance of the rules tends to result in less punitive consequences for the student than when the infraction is judged to be deliberate. However, determination of intention is very difficult (Paterson et al., 2003, p. 156). S4's

professor's choice of action seemed to be influenced by the student subjectivity she perceived with respect to his intentions, a subjectivity he vigorously rejected.

Students sometimes downplay the seriousness of plagiarism. Some factor in calculations regarding the odds of being caught (e.g., considering the class size or the reputation of professors; Atkins & Herfel, 2006). One student compared plagiarism to burning CDs: "Everyone says you shouldn't do it, but everyone does it, so you learn that it's just something they try to scare you about. It's not really that bad" (Paterson et al., 2003, p. 152). Regardless of the reasons for plagiarism, it is likely that EAL students are "more likely to be accused of plagiarism largely because second language writing makes plagiarism easier to identify" (Bretag, 2005, p. 8), as one of the WCU staff validated.

Thus, language factors are clearly involved in academic integrity issues such as plagiarism, or "textual borrowing" (e.g., Shi, 2004, p. 171). Although WCU provides guidance and resources for students to help them understand and adapt to its expectations and practices, plagiarism is an ongoing challenge that causes more apparent problems for international EAL students than for most Canadian students. Some argue therefore that this underlines the need for higher priority to be given to the explicit teaching and learning of skills such as paraphrasing and citing sources than to learning about literature and how to write about literature, core curriculum elements of WCU's introductory English course that several of the international EAL students in this study took.

In sum, various material conditions affect individuals' abilities and choices to act with academic integrity at WCU and at other English-medium universities. Atkins and Herfel (2006)suggested that in their Australian context, plagiarism and neoliberal reforms in higher education are connected. These reforms include hiring more casual teaching staff who might have less experience in dealing with plagiarism, more international students who "may not be familiar with Australia's standards of scholarship" (p. 6), and higher student-teacher ratios. There are indications that wider distances between students and teachers (that is, when teachers do not have an opportunity to become familiar with their students and their writing styles) increases the occurrences of plagiarism (Atkins

& Herfel, 2006). With increasing workloads, coupled with the emotional stress of their concerns for students, professors might be less willing to investigate cases of suspected plagiarism (Bretag, 2005). Neoliberal reforms might also result in concern over whether pursuing cases of suspected plagiarism might harm a university's reputation and lead to lower international enrolments (Devlin, 2003; as cited in Bretag, 2005, p. 3). Bretag noted that Australian universities might tend to be more lenient with international students because of the increased commercialization of education, in that students are "customers" (p. 5) who have purchased goods or services. Suspicions can also be raised when an international EAL student does well on a writing assignment. In other words, simply by taking up the subject position of international EAL student, the individual might create conditions that increase the likelihood of being suspected of plagiarism.

The discursive boundary between the acceptable use of the words and ideas of others and plagiarism seems in many instances like a tightrope upon which students try to keep their balance while moving through the textual and intertextual worlds of academia. Yet the knowledges and skills that the tightrope walker requires can be confusing, contradictory, and hidden. What is clear, often only after the fact, is that one misstep can lead to disaster within the shape-shifting discourse of plagiarism if plagiarism-detecting practices and knowledges are activated and plagiarizing subjects are produced.

Institutional Literacy

In addition to the academic literacy required for university studies, international students must acquire institutional literacy. By this I mean that they must learn to negotiate the ways of WCU as an institution. International students face an ongoing challenge of acquiring the specialized English language required in relation to their institutional contexts for the effective negotiation of meanings, positions, and strategies in English at a Canadian university. S10 told me that one of the benefits of the WCUESL program she had attended was that she had learned "how you can fit in the university, like, academic world." As I illustrated in chapter 6, international EAL students struggle to understand and participate in the doing of university bureaucratic administration. There is a need to understand

the role of language in the discursively constituted conditions of international students' interactions with university administrative processes or the local organizational grammar (Bannerji, 1995). This section describes some of the characteristics of institutional language at WCU and reports the relevant experiences of the international EAL students I interviewed. I define institutional literacy as the ways that language and literacy practices are used within a particular institution and parts of that institution to accomplish official tasks. It is primarily written, or based on written policies, procedures, and regulations. It is a type of situated literacy, characterized by a variety of registers (e.g., formal and informal) and genres (e.g., fillable forms, spreadsheets, university calendars, course syllabi, policy documents, labels) and might employ bureaucratic and/or legal language and discourses.

As some of the students in this study discovered, academic policy at WCU has its own language and its own assemblages of rules regarding access and organization. S3 did not know about a particular policy in her graduate program until she failed a course. At this point she was asked to withdraw from the program. She was desperate and "was trying to find anything that might help me stay in my program, from university policy and department regulation." In the case of S12, who was assigned responsibilities as a graduate teaching assistant that she suspected were not fair, knowing how to gain access to policy on graduate students' work conditions, or even knowing that such policy existed, was not easy to determine. In fact, within the conditions that she was experiencing that term, it was not possible.

Those of us who are familiar with the university are already relatively fluent in its language and culture and thus might not recognize its peculiarities or how unfamiliarity with various practices and the ways that we use language to enact these practices creates certain conditions of possibility for newcomers. As I discussed in chapter 6, administrative practices at universities, such as admissions and registration procedures, are complex; and international EAL students' levels of English proficiency limit the conditions of possibility for them to access the knowledge they require. Students often lack the appropriate institutional literacy

they require when they interact with WCU administrative offices, although students who enter the university via the WCUESL program have additional resources and networks on which to draw. To analyze the data related to institutional literacy at WCU, I draw on a multiliteracies approach to literacy (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Gee, 1996; New London Group, 1996). A multiliteracies and situated perspective on literacy can be used to think about how meanings are constructed and reconstructed in institutional settings through written text (including documents), symbols, business cards, names on desks and office doors, body language in relation to text, architectural features, and arrangements of people and furniture in office spaces, buildings, and campuses. Assemblages of institutional literacy skills are required if international EAL students are to make sense of university contexts. As I illustrated in chapter 6, those who labor in international spaces also need these skills to interpret international education documents by processing text features such as type and size of paper, fonts, letterheads, signatures, and notarial seals.

The (non)speaking subject. One international EAL student reflected on a very difficult experience at WCU. S3, a master's student, had failed a course in her difficult first term and had been told she must leave the program. She was incredulous at the drastic nature of this consequence, given that her other research and learning performances had been satisfactory. When she chose to appeal the decision and needed to argue her case before the committee, she told me that she "could not think logically, and I even forget how to speak, how to explain the facts in English. . . . You know, language is a tool, is a powerful tool, and sometimes a weapon" (S3). The traumatic nature of this experience had further restricted her ability to use English to negotiate the treacherous proceedings in which she had become involved.

"Manuscripts, transcripts": Specialized vocabulary and acronyms. Academic work is characterized by certain technical terms that insiders often take for granted. Vocabulary such as *credit units*, *audit*, *prerequisite*, or *academic probation* can be puzzling to newcomers to the institution. For example, during

our interview one student used *manuscripts* to refer to *transcripts*, which resulted in an initial misunderstanding:

> I: Let's go back to how you applied. You said that your supervisor was very helpful. So what documents did you send to him?
>
> S8: The English score, . . . IELTS or TOEFL. . . . Also, we need to send manuscripts. . . .
>
> I: Publications?
>
> S8: Yeah. Bachelor's and master's manuscripts, all the grades.
>
> I: Oh, transcripts?
>
> S8: Yeah, transcripts. And yeah, the papers and publications, CV, statement of purpose.

Like *manuscript* and *transcript*, *transfer* also has a specialized meaning in academic contexts and thus must be learned, as seen in another student's statement: "And then I transcript some credit to [WCU]" (S6). Willing participants who take the time to negotiate meaning can usually navigate such communication missteps. The context helps, as does English-speakers' experience in communicating with international students.

S10, a relatively fluent user of Canadian English, was nearing the completion of an undergraduate degree in arts and had therefore had a few years' experience in acquiring the institutional language. Her grammar was not always accurate, but I did not have to struggle to understand her most of the time. However, when she described her experiences during her first year at WCU, she said, "In my first year here I taking one class in the last year. So it's four level class. . . ." Her phrase "in the last year" misled me, as did "four level." When I transcribed the interview later, it became clear to me that she meant "400-level course" or "fourth-year course," but in rapid conversation, simple vocabulary errors such as these can result in communication breakdowns.

Digital literacy. As Lo Bianco (2008) has noted, "What counts as literacy, and the media through which educational practice is exchanged, is being transformed dramatically by information and communications technologies" (p. 123). In chapter 6 we saw that the university and its representatives sometimes assume that students are competent users of information and communications

technology and that they can use their English language skills and computer skills to quickly become familiar with WCU's digital communication systems. Digital communication skills are key for students at the planning stage as well as during their studies at WCU. In orientation sessions and course syllabi, all WCU students are notified about the importance of regularly checking eUNIV (pseudonym), WCU's online communication system. Almost all official university correspondence goes through this official channel. I asked S6 about eUNIV, and she told me that, at first, she had not regularly checked it. As a result, a crisis arose when she missed a midterm exam and consequently failed the course:

> I think one semester I went to work a lot and I just didn't go to the class. [I] miss the eUNIV [message], and it turns out I miss the midterm. Yeah, so since then I know the eUNIV is very important. Even though I won't go to the class, I have to check the eUNIV announcement every day. That's ugly. It's serious. . . . [After missing the midterm] I went to talk to the professor and I cry a lot. And he just say that is my fault and I won't get a makeup test. So I just drop that class.

Dropping the course cost her a great deal of money. She learned through painful experience how important it is to pay attention to eUNIV. I asked her to explain how she used eUNIV for individual courses. Her responses indicated that she had an adequate working knowledge of key elements of eUNIV, such as the importance of using eUNIV e-mail rather than her personal e-mail account for university-related communication. It was also clear to her that eUNIV was used in diverse ways in different courses, depending on the course characteristics and the professor's preferences. Through all of these experiences S6 had become acquainted with the practices and technologies related to the university's expectations for students for official digital communications with students.

Students from more than one country, and not just developing countries, said that they were accustomed to universities dealing with students face-to-face, in contrast with North American universities, which over the past 10 years have been shifting to more computer-mediated bureaucratic practices for admissions, enrolment, and so on. International students face challenges that arise from these differences. When university employees sit in their offices in front of a computer

screen, they might not always understand the nature of these challenges or how the university's computer-mediated practices can affect international students.

S2 came to WCU before finishing the final year of her undergraduate university degree in her home country; she planned to study English, take some WCU courses, and then return to her country to finish her degree. Her first WCU course in the spring term was very difficult, but she passed; thus she believed that she had succeeded. She then went home to her country for a break before returning to WCU in the fall to resume her courses. While she was at home, she checked her WCU e-mail one day and was shocked to find a message from WCU:

> I actually couldn't really understand what's going on with me. And I thought, . . . because it's English. . . . And I just e-mailed to my kind of mom in [WCU city], and she just explained to me in easy words. And she said, "You are on probation but you can still take some courses and you can go back into [your WCU faculty]." (S2)

She explained that her "kind of mom" was the Canadian woman with whom she lived while she was in WCUESL's home-stay program. This woman had helped her a great deal and had explained many things to her about the way things worked at WCU and in Canada. When she received this e-mail, it seemed natural to turn to this woman for help in understanding the institutional language in the message, including the word *probation*. She was in despair when she found out that she had been placed on academic probation: "I'm the bottom of every unhappy people." Her shock was in part because of the way it had been communicated: online, and with no warning. Her initial impulse was to withdraw from the WCU program and abandon her plans to return to Canada. She felt very ashamed and embarrassed. However, after some reflection she decided to register in classes and return to pursue her original plan.

S2 told me about the university she attended in her home country and its differences from WCU:

> Maybe now it's everywhere in university, but when I was in [my home country university], I didn't use computer a lot. It's maybe because it's like a culture thing. [At my home university] I had to go down to the office . . . to ask some questions in person. But here, . . . everybody uses the computer to do everything. And I think the letters that show up on the screens have no emotion at all. And those office workers just see some

numbers on the screen, and they never see something that is behind those
numbers. (S2)

She believed that if university staff were considering making an important
academic decision about a particular student, "they should know that person
well," not just as a number on a computer screen.

Her shock at having been moved from the category of "good academic
standing" to "academic probation" was primarily because, as far as she was
concerned, this happened suddenly, without warning. She had needed someone to
explain the university's e-mail message to her. Her first impulse had been to
withdraw, largely because she experienced it as an unjustified moral reproach to
her character. She said that, first, WCU should

> check what kind of a student he or she is. If [WCU] put a student who is a
> hard worker, and a good student [on probation], I think she or he may feel
> just too depressed, and damaged, frustrated too much, may have
> psychological problems—like mental problems—just suffering. . . . But if
> the student is like playing every day, and doing part-time jobs, and not
> going to face to their studying, [WCU should] put him or her on probation.
> Definitely. (S2)

Institutional literacy in this case—the mode of communication, unfamiliarity with
the process, and the unfamiliar institutional language—created a crisis experience
for the international student, in contrast with the intent of the academic probation
policy, which is to move a student at risk into a learning environment where there
is more chance of success.

Much university policy is online at WCU. When someone wants to find
out about policy in a given area, online documents are connected to others
through hypertext links. An advantage of this explicit intertextuality is that an
international student can locate policy quickly. However, it is often difficult or
impossible to retrace digital steps to refer back to a previous document.
Navigation of online text can be challenging for everyone; indeed, researchers'
understanding of the actual literacy practices involved with the process of online
reading is still in its early stages.

Silences in the text. When S2 was informed that she had been moved into
an academic probation category, part of her discomfort stemmed from the
impersonal character of the institutional language. Institutional English has certain

grammatical tendencies, among which is the prevalence of passive verb and sentence structures (e.g., Darville, 1995). An example is agentless actions, or "silences in the text" (p. 256), by which Darville meant that grammatical features[23] can be used to obscure those responsible for events or actions. In such cases, "when the agents of actions are deleted from texts, readers must 'fill them in,' using a background knowledge of how actions are done and who would do them" (p. 256). Darville noted that "organizational texts routinely presuppose certain organizational background knowledge of their readers" (p. 256). The employment of silences in institutional texts can be strategic in that they reduce the chances of an institutional actor's being held responsible for an unpopular action or policy. In this case, as in the case of other silences in the text, particular institutional texts have inclusionary and exclusionary effects. International EAL students, with their limited background knowledge of the institution and limited proficiency in institutional forms of English, tend to be excluded from the inner circles of comprehension and participation.

Student as deficient: Listening and being listened to. Some of the students in my study reported their impression that although university employees sometimes listened and it made a difference, at other times they were not really listening to them; they were just pretending to listen. One student told me about her experience of dealing with frontline administrative staff at WCU on a number of issues. She conjectured that her lack of English contributed to her problems of dealing with administration and to impatience on their part.

> No, they won't listen. Maybe because we couldn't speak English very
> well. So sometimes we have problem explaining things to them. They just
> quite impatient about that. Like, so in the rush. And everything has to be
> explained well in a short time. My friends have a really hard time doing
> that. . . . I'm getting better, I guess. (S10)

Her sense of a need for students to learn the English required to communicate with administrative staff about administrative tasks reflects the discourse of remediation, in which EAL students are understood as deficient and needing to be

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[23] Such as nominalization, participial modifiers, agentless passives, and noun strings.

fixed. Perhaps in a mirrored way, S10 also talked about university employees' needing to change.

When S4 needed to defend himself against the accusation of plagiarism, he did his best to explain his position. His spoken English was very fluent, but his perception was that he was not being heard:

> When people don't care to understand where you're coming from, it frustrates people. And some people, especially like people who can't speak a second language . . . or . . . people that stammer . . . when they get mad, they're more prone to violence. . . . Because they're annoyed and they can't speak, they get frustrated. (S4)

At some point in the process he made a connection with a WCU employee, about whom he said, "I owe him because he believed, he understood, . . . and he helped me go through it." In contrast with some WCU employees who he said "pretended to listen," this individual and another employee he mentioned "were there; they were very helpful. . . . They listened; that was the most important thing" (S4). In the end, his dilemma was not resolved in a way that was favorable to him, but the involvement of the "listening" employees seemed to have made a positive difference in his reactions to this difficult situation. In this case, the speaking and listening required institutional literacy practices of all the actors.

According to Hull (1995, p. 19; as cited in Jackson, 2000):

> To be literate in [an institution] means being a master of a complex set of rules and strategies which govern who uses texts and how and for what purposes. [To be literate is to know] . . . when to speak, when to be quiet, when to write, when to reveal what was written, and whether and how to respond to texts already written. (p. 12)

Reading institutional text is not a passive, neutral, or mechanical task, as the case of S2 illustrates; rather, we must acknowledge that "the work an individual reader does to activate a standard text" (Turner, 2006, p. 143) can be demanding and complex. In S2's case, her activation of the official e-mail she received from WCU required the mediation of a trusted English-speaking Canadian to interpret the institutional language and to gain insight into its context and intent.

Discussion

Students' English language abilities are key to recruitment, admission, success at the institution, commissions for the educational agent, and finances for

the Canadian university of today. English proficiency is also key to the prestige and world reputation of both Canadian and partner/contracting home-country institutions. The stakes are high for all involved. Many aspects of international students' experiences with and through languages are linked to their academic success at WCU. These include such factors as first language and additional languages, language(s) of education, and pragmatic and discursive knowledges. Knowing more about such factors and knowing *how* to know about them have value for an English-medium university in determining admissibility as well as assessing types of support that might be appropriate subsequent to admission.

Conflicting expectations are evident in situations in which students who consider themselves fluent in English are confused by being placed at a low level in the WCUESL program. If they fluently speak English, they might not realize the role of reading and writing proficiencies in academic success. The university expectation is that students from English-medium institutions or from English-speaking countries will be able to manage the language demands of academic work at WCU. Professors and academic advisors might not fully grasp how much time and effort it can take international EAL students to do an adequate job of the academic reading and writing required for successful engagement with their academic tasks. This understanding can be particularly important for professors and advisors when a student's surface fluency is high. Course requirements that include heavy reading loads and written assignments do not align with international EAL students' often limited levels of reading competence in English and their lack of ability to write using acceptable conventions of discipline-specific genres. Similarly, professors' expectations that students are capable of meeting course requirements in class discussions might also be at variance with international students' actual abilities. Because academic literacy can truly be acquired only when socially situated (Casanave & Li, 2008, p. 6; Spack, 1997), international EAL students gradually become recognizable academic subjects as they participate in their disciplinary studies.

Not only international EAL students require institutional literacy as they negotiate their academic and institutional tasks at WCU; it was clear that the

WCU employees interviewed also struggle to respond to the needs of the institution and of students, often with limited resources:

> I think for our office the biggest concern, in the last few years, has been just resources, having the people to do it. It's been a priority of the university to recruit students. But we didn't necessarily have the resources to deal with that. So we're in a much better place now. We have [several new staff members], . . . the most we've ever had, . . . [and] we're in a much better place than we have been. (E4)

The employees talked about spending hours attempting to understand and make sense of international students' stories and representations of themselves. They did their best, often under challenging conditions, to strike a balance between advocating for international students on the one hand and upholding the institutional values and maintaining the integrity of WCU and its policies on the other. It was particularly difficult at times when the existing policies did not address the issues that arose. With respect to the TOEFL fraud situation, for instance, they were sometimes placed in the position of judge and police officer, and although they managed to find ways to deal with the situation, they reported feeling uncomfortable with their roles. They expressed critical awareness of the quasi-judicial nature of the tasks with which they were engaged. Most important, they were engaged in day-to-day struggles to act as responsible university employees while at the same time advocating for international students in an institutional context where these students were not always listened to or understood.

Within discourses of plagiarism and test fraud, when suspicion of plagiarism arises, international students might be suspected of cheating. Dealing with plagiarism is a particularly vexing and time-consuming task for faculty members and university administrators. International EAL students are more likely to be caught when they plagiarize, because when English is not their first language, there is often a stark and recognizable contrast between students' own writing and the language of a plagiarized text. With respect to English proficiency test fraud, the few who resort to this tactic face a range of consequences. Students who gain entry to the university by means of fraudulent English proficiency test documents are destined for academic failure; in the end, primarily the student

pays the price. The institution receives the tuition, the agent receives the commission, and the testing company is paid; however the students experience the negative effects. Those who are caught face either a rejection of their admission application or, if WCU officials consider the evidence incontrovertible, an official alert is sent to other universities in Canada, which would likely bar them from entry in the future. Those who are *not* caught experience serious academic problems because of their inadequate language proficiency.

The interviews revealed a range of subject positions that international students and employees at the university enacted as they engaged with discourses of language and literacy through academic and institutional languages and literacies. Through their use of English, they positioned themselves as EAL international students, sometimes trying on Canadian university student subjectivity. Through their use of their own languages, they accomplished other social goals such as confirming membership in their national group. For example, S10 told me that she used her first language to joke with her same-country friends. They could not say the same thing in English, and humor was an important coping strategy in the stressful situations in which they found themselves. The effects of this practice include the increase of peer social capital and the assumption of a Chinese national student subjectivity, but at the expense of excluding English monolingual others and not taking up a Canadian student subjectivity. This is reflected in Canagarajah's (2004) review of studies that have shown that students resist pressure to assume language learner subjectivities that they felt pressured to assume within English-medium schools (Harklau, 2000; Lam, 2000; McKay & Chick, 2000; Toohey, 2000a, 2000b) because of a variety of negative discourses connected with those subjectivities. They used their own language or dialect to signify and take up the alternate subjectivities, and, to varying extents, they also acted from the dominant English language learner subject positions, as did several students in my study.

One practice that bolsters the EAL subject position is international students' occasional adoption of a more English-sounding given name or an Anglicized version of their name when they become students at English-medium

educational institutions. This might be to make it easier for English speakers to remember or to pronounce their names, to acknowledge the primacy of English, or perhaps to help themselves assume a new or additional identity. S3 had done this but, after experiencing problems, perceived that the faculty members and staff who interacted with her through the difficult journey of her graduate program did not know her as a person because they did not know her Chinese name. On the other hand, these WCU employees likely assumed that, by using her English name, they were using the name she had freely chosen; thus they would not have understood this as a problem. S3 associated the use of her Chinese name with distancing herself from her traumatic experiences at WCU after completing her program.

Part of the subjectivity of "human being" entails understanding and revealing our humanness to others through using language. We live in language and we interact with others through language; it is so integral to our way of being in the world that it is sometimes difficult to separate ourselves from it enough to be able to think about it. And yet, when international EAL students engage with professors, administrators, and other students at WCU, particular and limiting conditions determine how, when, and to whom they might make themselves known through language. Similarly, particular conditions operate for WCU employees as they negotiate meanings with students and with other employees and institutions when they do the work required to deal with international students. Conditions of possibility for knowledge (power-knowledge) in a given time and place exist because of the particular arrangements of elements within discourse. An individual who acts outside of the norm might lack recognizability as a legitimate subject and hence have restricted access to institutional discourses of power-knowledge.

After being admitted to WCU, international EAL students are knowable in ways that are produced by their lack of English language competence. Their silence might position them as assenting; it might also assign them outsider status in the classroom. Their limited control of nuance and subtleties can convey an impression that they do not intend. They might make inappropriate assumptions

about assent or disagreement when they negotiate complex power relations in a new sociocultural and linguistic context.

As they experimented with developing new subjectivities, the international EAL students I interviewed explained how they used English in attempting to make friends with Canadians (S2, S10, S6, S13). I will discuss this further in the next chapter in relation to the social relations of EAL students. All of these instances of international EAL students' working around and through different subjectivities show that they think about how they can know themselves and how they can know others. Canagarajah (2004) has shown how students in different English-medium university contexts (African-American students in an American university and Tamil students in a Sri Lankan university) negotiated shifting and emerging subjectivities as they alternately resisted and acquiesced to the taking up of academic English subject positions. According to what I have seen in my research, I agree with Canagarajah's argument that by creating subversive subjectivities through the use of language that enabled them to imitate powerful teachers, critically evaluate course assignments, or make antiracist observations, they were engaging in critical literacy practices that helped them to develop the academic English literacy practices required for academic success.

All of these students were, in a sense, engaging in an "analysis of the limits that are imposed on [them] and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them" (Foucault, 1984, p. 50). Individuals' construction of knowledge of what is transgressive creates conditions within which transgression is possible, and subjects might experience "the pleasure of doing things differently" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 42) in relation to experimentation with new practices and subjectivities. Foucault (1988) used the concept "technologies of the self" as one of the kinds of "techniques that human beings used to understand themselves" (p. 18). He described technologies of the self as those "which permit individuals to effect . . . a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves into a certain state of . . . perfection" (p. 18). Perfection, in this context, could refer to the

choice to fit into the imagined subject position of an acceptable student at an English-medium university in western Canada.

In conclusion, by opening more doors to international students, Canadian universities have been creating new worlds of possibility for them. Possibilities for positive and negative effects and everything in between emerge from these institutional contexts that are altered simply through the presence of international students. New subjectivities and discourses open up for international EAL students. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, shifts in policy development specific to international students, as well as the lack of policy changes, create spaces for the unexpected and surprising. They also raise questions about what kinds of postsecondary education are possible when, for example, policies related to maximum and minimum course loads that were created for English-speaking Canadian students do not take into consideration the time and resources demanded of international EAL students to cope with the quantity and quality of listening, reading, and writing required within a given academic term. And a lack of fluency in the institutional literacy at WCU, including the discursive knowledges of particular university contexts, represents further conditions for the ways in which international EAL students and the employees with whom they interact can do their work. Nevertheless, according to Benesch (2001), a "Foucauldian analysis of the global spread of English . . . [presents] the possibility that English is a site of struggle and resistance for learners who might benefit from appropriating the language for various unanticipated purposes" (p. 55).

CHAPTER 8: DISCOURSES OF SUCCESS

> [In] an educational institution . . . the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organized there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character—all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication-power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behavior is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy). (Foucault, 1982, pp. 218-219)

This chapter draws on aspects of the experiences of the international EAL students whom I interviewed to reflect on how discourses of success and failure operate in this local setting; it considers the fields of possibility in relation to these international students' attempts to construct themselves as successful students at WCU at the same time that WCU endeavors to build its reputation as a good university, both in Canada and internationally. The meta-discourse of success is prominent in the modernist world of global capitalism. It relies on the rationality that the desire for success is a powerful driver of human actions and the belief that material wealth is the key signifier of this success. In this, the last of the data-analysis chapters, I also bring together elements of the previous analysis chapters that pertain to success and failure.

International students come to WCU motivated by complex and varying networks of desires, fears, curiosity, and courage. Yet for each, there is a promise, or the possibility of a promise, of learning new things, of learning new aspects of things they already know, of meeting new people and having new experiences, and, if things go well, of returning home with the prize of a degree from an English-medium Western university, a prize that in turn promises to position them differently and more advantageously with respect to their future academic aspirations, social and family life, employment, and, ultimately, material well-being. Success for international students is also beneficial for WCU, in that it validates its internationalization initiatives and approaches. A high rate of success is required for ongoing marketing and recruitment campaigns and programs to

signify WCU's value and desirability to potential students. And yet, in dominant discourses of success, there can be no success without failure. As Foucault (as cited in Kenway, 1990) argued, normative rationality, evident in technologies that identify deviations from the norm, is key to educational systems. In discursive terms, success relies on both inclusionary and exclusionary factors; those who fail create the possibility for others to succeed. Even when the particular technologies of the bell curve are not applied, the rationality of the bell curve can operate as part of discourses that produce knowledge about individuals that constitutes them as successful or failing. If a university passes too high a proportion of its students or promotes too many of its faculty, it risks attracting the attention of its peers and being suspected of employing lax standards. Although it might be beneficial to institutions to monitor themselves and each other in such ways, it is inevitable that certain individuals whose judged failure to meet constructed standards validates those same standards will face negative outcomes (e.g., Ball, 2008).

Many of those interviewed, both students and employees, talked about international students' particularly difficult first year in Canada at WCU as they become accustomed to a new country and a new type of educational institution. These challenges are related to such factors as language, lack of a social and family support network, and lack of understanding of Canadian culture and the culture of the university. For those who arrive directly from high school, they often experience the challenges more intensely, particularly if they come from countries where high school students are not expected to be very independent, as I discussed in chapter 6. All of these factors can influence international students' abilities to take up successful student subject positions.

The particular discourses and power-knowledge that lead to success or failure at university have real material effects on the academic achievements, social experiences, and future prospects of students. The experiences of the international EAL students I interviewed at WCU reveal a range of effects that seem to be clustered in these three areas, although interconnections allow the consideration of particular experiences in more than one category. I begin with international students' experiences related to academic promises, then move to

social relationships, and conclude with constructions of success and failure in students' future lives.

Academic Promises

The academic achievements of international students are attributable to a wide range of interdependent factors internal and external to the individual. The focus of this section is on the circumstances particular to international EAL students, compared to English-speaking Canadian students. As I discussed in chapter 7, language and literacy influence academic work; for international EAL students, the already precarious subject position of university students is further influenced by their unique language characteristics. Academic situations that they find emotionally intense can intensify these effects, as S3 illustrated in describing her experience when she needed to present her case before a departmental appeal committee: She felt an ebbing away of her language abilities; more precisely, she was not able to perform her English proficiency in a way that constructed her as a thinking, speaking agentive subject in this context.

Grades. Dominant discourses of academic success in Western academia rely on course grades as a preeminent measure. This discursive truth has been strengthened in concert with neoliberal reforms, reforms that are characterized by renewed faith in the ability of numbers to define, measure, and compare individuals to each other and to specified standards, thus enabling the subjectivity of successful student to be confidently assigned largely on the basis of numerical grades.

The international students to whom I talked seemed to go along with this "truth." I asked one undergraduate student about the courses he had taken the last term, his first term at WCU. He replied, "For geography I got 76, and economics I got 81" (S5). When I asked how one of his current courses was going, he responded again with just a number: "Around 70." To elicit comments of a nonnumerical nature, I needed to ask more questions; his default answers were simply numbers. Another student, who had worked very hard to pass a course, had been very relieved to discover that she had passed. S2 told me, "I got only average—50—a passing mark." The term *average* has various specific meanings,

and she was drawing on her understanding of the term from regimes of testing practices in her home country that did not match the meaning of average in the practices of grade calculations in her faculty at WCU. Although she had accepted the "truth" that grades are indexical to success and failure, she had not learned enough about the policy practices associated with this rationality to know that a mark of 50% did not position her as a successful student in her particular WCU faculty; here, an average of 56%–60% (depending on the number of credit units she attempted to take) was required to maintain satisfactory academic standing.

The grades that students are able to attain are related to the course content in several ways. Students might have already learned similar content in another language at another educational institution, or a course might be considered either centrally relevant or tangential to a student's academic goals. I asked one student about his first term at WCU, in an undergraduate program, and he told me about his sociology course: "Oh, sociology? I was so poor because . . . my English is not well enough to understand the definitions, to understand, . . . or even to catch the points that the teacher said. So wow—it's tragedy; . . . it was 64 points" (S16). He received a grade of 70 in an introductory economics course and was very disappointed in himself because he saw this course as being more closely connected to his intended major than the sociology course. Chinese students who told me that WCU's undergraduate math courses were easy attributed this to having already learned the course content in China: "You know, the math class is pretty easy for me, because it's just like review from high school. I'm pretty good with it. I got 96 points. I was surprised" (S16). S10 took five courses during her first term at WCU and had a similar experience with a calculus course. During that term, she listed the courses she had taken:

> S10: I took calculus and classical history . . . and intro psychology and geology. But some classes, stuff I have already learned when I was in China, like calculus, I didn't do that much work like other students. So I felt like, oh, I can handle this.
>
> I: So did you get a good mark in calculus?
>
> S10: It was okay, like 80 something.

On the other hand, students from some other countries had different experiences. S1 said that his calculus course gave him nightmares. He had been in the workforce for about 10 years before entering WCU, and he had not studied mathematics since then. Thus, he did not feel he had been prepared to be successful in WCU's calculus class and was critical of the academic counseling he received at WCU.

Feedback from professors might be difficult for international EAL students to interpret. S10 was close to completing a BA with a major in psychology, and she had struggled to understand the feedback from one professor: She realized that he was "lying—[he] said there's only a little problem, but I'm failing!" Her professor might have intended to encourage her, but the student was confused by the statement.

S12 questioned the notion that success entails simply obtaining good grades. She contended that it also entails maintaining life balance and learning about Canadian culture. However, she did not think that she had been successful on either count:

> S12: I think for [many] students, a good mark is, like, the criterion for the success. Also, I think if you can balance your life, and your daily life, very well, it's also a kind of success. For example, I know like some people, they concentrate on their studies. . . . [But] I feel is not just success. Because you don't have any spare time to have fun, to enjoy the life. So I think a good mark is the basic success. And if you can, you should try to enjoy the life here [in this] foreign country. You need to learn the culture, the customs, and join in the group.

> I: So by those standards, are you successful?

> S12: I think for the mark, absolutely I am a loser. . . . And about the culture, I feel . . . I'm struggling here.

At this point, because she had decided to leave WCU, she was not motivated to put any more energy into learning about the city or the local culture. I will discuss the social aspects of success later in this chapter.

Being tested. To be assigned a grade, student subjects present themselves for examination and submit themselves to regimes of testing practices. As I noted in chapter 7, the lack of academic English vocabulary can make it difficult for international students not only to comprehend, but also to demonstrate what they

have learned. S6 told me that her lack of vocabulary was frustrating for her; she found performing well on tests much harder for her than it would be for a fellow Canadian student because of her English vocabulary. In response to a question about what she found challenging in her studies, she replied, "Obviously, I failed the biology because I'm not familiar with the vocabularies." In particular, she attributed some of her difficulty on a multiple choice test to a lack of vocabulary:

> When I taking the nutrition class . . . with my friend, who is Canadian, . . . actually, he didn't read the book at all, at that time. . . . I just told him everything I know. . . . And turns out, he get a higher mark than me. Some part just the English word, like "Which foods below have the higher fiber content?" For me, I don't know what that food is. But it's like some common sense he knows . . . and he thanks for me, but . . . I think it's a little bit unfair. Because I worked so hard, and he just work a little bit. And we can get maybe same mark, or he can get maybe better mark than me. That's frustrating. (S6)

On a test such as this, the food vocabulary would be familiar to Canadians, but not necessarily to an international student. S6's repertoire of English vocabulary and cultural knowledge did not allow her to display her understanding of the concept being tested.

The time required for reading comprehension, an issue that I considered in chapter 7, is another condition that limits EAL students' ability to demonstrate their knowledge on tests. In comparing her academic results with those of her Canadian classmates, S6 reported that, even when they did not study, or studied much less than she did, their marks were sometimes higher:

> Last term in my English class, you had to read the article first, and we have little quiz, just multiple choice question. So if you read the article, you know the answer, and if you don't, just guess. If you luck, you can get good mark. I always sit with this [Canadian] girl so we are friends. . . . And there is one time she didn't read at all. . . . So when she came, she ask me what this article about and I just told her. And then the first ten minutes [of class] the teacher talk about other things. In this ten minutes, she go like—quick look—maybe about 5 pages, like small [font], short story—Canadian literature story. And then she got 100%. . . . For me, because is Canadian literature, right, I might need one hour, or half hour for 2 pages. I read very slow. She's amazing! Ten minutes! (S6)

Tests themselves can vary considerably in terms of how much reading is required simply to grasp what is being asked of the test taker. EAL students who

require additional time for reading might not be able to understand the written instructions and test prompts quickly enough to allow them to complete the test tasks within the time limitations characteristic of the testing situation in North American universities. The exalted position accorded to time was a focus of S18's comments about his problems with tests in his graduate program; he spoke about time as if it were an enemy:

> When I went to the midterm exam, I get problem. They have midterm exam less than one hour, . . . short answer. . . . I am very slow, and I just in the mid the questions, that I finish. They write, other students, very quick. . . . When [my professor] told me I need short answer, I don't know what she mean by short answer. . . . I know many things about these questions, . . . [but] we have to choice, to select, but we afraid we going to select something wrong. So we try to write something more. . . . We know what the problem, but how to explain this things. . . . Other student, maybe take two line. I need 4 or 5 line, to write this same meaning. . . . In my country, usually we have . . . extend in our writing. Write a lot. . . . Even [if] the question don't take more than half hour, you have three hours. . . . It's kind of slow, thinking we used to in our system. . . . Take more time. . . . Here they have different way. You have to think quick. . . . We have any tests, it's a rule, more than 2 hours, 3 hours. For this reason, even [if] is not very difficult, but they give this, like, plenty of time. So people don't need to be stressful. Take time. (S18)

In this case, S18 was subsequently granted the opportunity for extra time to write tests, and he was able to perform satisfactorily.

The discursive field of tests and examinations involves entrenched rationalities and regimes of practice constituted by technologies that produce and reproduce academic subjects. Foucault (1982) used the concept of "dividing practices" to mean that "the subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others" (p. 208); in this sense, the successful are divided from the unsuccessful in historically and locally contingent ways. Testing and examining are dividing practices, and they are technologies of organization in education (Ball, 2008, p. 4). Success on tests requires test-taking literacy (Spencer, 2006, pp. 271-280) with an understanding of and expertise in specific strategies such as pacing oneself, knowing how to interpret instructions, recognizing the intent of test questions, and knowing how short a short answer should be and how long an essay response should be.

A range of assumptions gives rise to the conditions for test taking at WCU. Students are assumed to possess advanced English language skills and test-taking literacy, to understand test instructions and prompts, to have time to complete test tasks, including reading instructions and writing answers, and to have the cultural knowledge necessary to respond appropriately. As a disciplinary technology, testing also incites individuals to conduct themselves in prescribed ways. Thus, students must also be aware of the "rules" of test taking in general; for example, students must observe the requirement of complete silence in the test room, and human body sounds (e.g., sniffing, throat clearing, laughing, sighing, foot shuffling) must be kept at a minimum. They are not allowed to communicate except to ask questions of the invigilator, and they are forbidden to look at other students' work. Some of these "rules" are so implicit that their existence is apparent only when they are infringed upon. The experiences of the international EAL students that I described above challenged many of these assumptions about successful test taking; the results were that the particular conditions of test taking at WCU did not always permit them to demonstrate their grasp of course content in ways that the university recognized as successful.

At their core, the rationalities that underlie testing in education include value-based assumptions related to time and efficiency. As Max Weber (2004b) pointed out, capitalism relies on buying into the truth of the interconnectedness of time, efficiency, money, and even moral rectitude. Yet the linkages among these discourses are contingent. For instance, in many Indigenous and Latin American cultures the sense is that, just because someone is late, he or she is not consuming someone else's time; although there may be consequences for lateness, there is no moral judgment or cost. North American testing practices are clearly linked with the societies within which the educational institutions operate. This is not to say that time is unimportant, but simply that our Western and capitalist perspective is characterized by a singular investment in particular rationalities related to time. It is true that the forces of globalization make neoliberal capitalism a reality within which many around the world are required to function, and the choices and actions of many international students reflect this fact. However, S18's

perspectives might have been influenced by the fact that he came from a non-Western nation which, from what he told me, seems to have an orientation to time that is at variance with the Western one and whose particular political economic history was also following a somewhat different path.

Academic probation: Trying to be a student in good academic standing. As I mentioned in chapter 6, WCU has developed a support program for those whose academic performance is assessed as below specified standards; undergraduate students who do not maintain the minimum academic standing that the faculty in which they are studying requires are placed on academic probation and in a special program until their grades improve enough to reenter their academic programs. They stand to benefit from this program, because its employees take a special interest in their progress and encourage them. The policy that limits them to 15 credit units of coursework per academic term is intended to allow them to focus on doing well in fewer courses.

The students I interviewed who were in this program generally appreciated the support they received, but one commented that, because of students' altered academic status, maintaining their student permit status with the Canadian government had become more costly and time consuming. Furthermore, they were no longer recognized as successful students, although the goal of the program is a temporary designation for academic probation.

As I mentioned in chapter 7, S2 told me that she had been moved from the category of "good academic standing" to "academic probation." In Chapter 7, I reported that the focal point of her experience was the manner in which this change in status was communicated to her. Here, the relevant aspect of her account is that she almost withdrew when she was notified of her change in status, largely because she considered it an unjustified moral reproach to her character. Her opinion was that, before relegating a student to probationary status, WCU should

> check what kind of a student he or she is. If [WCU] puts a student who is a hard worker and a good student [on probation], I think she or he may feel just too depressed, and damaged, frustrated too much, may have psychological problems—like mental problems—just suffering. . . . But if

the student is like playing every day, and doing part-time jobs, and not going to face to their studying, [WCU should] put him or her on probation. Definitely. (S2)

She saw WCU's action as a threat to her student subjectivity, to her sense of herself as a "good student." When S2 spoke about being placed on probation, she seemed to see herself as having been constructed as a lawbreaker, which evoked this subject position that I first mentioned in chapter 6.

Auditing a course: Competing assumptions. Students usually assume that auditing a course is much easier than taking it for credit. S18's experience is a dramatic example of negative consequences of this assumption for students. S18 encountered a major crisis in his academic program while he was still studying English. When he was still studying full time at the high-intermediate level in the WCUESL program, his supervisor asked him to audit one of the graduate courses in his department. He told me that it had been disastrous but that "it's my fault":

> S18: Because at that time my supervisor give me opportunity to attend class in the university, in the morning, And my [WCUESL] class, afternoon. So I involved myself. I thought I just attend, as audience. But they asked me for all homework, test, report. . . . I didn't know that in the beginning. I didn't withdraw from the [audit course] because maybe supervisor think, "Oh, you don't have ability." Because I [told him] I have problem, . . . [and he said], "Okay, manage your time." So I preferred to focus in this part instead of [the ESL class]. For this reason, I failed [the ESL class]. . . . I put myself in a critical situation.

> I: Do you think your supervisor put you in a difficult position, too?

> S18: Maybe he thought . . . He tried to give me more benefit by involving this course, have more information. Because this course, I will take it again. But the problem—I take it at wrong time.

> I: Did your supervisor understand that the ESL program was full-time?

> S18: He thought it's like—it's just 4 hours a day; it's easy. And he don't have any idea about my language ability. Maybe he thought I have good ability at that time. And I don't need to take a lot of time. Because at that time, usually, in [the WCUESL program, at the high intermediate level] everything change. They give you assignment, give you more homework, they give more stress [to get good marks]. For this reason . . . that make me big stress. Difficult focusing, everything.

When he repeated the ESL course the following term, he passed it without difficulty, which confirmed his belief that he had failed it because the course he

audited had consumed so much of his time. His supervisor had taken the initiative to suggest auditing an important course with the belief that it would help him later when he was fully admitted to his doctoral program and on the assumption that he would have time to audit this course because he was attending the ESL course for only four hours each day.

This faculty member seemed to assume that a student in the WCUESL program had the time and resources to benefit from auditing a degree credit course and that he simply needed to manage his time more efficiently. In the case of S18, a number of problems appeared related to his auditing a course while still a student in the ESL program. First, if students are participating in the WCUESL program, it means that they do not have sufficient competence in English to participate in a degree course. Second, students assume that an audit course simply requires that they be present in the course and learn what they can, whereas S18 was required to be an active participant in the course, including submitting assignments. In addition, the stakes for him were high because, even though he was not going to receive an official grade, he assumed that his supervisor would think poorly of his academic potential if he did not perform satisfactorily. Third, to successfully complete a course in the full-time ESL program, students need to spend all of their time engaged with 20 hours of in-class activities, at least 20 hours of out-of-class activities (studying, completing assignments, practicing in the language lab, attending tutorial sessions, participating in required study sessions and special workshops), and participating in mandatory extracurricular activities (one to five hours per week). This weekly time commitment leaves no time to take other courses, whether for credit or audit purposes. The student might have assumed that auditing a course requires little time and effort, and the stakes were low for him because he did not need to worry about grades. In fact, the consequences of taking this course as an audit student were that S18 failed his ESL course, suffered a serious blow to his self-confidence, and delayed the point at which he completed the English proficiency requirements so that he could commence his graduate program.

Subjects in difficult times. When she agreed to a major change in her academic program at WCU, S12's father in China warned her that she would "lose her fur." This seems to mean that she was going to become even more vulnerable by making this program change. In fact, not necessarily because of her program change, but rather because of the conditions created by a graduate supervisor who required her to take five courses in addition to substantial TA responsibilities during her first term at WCU, S12 did indeed "lose her fur." Her evaluation of her situation was ambivalent. On the one hand, she assumed the blame, harkening back to her father's prediction; she told me, "Maybe I didn't study hard enough." On the other hand, she was gradually coming to interrogate the conditions within which she was trying to construct herself as a successful student.

S3 told me that when she failed a required course in her graduate program, this "made me know my capacity is limited. I'm not a Superman, and it caused me a big problem." This was in contrast to the image and language she inserted at the conclusion of the presentation that she invited me to attend at a public seminar on her master's research. The final slide in her PowerPoint presentation showed an image of a happy little girl, with a caption in her language. She did not explain it publicly. I later learned that it referred to a well-known story in her culture about a girl who took the place of her father in a battle and became a hero, a hero not only in her family but also in her country. So although she might have felt that she had to abandon her subjectivity as "Superman" within the conditions of her graduate program, by the time she successfully completed her WCU academic program, she was framing herself as a hero in a different discourse, one with explicit statements about nationalism and family.

A judicial discourse was evident in some of the ways that S3 talked about her subject position as a student who had failed a course in her graduate program; at one point she referred to herself as "the crimer." It therefore seemed appropriate to her to apologize, assume the blame, and plead for clemency. Later she shifted to a different view of herself within the same discourse: that of a

victim in an unjust system. From this position she fought and eventually won her battle to resolve her program difficulties at WCU and complete her program.

International students come to WCU with existing discourses shaped by their various societies, cultures, and families. S3 told me, "In China we really, really respect teachers, professors, seniors, and we always consider them as our parents. Some people who are higher than you, and you know, they have lots of power." Within this discourse, she had little authority. Her reluctance to sound critical of her professors or her department came from this same subject position. She told me that she did not want to be "like a dog to bark at other people." However, as the difficult situation continued, she said, "I didn't care what power they had. I just wanted to escape from this nightmare." Statements such as "I was trying to find anything that might help me stay in my program, from university policy and department regulation" illustrate that she was drawing from a more Canadian discourse in which it is thinkable for students to seek access to information about policies that enable them to challenge those with more power in the system.

Professors are on the front lines with respect to international students' aspirations, and many of them also struggle to meet the challenge of evaluating international students. Several students related experiences with WCU professors who were flexible, helpful, and supportive. S6 appreciated her professors' willingness to explain concepts outside of class, and in one course the professor offered to reevaluate an assignment to consider assigning her a passing grade:

> If [teachers] saw me have difficulty for the lecture, they will say like maybe he can do the tutorial, like that kind of thing, like once a week. We can just go through the notes. Professors are quite nice. Some . . . always do that. If you have any kind of question, just ask and go there. I thought I'm stupid, just because this part, the professor in the class, I didn't catch what he mean. So I can go ask, and he or she can explain again. That's like, very good. Sweet! And there is one time I thought I needed 65% to pass that class for some reason, and it turns out I only get 64. So one mark can be . . . and in our program, like all the classes, can be once in two years. So if you fail this class in 2010, you have to take next one in 2012. So I just go talk to the professor. And he's willing to go through [my lab assignment] and maybe just bump one grade for me. That's very sweet. (S6)

S18 noted that one of the professors in his department created an assignment that allowed students to learn required material and, at the same time, increase their course grade:

> S18: It's not really assignment, it's kind of help for the students. Because . . . they give out question previously. And we go to the room, discuss between ourselves, . . . so great. So we usually take good mark.
>
> I: So it's good for your mark, and good for your learning.
>
> S18: Exactly. Yeah, they get all the [good] mark. They don't care about that. Just understand. . . . [It's] great. At least we can guarantee 30 mark from our average.

Leki (2006) discussed the situation of professors who are asked to make allowances for international students and reported that one faculty member decided to give *all* students additional time to complete their exams (p. 142). Professors who grasp some of the complexities of the tasks that international EAL students face acknowledge these challenges when they use their resources to imagine and create conditions more conducive to academic success. A small act can have the potential for a major positive outcome for students.

One student thought that Canadian students understand international students as very serious and hardworking. He said that he advised international students to make more efforts to get to know Canadian students "because I have found most Canadians, they like you because you work hard" (S13). S6 talked about the Canadian classmates with whom she had made friends and mentioned that she had helped two when she had done the assigned homework and they had not; one of them "was not that good study student" (S6). When they took up the subjectivity of hardworking international student, they reaped social benefits at WCU.

Social Life and Socioacademic Relations

There are social aspects of academic success. As Leki (2006) pointed out, academic work is not conducted in a vacuum; rather, students' effective negotiation of socioacademic relations with professors and classmates is conducive to their success. S2, who told me about her lack of connections with Canadian classmates, was disappointed not just for the sake of friendship, but also because she wanted to become part of a community of learners. However, the

challenges involved in learning about and adapting to social life in Canadian culture can be daunting. Several students mentioned that the programs and services of WCU's international students department provided timely information about a variety of cultural matters and opportunities to engage socially with other international students and Canadians (e.g., S18, S19). In spite of this support, language, loneliness, homesickness, and a lack of connectedness can place limiting conditions on international students' abilities to focus on their studies. Several students (e.g., S1, S2, S4) related their experiences with the "human and social costs" (Dei, 1992, p. 7) of being away from their home countries, cultures, and families.

   Establishing connections with Canadian classmates. Researchers such as Dunn and Olivier (2011) and Lyakhovetska (2004) have discussed issues related to social inclusion as challenges for international EAL students in the Canadian postsecondary context. Bannerji (1995) described her perception of being marginalized at a Canadian university in terms of "not being a comfortable user of the local cultural grammar" (pp. 57-58, as cited in Beck, 2005). Although they did not find it easy, many of the students I interviewed considered making friends with local Canadians important. S10 talked about creating connections in relation to losing her Chinese friends: "I push myself sometimes to get involved. . . . I have more Canadian friends than Chinese friend right now. I'm losing my Chinese friend, because they're most of them in [WCU's business faculty]. And they're all . . . Chinese together" (S10). Having chosen a major that was different from those of many of her Chinese friends was one of the reasons that she thought she was losing touch with her Chinese friends; another reason was that she had made so many Canadian friends. She told me that since she had come to Canada, she had become more outgoing and did not hesitate to take risks and speak out, even though her English was not perfect. As a result, she had made many Canadian friends. S13 had similar experiences and perspective.

   S6 also viewed taking the initiative as important. In her experience, if international students were friendly and took the first step, Canadian university students would reciprocate. Having had an English-speaking boyfriend had been

helpful to her in becoming acquainted with the culture and practicing her English. S13 also agreed with the notion that international students need to exercise agency if they want to engage socially at WCU:

> I just suggest the Chinese people, because most of the international students studying here are Chinese, . . . once they enter the university, to make friends with Canadians. . . . When I make some friends with some Canadians, they said they don't like Chinese people [because] as a group, they always speak the different language. They don't understand. They don't like them. . . . When I first entered university, if I choose a seat and I sit here, no Canadians sit beside me. They're just scared of you because you don't talk to them. If you don't talk to them, they don't want to be friends with you, right? So . . . I think for the international students must more outgoing, try to ask questions, and work hard. . . . I think the major problem is our international students must communicate with other people. . . . Just nobody else will go to talk to you. I think in the [WCUESL] Program they always emphasize "English only." But still some people . . . speak Chinese. So it's not good I think. . . . When I'm in university, I still find lots of Chinese people they just get a group, even they prefer to study together. And they prefer to select the same class, and if their class has a presentation or some group work, they always get together. (S13)

Thus, many of these international students developed strategies to increase their social interaction with English-speaking Canadians. However, not all were successful. For example, S2 suffered from a lack of social interaction with her Canadian classmates, yet when she tried to break out of her isolation, she was "speechless" with her fellow students, who were English speakers. Language was not universally a limiting factor: S13 told me that language was "a problem, but not a major one" in his efforts to interact with Canadian students. However, other factors such as lack of knowledge about Canadian culture, lack of time, and culture shock can limit the possibilities for international EAL students as they attempt to enter the social realm at a Canadian university. Liu (2011) suggested that culture shock can lead to an "in-group tendency" (p. 79); as Liu struggled to cope with her academic work and her culture shock, she kept to herself and her own Chinese group, a strategy that several students I interviewed employed.

Increasing social capital for the sake of enhancing future business networks is one of the instrumental expectations of many Canadian university students and their families. One of the research participants explicitly referred to this motivation when he told me that he and his father expected him to make

connections during his WCU studies that he could leverage into future business partnerships. When I asked S16 what he imagined himself doing in five years, he said:

> Well, I think I will be back home. Because I always want to start my own business . . . by myself, or to find some good friends to start our own business. But what kind of business, I haven't decide yet. I haven't find some good friends, some good fellows, to work together. If I get [Business] degree, here, and also I have know some good students, some good people here, and we can think about it. (S16)

S16 talked about his lack of success at making friends at WCU: "My father always said, 'You should go and make some friends with the local people.' And I said, 'I'll try.' But it turned out to be unsuccessful" (S16). He asked me for suggestions. As with most of the Chinese students I interviewed, his parents were very much present in the discourses that were active for him. S16 shared his father's view that the primary reason for attending WCU in Canada was to better position himself for engaging in business activities when he returned to China. He thus understood himself as an entrepreneurial subject as he worked to construct himself as successful at WCU.

Diversity and critical multiculturalism. As I mentioned in chapter 7, international students are sometimes viewed as deficient and in need of "fixing" or as resources in other contexts, with potential benefits for the university. S13's first year in his WCU faculty was very good. His department had granted him a scholarship, and he had found an enjoyable part-time research job with one of his professors:

> In my English class we're talking about . . . culture. And our prof, she always makes some topic about China. That's why they want me to communicate with each other and they want other students to know much more about China. . . . And in my class there are about 40 students, and I'm the only one Chinese. And the other international student, he's from Cuba. We have only two international students in our class, so she always makes some topic about China and Cuba. So she's really good. (S13)

Although it might not always be a positive experience to be singled out by a professor as *the* representative of one's country or culture (cf. Leki, 2006, pp. 142-143), S13 is an example of international students at WCU who are seen as

a resource, as a source of knowledge and experiences that can benefit other students.

Other students faced less positive responses to their "difference." S2's tensions were related to how she perceived herself and thought others perceived her in terms of being different or not different, special or not special. Her international student subjectivity was at variance with her expectations. On the one hand, she thought that WCU framed her as different because of the differential tuition they charged her. In contrast, she expected her difference to make her "special" enough for Canadian students to want to approach her and ask about her different language, her culture, her country, and her experiences. She told me that she was surprised that Canadian students did not seem to notice her or consider her special. At her home country university, if foreign students enrolled, other students took great interest in them, talked with them, and wanted to learn about them. She expressed regret that nobody seemed to notice her here at this Canadian university.

In discussing this disappointment with others, S2 came to believe that it was because Canadians like to think of themselves as not discriminating against those who are different from themselves. These others had told her not to feel upset "because people here don't think you're special; just get used to this." She told me, "It's good to say they don't have any discrimination, but sometimes it hurts my feelings a little bit. . . . I wish I was special" (S2). Although she acknowledged the good intentions of Canadians, she felt that their nondiscriminatory practices and discourse had the effect of making her feel "not special" and not noticed. Lyakhovetska (2004) reported similar perceptions among international students at another Canadian university: "Faculty and domestic students rarely expressed interest in" the international students (p. 211). Students such as S2 might perceive that they are special, as well as brave because they have taken the risk of studying abroad. But at WCU, S2's experience was that she was merely one of 20,000 "nameless" students whose performance was judged in an impersonal manner and measured in a way over which she felt she had little control.

When international students experiment with new subjectivities, they are sometimes perceived as traitors to their home country. Dei (1992) talked about the "subtle pressure to betray" (p. 6) that can arise in response to the racism, ethnocentrism, and Eurocentrism that international students sometimes face. S6, a Chinese undergraduate, spoke about the tensions she felt when she negotiated social relations in her academic work at WCU. She described her response when she was assigned a group presentation in her class:

> So like I decide to do it right away; I arrange a group, I found another three people. I just did that right away. . . . When I take a bus home, that's the time I start to afraid. Like, oh, my English not that good, oh, I have to speak like in front of a lot of people. . . . But when I make decision, just I want do that. . . . You have to be brave to make a decision. Otherwise, if you think too much, you may just don't want to do. . . . But some [people] say I am not like other Chinese. (S6)

This student was not recognized as a legitimate or authentic citizen of her home country when she acted more like a Canadian. Students have various resources on which to draw, and this student drew on her developing Canadian subjectivity to complete a course assignment. However, she was recognized among her generation of Chinese peers as acting like a Canadian because she took risks, was visible, and took the initiative.

Successful cultural adaptation can be thought of as a function of the strategic taking up of new subjectivities open to individuals and the employment of discursive practices such as presenting oneself as a hardworking student, taking the initiative, or being willing to take risks. S6 explained how she presented herself as a risk taker:

> Maybe, I think just because I stay here for a long time, my mind is combine with culture here, just half and half. That's what make me do things differently. And, so I just like the challenging part. You may regret later. But if you don't do that, you may not have chance to regret, right? (S6)

However, some conditions also influence the ways in which international EAL students act in relation to new subjectivities as they engage with the social realm. If students are members of a large group of international students from the same country, they will have different possibilities from those who are isolated representatives of their country. EAL adults face both positive and negative

effects of both in-group (same first language) and out-group (English first language) interactions (Duff, 2008; Myles & Cheng, 2003). A possible negative effect of choosing to interact with others from the same language background is the lack of opportunities to learn about the new culture from Canadians; a possible advantage is the existence of various types of understanding and support that they seek (Duff, 2008; Myles & Cheng, 2003).

One student reported that the first half year to full year of studying in Canada was the hardest for him: "When people move to a new place, they have to have some time to know that, to change their minds, to change their ways to live, to study, everything" (S5). There is certainly evidence of the shifting, reshaping, and reconstituting of discourses and subjectivities as international students negotiate their way through the acquisition of an additional language and culture and complete their academic work. As they do so, international EAL students engage with old and new discourses and experiment with and shift between old, new, and hybrid subjectivities in the spaces that the inclusion of international students at WCU opens up.

The Material Conditions of the Future

In this section I consider the students' experiences and perceptions of the connections between their academic work and their lives outside and subsequent to their university studies in relation to family, marriage and children, developing academics, and employment.

Family. International students are often separated from family members for long periods of time, and their experiences vary. Whereas some benefit from this distance because it facilitates access to alternative subjectivities in relation to, for example, lifestyle choices or sexual orientation, others suffer because they miss the support, companionship, and familiar comfort of being with their families. S20 talked to me about the extremely long journey required to travel home to see his wife and two young children. His family's applications for visitors' visas had been denied, so the only way that he could see them was to travel to his country. Here the barrier was not just the cost, but also the time it would take to get there: more than two days because of the travel connections

required. After traveling that great distance and spending a considerable sum of money, he wanted to stay more than just a week. Yet he was unsure whether this would be possible, given his academic schedule as a new doctoral student. He missed his family terribly.

One of the sources of trauma for some international students is family problems at home, especially when they are not able to travel back to be part of the family during difficult times. S4's challenges related to a plagiarism charge, which I discussed in the previous chapter, were exacerbated by a serious family problem that arose at that time:

> My younger brother went missing, and back in [my country], if you get missing, it's not like someone just gets missing; it's that the person doesn't want to be found, or the person is, you know, . . . something else, so was extreme. So that was a big toll on me. . . . When you tell someone you have issues, personal issues, they think it's the same thing as Canadians saying, "I got issues." They think you can just go home and then solve your issues. No you can't just go home and solve your issues. . . .
>
> You can't do nothing; you're just sitting here, just a sitting duck waiting to hear from your parents. . . . And even what they say, sometimes you ask yourself is it true or is it like pretty much because they don't want to say things to hurt you or to get you all bothered. . . . But at the same time you want to hear the truth, so either way . . . you're a big ball of mess and some people don't understand it at all. . . . Family to us is everything. That's what we have, you know. (S4)

Therefore, although family can be a critical source of support, when a crisis arises back home, it can engender or worsen an academic crisis for an international student who is isolated and far away.

Marriage and children. As I mentioned in chapter 6, students such as S1 were anxious to complete their studies and return home to get married and have children. S1's desire to start a family seemed to be his own; for other students, parental expectations assume prominence with respect to discourses of the family and children. S17 was just beginning his degree studies, but when I asked him about his picture of the future, he said he expected to be back in his country and working:

> I'm an only child in my family, so I have to take care of my parents. So I'm doing a bachelor's degree here right now. Hopefully I can finish that in 3 years. And then if I still have time, I mean if my parents are not

getting old enough, I will probably look at a job. And maybe I'm going to take master's degree, because this was one of my missions before I went to Canada. (S17)

He was not in a rush; his future appeared bright because of his accomplishments to date. However, the timing and scheduling of his plans to achieve the two goals of finding a job and pursuing graduate studies were bound up with the unfolding of his parents' lives.

S12 was a young woman in the first year of a master's program. When I asked her how her parents viewed success for her, she replied:

> I think get the degree as soon as possible. Because they thought I am a little bit old. And they want me to get married. They don't want me to be single. Because in China it is very hard to find a partner for the woman after maybe 25, 26. I'm already 25 this year. So they urge me to like, get the degree as soon as possible. . . . At first, my father said, "You must learn something in the university. . . . and get good marks." Because my father, he studied pretty hard, in his previous years. For example, when he participated in the entrance exams, he was the first in our city. . . . So he pay a lot of attention on the marks. But now he just say, . . . "Get the marks that you need to graduate from the university, and go back [to China]." (S12)

S12 had had some academic troubles at WCU, and her father had adjusted his advice to her in reaction. Her approach to the matter of marriage was different from her parents':

> S12: Actually, I want to be single, but they can't understand me. So they want me to meet some guys on [my next] vacation. Because they know I won't find a boyfriend by myself, so they help me.
>
> I: How will they help you?
>
> S12: There is some information from the paper. And also the internet. That some people post their personal information and their intention to find a girlfriend. So they write down the information. And my father made an Excel file.
>
> I: Excel file?
>
> S12: Yeah. List the name, . . . the age, the degree, and their job, and their . . . standard, what they want, like what kind of girl what they want.
>
> I: Their standards for a girl? A wife?
>
> S12: Yeah. And it's already 50 people.

I asked her how she planned to respond, especially because I knew that she was planning a trip home shortly. She replied:

> I will meet these guys, one by one, I think. Actually, my mother has some different opinions [than] my father. For example, there is a guy in the Excel is a teacher of art, in elementary school. And my mother said, "I don't like the people who is related with art. So our daughter won't meet this guy." And my father say "just meet him! If he is very good, we will miss him." They are very anxious about my marriage. I think maybe they are very traditional, and they are very happy to be a couple, so they thought I need a partner, I need a husband. . . . I feel a little bit nervous to meet the . . . how to say—strangers? Because when you don't know someone, in a way, they are strange, and then maybe when you get to know them, they aren't strange anymore. (S12)

Her parents' idea of success in life was clearly different from hers. She explained why she did not want to get married:

> Because I thought if you have a relationship with other guys, you will consider other people's feelings. And sometimes you are happy and sometimes you are sad. But if you are always be single, you will be just keep a calm emotion. No happiness, no sadness. So I think it's better. (S12)

It was clear that she had given this a great deal of thought. However, her parents' view seemed to be the dominant discourse for her.

Another Chinese student talked about his decision to come to Canada to attend WCU:

> It's all about my father. My father said, "You can, you should go," after my graduation from high school. And I have already started my university there. . . . I say "Why?" And he say, . . . "Because there is so many better education, rather than in your university." So, well, I said, "Probably it's going to be a very good chance for me to get a degree, and gain some knowledge, and also improve my English for the future business." Yeah, so far, is good. And my father help me to find a agency—you know, how to say that—the agency help you find some different kind of universities. And my father said "you should go to Canada." Because he has a very good friend there, in Montreal. And well, then, the agency people tell me, "you should go to [WCU]. And it's very good," he recommend me, "it's very good, good university. And not so many international students, or maybe Chinese people, you can learn your English so quickly." Well, I said, "probably good. I will go there." And we start processing our Canadian visa. Half a year later, I just came here. (S16)

His use of the plural pronouns *we* and *our* to refer to what was likely just his own visa is indicative of the way in which many families see themselves as a single unit. Similarly, S12 spoke of herself and her parents as almost like a body: "My father also suffered these days. He thought it's not a good decision to send me

here. He said, 'Our three people, can't divided any more.' He thought it is the best thing that we are together" (S12).

Some students talked about disjunctures between parents' and children's pictures of the future. I asked S6 how she was going to decide what to do after she completed her master's degree, and she said:

> I have big dream. I guess, ever since my parents send me [to Canada], . . . my plan is went to work for like 3 years, and then go back to school two years master's degree. And then maybe I can apply the job for other countries, not back to China, not stay in Canada. And just maybe go . . . through the world. Maybe just stay there in one, two years, another country. I really think, in case to know the culture of one place, you have to stay there for like at least half a year, so you know everything, how the difference. . . . That's my dream. (S6)

I responded that her plans sounded very exciting. She agreed, but did not think that it was likely to happen:

> S6: Yeah, but not very realistic! . . . Parents in China, when you reach certain age, they just want you get married. Like, in my plan, there is nothing close to marriage, right? I guess just my personality.
>
> I: So your parents' plan and your plan are a little different.
>
> S6: They already have imagination about having grandchildren!

She also told me about how her Canadian home-stay mother had helped her to understand cultural and individual differences in framing parenthood, grandparenthood, and the resulting pressures.

When S12 talked to me about her picture of the future, she said that, in a few years' time, in spite of her own preference not to marry:

> I think maybe I am already in China . . . and find a job. And according to my parents' instructions, I get married [and] will have a child. Maybe two. If my husband is the only child in his family, I can have two children. (S12)

Although some parents of international students worry that their children will meet someone in another country and not return home and perhaps not maintain family and cultural traditions, other parents were excited about the possibilities for new alliances. S6, a young woman from the same country as S12, told me:

> S6: My mom always make joke like she want like me marry the Canadian guy and have a child—like is hyper?

I: Hyper?

S6: How do you say—half Chinese, half Canadian?

I: Oh, hybrid?

S6: Yeah, hybrid. And usually, the hybrid child is like prettier, right? So she say she can hold the baby and it's prettier. It's the most beautiful child. And so she can like show others—see? And I haven't graduate yet! . . . It's their fantasy. (S6)

Thus there are competing discourses related to how families work and how they work in relationship to international students' academic endeavors, discourses that are variously commensurate and incommensurate.

Close families often take on substantial risks in association with their children's leaving to attend an international university. S8 said that to apply to leave his country to travel to Canada for a graduate program, he had needed to provide assurance in the form of a large bank account or title to a house that he would return to his country: "I just show the document of my father's house. Like the house that we were living was my father's, so I just showed my father's house." S18 was in a similar situation. He talked about the high stakes of his academic failure or success at WCU in terms of the possibility of his parents' losing their family home in the event that he did not fulfill the terms of his agreement with his funder.

I try my best. Because we have another pressure, from my government. . . . They don't give you the scholarship without guarantee. They usually take guarantee for that kind of money, to pay for your salary every month. If you failed, they want to retake all this money. And for this reason, my father tell me, "Okay, take our home as a guarantee." And this is another pressure. Is kind of scare to fail, because there is consequences. (S18)

What heavy pressure for students to succeed when failure would mean that their parents would lose the family home! The plans of international students such as these are intimately interwoven with family plans and strategies to succeed, a phenomenon that others such as Li (2004, p. 38) have documented.

Developing academics. Part of the culture of Canadian graduate education is to facilitate the development of students' research, teaching, and writing skills to better prepare them for future positions as academics. Graduate students are typically given opportunities to teach and to conduct research with

the guidance of senior academics; they are also encouraged to publish scholarly articles about their research. In addition to the complex challenges related to being a new doctoral student who speaks English as an additional language, S18 talked about the pressure to begin publishing. His supervisor wanted him to conduct research and write a paper for publication during his first academic year.

In addition, it is possible for graduate students at Canadian universities to teach as sessional lecturers, teaching assistants, or lab demonstrators, positions that are often linked to their graduate student funding. Three of the international graduate students I interviewed had taught at WCU during their graduate studies, and they reported a variety of experiences. S8 said that he loved teaching, that it had contributed to his decision to pursue a career as an academic, and that he hoped to do so in Canada as an immigrant. S9, on the other hand, had hated his teaching experiences at WCU, though he loved the research and coursework. His goal as an academic was to pursue research, but he never wanted to teach again. A third student had worked as a teaching assistant in a very large course. She was not sure about the parameters of what was expected and came to believe that her work conditions were not entirely equitable. She appreciated the stipend, but grading seven assignments for hundreds of students in one term had taken a great deal of her time and a toll on her academic success.

Work. In addition to academic work opportunities available as part of graduate students' programs, all international students are now permitted to find work on campus and, under specified conditions, also off campus. As I noted in chapter 5, significant changes in Canadian and provincial immigration policies over the last couple of decades have resulted in a much-changed landscape for international students who contemplate staying and working in Canada. Linkages among provincial and federal immigration policies and programs, universities, and potential employment have made it thinkable and doable for international students to change their status to applicants for Canadian citizenship. For example, S7 had just received his undergraduate degree from WCU and was already in the process of applying for PR status under the provincial immigration program initiative[xxvii] that I described in Chapter 5. I asked him how he had

decided to apply, and he said he had learned about the program from a government representative's presentation to students on the WCU campus. He demonstrated his familiarity with the policy and the definitions of the various categories of employment:

> I think before that, there were other categories, like skilled worker, and maybe businessman, from what I remember, and I think family also, with relatives and everything. But then . . . this student category, it was a recent addition to the list. . . . [This program] seems to be the easiest to apply for the PR. The steps seem a lot shorter and simpler. If you go as a skilled worker, you have to apply for a certain category. It's like jobs and occupations that fall under, that are listed in a certain category that's listed by the CIC, that's the Citizenship and Immigration Canada. So those are more higher profession level jobs, I think, it's more skilled, maybe like a bus driver, a teacher, management level jobs. It can't be entry level jobs at all. It has to be higher than that. Whereas with this, . . . I think you can actually work in entry level jobs also, as it's an open work permit. And also with the first option, you have to have a letter of offer of employment from your company, whereas with this job, you don't have to apply with a letter of employment offer until you apply for permanent resident status. (S7)

He had been working for a few years in the service industry with the same local business, initially part time while he was a WCU student, and then full time after graduation. His understanding was that his particular work situation increased the chances of his application being approved.

One of the effects of new government policy that has opened up employment opportunities for students who are still studying is that WCU monitors their academic work not only to ensure that they meet the degree requirements, but also to maintain their eligibility for government-issued work permits. The granting of these work permits is conditional upon students' maintenance of good academic standing, and WCU has agreed to assume the responsibility for assessing international students' academic standing and report it to the government department that grants work permits to international students. A WCU employee talked about this:

> I think the broader picture with Immigration is the relationship with the university to immigration matters. And whether we should even be calculating at all. It seems like a very time-consuming process that is about tracking students. And I have a feeling that we may go further down that direction. Where there's a desire for more tracking. About where

students are, checking their permits. Some institutions do more than others. I wouldn't say I'm neutral on the issue, but close, because there's value to each side. [However] it costs something to track those things. And it is a change in the relationship. So there's a different relationship we have with students when we deny them a permit because of the grades, and it comes from our office; it becomes a relationship that we don't have in any other instance. In the U.S. I think there's far more involvement in the offices around these permits. And I think from my understanding after Sept. 11th that it just increased even more. . . . Now there's a lot of tracking, and a lot of responsibility of the offices around government related issues. And there's always that feeling that if they're doing it in the United States, we'll probably be asked to do a similar type of work. . . . But I just don't know how we would handle it as an institution. It's very costly. (E1)

At one level, his concerns related to the issue of cost to the university. But at another level, he posed the problematic of links between university and the state regarding the ways in which international students are monitored. The new linkages among discourses of immigration, labor, and international students, as I noted in chapter 5, are seen as enrolling the university in new regimes of practice intended to produce new pools of Canadian-educated workers for the Canadian workforce.

Several students talked about their part-time jobs on and off campus. In general, they saw them as opportunities to practice their English, meet Canadians, and learn about the culture while they were earning a little money. Although it is possible for international students to obtain off-campus work permits (e.g., S19), without Canadian employment experience or references, obtaining a job either on or off campus is not always easy. According to S14, for the first few months after he arrived in Canada on an international student visa, he was allowed to work only on campus. The problem was that, when I spoke with him, he had been unable to find an on-campus job of any kind, despite his impressive CV. He had arrived at WCU in the late fall, and as he understood the situation, students who had started their courses at the beginning of the fall term had already taken all of the on-campus positions "because everyone was hired in September." This mature student was financing his own education and desperately needed the income, so he found this frustrating. He also had applied for a job with the provincial

government and was thrilled when he was tentatively offered the position, but problems had arisen:

> So, by Christmas, I was accepted for an internship job with the [provincial] government, in information technology office. And they were cool, and they said, "Yeah, we can classify it as an internship because it was meant to be for students." My school was cool, my professor said "yeah, he can work, we will write any recommendation if you want." And I think they called Immigration Services, and they said, "Yeah, you can do it, but it will take at least a month to get him a visa, so he can work off-campus, as an internship. Because they require me to get an internship visa. And they said, "No, he has to start on January 1st, sorry." (S14)

As a result, he was unable to take the position he had been offered, despite the fact that the university and the two government departments had all demonstrated their willingness to work in a flexible manner within the policy parameters.

A general student concern is the work that they might do after graduation. Many of the students I interviewed, not surprisingly, had bought into the modernist discursive constructions of "good jobs." For instance, S8 told me that he wanted to get an advanced university education to find a "proper job," in contrast to his parents' jobs as farmers.

After graduation, the transition from school to work can be challenging for all students. International students can draw upon their specific knowledge about jobs in their country as they decide how to conduct their studies in Canada. If international students choose to stay in Canada to search for their first job, they face additional challenges; for one thing, they need to acquire similar types of knowledge about the characteristics of the Canadian job market. Among the many challenges for those who provide academic advice to university students is the need for access to knowledge on how a particular academic field relates to future employment possibilities. Although a particular university degree never guarantees a specific type of job, a certain level of guidance is expected from the university. An international student who had recently graduated from WCU talked about her experiences as she struggled to make the transition to employment after convocation:

> I was majoring in urban planning, and economics. But I couldn't find a job in urban planning. And I didn't realize that was mainly a government job, after I graduated. Because whoever is not a Canadian citizen is not

allowed to work for the government. If I knew that before the first year of my university, I wouldn't choose that major. So I guess is also the lack of information. Even I consulted with professors, and I know how good the program was, but . . . they don't know the status of being international students. They don't know what that means to be an international student and stay in a foreign country, and how their status would be living in a country. They probably never thought that would be a problem. And I didn't know either. (E5)

When international students receive academic counseling, the task is even more complex than for domestic students. In addition to maintaining current knowledge about shifting domestic job markets, advisors might also need to know about immigration policy and regulations. Academic counselors might also require familiarity with global trends to advise the entrepreneurial self international students, which I discussed in chapter 6.

S17 explained how university education and jobs are related to each other in his country. I asked him about the connection between the type of degree or major and the job possibilities:

S17: Actually, in China, is—how to say—is not too much connection. For example, my major is Environment, and I want to work in a bank, this could be. Because I have a bachelor's degree in the best university in China, right? So the boss will [think] "this student graduated from the best university in China, so I will hire him or her."

I: Even if it's not in a related field?

S17: Yeah, you can start like this. . . . Actually, in China, finding a job when you finish your study career is the most important thing for the majority [of] people. They don't care what a job is going to be, but it should be satisfy salary, comfortable working environment, and not too busy. . . . I think you've heard about the crazy population number in Beijing, which is over 20 million. . . . Many non-Beijingnese or people who come from small cities and graduated from famous universities in Beijing, want to get jobs in Beijing. Then, they will change it until the job is fitted in their majors. And bosses act the smartest role, they know that every employee has to start from beginning, even your major is banking, you still don't know how to help customer save money or open a saving account online. The major knowledge in universities is less practical.

I: So is it an advantage for you to have a degree from a public university in China compared to a private university? I think you said it was more difficult to get into public universities; you need high marks.

S17: It's the best. Depends which kind of company, their hiring person. If this company that has cooperation with international trade, they will hire

the person who graduated from foreign university, like Canadian university.

I: Alright, but if two of you had the same degree from the same Canadian university?

S17: Let's see—if I were a boss. Yeah, I will hire [the one with the public university degree] probably. Here is the principle. You didn't get high enough marks to go to a real university, right?

I: A real university?

S17: Yeah. So that means you didn't work hard enough, or something like this.

I: Or you weren't smart enough, or maybe both?

S17: Yeah, but that's discrimination, so we won't say that. Actually, now in China, we have lots of companies which have cooperation with international trade. Cooperation with Canadian companies or American companies. So the first condition that employees have to have is the English ability. So if you don't have experiences in foreign universities, it might be difficult to get hired.

According to S17, all else being equal, hiring in both the public and private sectors gives preference to graduates from the best universities in China, regardless of program or major, and public universities are more desirable than private. New graduates look for the best job, defined in terms of prestige, job security, salary, and location; from that platform they have the option of searching for a job more closely related to their field if they choose. A Chinese employer conducting international business would tend to hire people who speak English and have a degree from a foreign university. This type of assemblage of truths, or specific knowledge, about the job market in a particular country is indispensable for students to draw on when they make choices in their overseas studies if they are to construct themselves as successful.

S20, a student from another country, also considered the government an employer of choice in his country, partly because of job security and benefits. S12 told me that, if she was lucky, she would find a government job in her country. Otherwise, she intended to find employment in the private sector; her backup plan was to work for her father's company.

Talking about her parents, S6 told me that as they grew older, their desire to have her return home to their country was increasing:

S6: But for me, I just don't . . . Like they [gave] me a choice, like let me go outside. When you go outside, it's like—if you free a bird, very hard to like—how you say—to put in the cave again. Right?

I: To go back in the cage?

S6: Yeah.

S6 had blossomed during her studies at WCU, according to what she told me. Now that she was coming to the end of her degree, she was thinking about going back to her country in terms of returning to a cage. In discursive terms, she was talking about her parents' desire for her to take up a subjectivity in a more traditional discourse, one that had become less attractive to her after her student experiences at WCU.

Discussion: The Lived Effects

To help my thinking about the inclusion and exclusion effects of discourse and subjectivities pertaining to success and failure, I asked S12 to describe what it would be like to be *un*successful as an international student in Canada. She gave me an example of an international student who had not been unsuccessful, in her eyes. Her former roommate in another Canadian city had already attended two different Canadian universities. She had to withdraw from the first one because she "suffered from disease, . . . a very serious headache." She then transferred to another university but also failed to obtain a degree. At the age of 33, she had just moved across Canada to yet another city and was looking for a job while waiting for admission to a university in that city:

> So she's still finding her position. She has no degree here, in Canada. She has bachelors degree in China. And I feel if she didn't came here, she can have a good job in China. But she made the decision to immigrant here. And, because her parents are pretty rich, they support her for so many years. . . . I'm worried about my future will be the same with her. Failed in this university, transfer to another, and fail there, and no job, no income. Just take some part-time jobs. (S12)

At the time of our interview, S12 was struggling to find her way through some complex problems at WCU, and her comments shed insight into the nature of her worries about possible outcomes for herself. Her parents were also pressuring her to return home to marry, so her sense of success was connected to achieving a

balance among academic success, being employable in her home country, and aligning herself with parental discourses regarding family life.

In many ways university policies shape international students' possibilities for success. At WCU, although some new policies have been created with respect to international students and other policies have been modified, in general, there seemed to be a lack of policy related directly to international students. This lack created spaces for diverse responses and effects, some of which were largely positive and others that were negative. Existing policies do not always address the needs of international students when they are not permitted to work or unable to manage financially. If their studies are interrupted by being required to take time away from their studies because of low grades, or if they need to take just one final course to complete a degree, the options available to them are more limited than for Canadian students. In many respects, the onus to learn the rules of the institution is on the student in Western postsecondary educational institutions. This might be true in particular ways because universities today draw increasingly on a business discourse. The "let the buyer beware" statement associated with this discourse places more responsibility on the student and on third parties who are acting for the student such as agents and sponsors. On the other hand, to the extent that universities understand themselves as competing for students in the global postsecondary marketplace, it can drive them to become more accessible, easier to understand, and more transparent.

Numbers are conflated with success and failure in several ways. Students' academic work is monitored and judged primarily through the use of numbers. The international student experiences described in this chapter refer to a regime of practices related to assessment and tracking of their academic performances at WCU. Certain types of information are entered into the official university files, and other information is excluded. Professors enter student grades into spreadsheet programs, which produce effects that the institution and international students tacitly accept. WCU students are classified, counted, and entered into university databases for the purposes of program and financial management in ways intended to facilitate the stability and viability of the university as an

institution as well as to support student success. All of these practices produce official knowledges of students.

Throughout this research the impression is one of the precarious position of international EAL students as they resist categorization as unsuccessful students and persist in their efforts to shift to the subjectivity of successful student. They endeavor to complete their programs as expediently as possible, at the same speed as or even faster than English-speaking Canadian students, often with the university participating in this push. Yet conditions such as their differential access to linguistic, sociocultural, and family resources are not always conducive to their success, even when mitigated by well-intentioned WCU faculty and staff.

One of the rationalities underlying WCU's internationalization policy, explained in chapter 5, is that diversity is an asset from which everyone stands to benefit. However, the increasing presence of international students might cause them to lose their "specialness." They are expected to move more or less seamlessly through their university programs in the same ways that many Canadian students do, in spite of the fact that their divergent characteristics create conditions within which seamless progress is anything but easy. The prestigious, competitive, and cost-effective Canadian university requires "good" international students who buy into the dominant discourses of academic success and who enter and exit in an efficient manner, allowing themselves to be managed and governed by the university. The consequences for international students who are for various reasons unable or unwilling to construct themselves as successful within existing conditions at WCU are often more dramatic and negative than for unsuccessful domestic students; furthermore, international students often assume the blame for their lack of success.

The way in which S18 framed his experiences with time, short-answer questions, and exams opens up possibilities for examining some of our "most prized certainties." Time is so important, so highly valued, and so linked to money in globalized capitalist societies. Slowness often represents a normative judgment; if we say someone is "slow" or "a slow thinker," it implies that he or

she has a low level of mental ability. However, in S18's culture, it appears that there is no similar value attached to time. It might seem unthinkable in Western educational systems not to have time-limited exams. The rationale is often that, in the "real world," students will not have unlimited time to do things. However, there is clearly more than one "real world"; S18's account of the work culture in his country is evidence of this. It is even possible to imagine a world in which value is attached to thinking slowly about something, if, for example, it might result in a more deliberate, well-rounded, multiperspectival solution to a problem. In Western society we have health problems such as high blood pressure that have connections to our fast pace of life. Some have argued for a slow food movement as a form of resistance to dominant Western discourses related to consumerism, time, and the environment. However, a slow thinking movement or a slow working movement seems unthinkable within the dominant discourses of the West.

Foucauldian analysis helps us to see how complicated discourses of success and failure are in this local setting. On the one hand is the academic promise, embodied in the discourses that international students bring with them to Canada. On the other hand are the requirements to actually perform in specific ways and situations, to make themselves up as successful students. Self-disciplining, students successfully use the technologies of performance at WCU to be recognizable as successful in a Canadian academic institution. However, although students might know the academic content, they cannot be deemed successful without successful performance on tests and assignments. Indeed, there are ways in which regimes of testing practices marginalize international EAL students. Testing is based on assumptions about language skills, test-taking literacy, and the amount of time required for test tasks, all of which are particularized to English-speaking Canadian students. Thus, the attainment of international EAL students' success in this particular testing regime interrupts the sense of what is normative at WCU when it is not possible for them to perform in the same ways that many English-speaking Canadian students do.

At WCU, success means performing self as a kind of autonomous academic subject. International students might need to respond to challenges by enacting subjectivities that are in many ways contradictory to the subjectivities they bring to Canada. But as they develop new subjectivities, they also feel the pull to respond to family and home-culture discourses. Therefore, they can experience bifurcated subjectivities. S17 was expanding his intellectual world at WCU but planned to return to his home country following graduation to resume his role of dutiful son. S10 and S6, young women who had blossomed through the course of their WCU studies, seemed likely to "return to the cage" by also going back to their home country and families after graduation. S12 had no desire to marry, but was prepared to fall into the role of dutiful daughter when she returned home by working her way through her parents' Excel files of suitable suitors.

In conclusion, all of the international students in this study demonstrated to various degrees their willingness to enroll in discourses related to successfully performing academic work, although there were instances of resistance. In some cases, students (e.g., S3, S12) took up aspects of Canadian university discourses as a last resort in an effort to resist being categorized as unsuccessful students. In other instances, the international students seemed to welcome the chance to try out the new subjectivities and discourses open to them at WCU, sometimes by embracing these new ways of being and thinking. Their openness to opportunities to engage with new discourses is evident in some students' active performance of the subjectivity of Canadian student, engagement with new discursive practices, and the use of rationalities associated with the dominant discourses at WCU. At times they did so with the understanding that they would be excluded from certain others' recognition of them as a different type of subject, as in the case of some Chinese students who expressed resistance to the subjectivity of Chinese student when they understood it as restricting their ability to act and think like a Canadian student. At other times they realized that performing an aspect of their international student subjectivity, that is, the hardworking international student, created traction for their social lives, or, more precisely, for their socioacademic relations. As they conducted their affairs, the international students engaged in an

ongoing calculation of their self-worth and reconsideration of their future possibilities regarding their academic work, social and family relationships, employment, and immigration plans. Above all, because as Foucault (1995) contended education is essentially a system of classification, division, and normalization, these international students did their utmost to be successful and to avoid being relegated to "the bench of the 'ignorant'" (p. 179).

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

> The most powerful discourses in our society have firm institutional bases;
> . . . . yet these institutional locations are themselves sites of contest, and
> the dominant discourses governing the organization and practices of social
> institutions are under constant challenge. (Weedon, 1997, p. 105)

Much of mainstream policy analysis has policy effectiveness as its focus and the improvement of policy as its aim. In contrast, this study focuses on the effects of policy, with the aim of better understanding the detailed relationships between policies and practices in a concrete rather than an abstract way, and in a specific local situation with specific individuals. A poststructural perspective on institutions acknowledges that bureaucratic structures can exert powerful forces. However, it goes further to foster an understanding of these structures, rules, and policies as being powerful only insofar as they operate as an effect of the way they are taken up and made to function at the level of the individual. Policies live in institutions in complex ways and at many levels. As academic subjects engage in their day-to-day tasks, they are continually drawing on a vast array of policy discourses and subjectivities in a fluid and constantly shifting environment. It is how particular academic subjects access them that I wanted to investigate when I conceived of this study, with the intention of describing how the conditions of the research site shape and limit the experiences of EAL students, including possibilities for agency through engaging dominant or alternate discourses and practices and taking up various subjectivities. Beginning with the actual experiences of international EAL students as they did their academic work at WCU, I also wanted to identify the institutional policies, practices, and processes that affected these experiences.

I was also curious about the relationships among the discourses related to internationalization at WCU and wanted to determine which were dominant, which were complementary, which were in competition, and in what ways. In short, my research questions were intended to allow me to explicate in what ways university institutional practices and policies operate discursively at the local level

to affect the lived academic experiences of international students and the implications of these effects for their academic achievement and success.

In general terms, this study shows that the bureaucratic institution of WCU functions as a discursive field within which other discursive fields also function.[24] Within a discursive field are dominant and alternate discourses related to particular topics and events. Each discourse is characterized by distinctive subject positions that individuals take up in response to specific and varying local situations. An individual can take up a possible subject position within a dominant discourse whole-heartedly, partly, or not at all (resisted). An individual might enact resistance by taking up a subject position in an alternate discourse within the discursive field. A key discursive policy field at WCU is internationalization, within which are discourses such as academic work, with subject positions such as international student and the good academic. Particular constellations of power-knowledge are constituted as "regimes of truth," and discursive and nondiscursive events and practices come together in particular ways to form institutional apparatuses with material effects in a local site.

The discussion in this chapter begins with a summary of the material and local effects on international EAL students and WCU employees that were evident in the data generated during the research project. It then highlights observations and comments in key areas of the research, including evidence of the neoliberal turn at WCU; the new interdiscursivity of the international student as object and subject, of immigration, and of work; and, finally, internationalization and postsecondary education in Canada today.

The Effects of Internationalization on Individuals

Specific effects of internationalization on individuals at WCU were evident from the interviews: in the areas of admission to WCU, English proficiency, institutional literacy, academic standing, socioacademic relations, and academic dis/honesty. The focus of this research has been on events for which

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[24] For instance, within Western academia, discourses of professionalism are also very important, often resulting in tensions in relation to bureaucratic discourse.

it was clear that the consequences were graver and more complex than they would have been for many domestic students. Instances of this were evident when an official transcript was misplaced, when WCU required the production of a specific document, or when a student lost the designation of "in good academic standing." Furthermore, because many of the international students at WCU tend to be silent, domestic students and employees might not even be aware of many of the effects they experience.

Being accepted for admission to WCU. In my interviews I learned of the considerable work required of international EAL students to make sense of WCU bureaucratic practices and to present themselves as legitimate and recognizable subjects through interaction with administrative practices such as the application process, course transfers, and registration. The applicants' task involved interpreting WCU's application form and documents related to the application process. It was predicated on the ability to assemble requisite "knowledge" and "truths" and present, produce, and perform these knowledges/truths in ways that WCU admission officers would "read" in favorable ways—in ways that aligned with discourses in circulation at WCU in relation to desirable international applicants. In this study I heard about international applicants' struggle to make themselves up as suitable subjects for WCU to consider, a task that sometimes required applicants to anticipate that which was impossible to anticipate—to conjecture about the consequences of actions on the basis of little or no knowledge of the range of possible consequences and chains of consequences. For example, as I reported in chapter 6, international documents such as course outlines that WCU requires might not actually exist; thus students are placed in the position of creating them, of making them up, in response to WCU's requirements. However, if they are caught doing this, they might face charges of document fraud.

The international applicants to WCU in this study were successful to the extent not only that they met the requirements for admission, but also that they (or an education agent acting on their behalf) possessed the appropriate institutional literacy skills and could manage the discursive workings of WCU and its

admission process in particular with facility. The authenticity of an international student's transcripts was often challenging for WCU employees to assess because of divergent institutional literacy practices and technologies in the student's home country, university, or high school. An international student's transcript was sometimes manipulated by an agent who acted on behalf of the applicant in the service of creating a document that made the applicant up as acceptable. If WCU accepted such an application and the international student came to Canada to begin his/her academic program, the manipulation was revealed when the student provided the original document. WCU admission officers examined the manipulation and, using all of the information and understandings that they possessed, which often involved the pooling of the resources of trusted colleagues, determined the character of the manipulation. That is, they made an evaluation to discover whether the document was the result of a cultural misunderstanding, translation difficulties, or outright fraud with the intention of deceiving WCU. In any case, if by the time this was discovered the student had already successfully completed some WCU courses, WCU did not usually pursue the matter, depending on many factors, including subjective judgments about the student.

English proficiency and preparedness for studies. WCU has regimes of testing and evaluation processes that produce subjects who are considered English proficient or not. These students were perhaps displaying their understanding of the constructed and contingent nature of these technologies when they "hedged their bets" by taking various tests and courses concurrently or at different times, and when they sometimes even resorted to test document fraud to gain admission to WCU. However, despite international EAL students' construction as English-proficient subjects, they continued to experience the effects of their English language abilities after admission to WCU. That is, international EAL students (as I documented in chapters 7 and 8) struggled valiantly as they attempted to comprehend oral and written academic material and to express themselves through a language they were still acquiring.

In seeking well-prepared undergraduate international students, WCU often recruits from Canadian-curriculum high schools. Yet these are not necessarily and in all cases adequate preparation for EAL students' successful university studies (Murphy Odo, D'Silva, & Gunderson, 2012). The situations in these schools vary (e.g., Li, 2004, pp. 32-41), and there is often a disconnect between what the students learn, how they learn it, the levels and types of English that they acquire, and what Canadian universities require of successful students.

Institutional literacy. For the international EAL students in this study, it was critical not only to develop proficiency in academic Canadian English, but also to acquire a level of comfort and familiarity with the language and associated communication practices required to understand and be recognized at a Canadian university; that is, to acquire institutional literacy. Aspects of these literacy practices are digital. WCU assumes basic digital literacy and expects new students to quickly catch on to the specific ways that e-communication happens on campus.[25] Yet, according to the interview data, these assumptions are not always warranted. Employees also require new forms of institutional literacy when they deal with international documents. It is thus important to acknowledge the work that a "reader does to activate a standard text" (Turner, 2006, p. 143) and to remember that not only what is visible is significant, but also what is not visible; that is, the silences in the text. For example, S2 struggled to grasp what had happened when she received correspondence from WCU informing her that she had been moved to the category of academic probation. From her perspective, the letter was missing information that would have helped her understand how and why this decision had been made, and it was a very traumatic experience for her. Those familiar with particular institutional texts understand such silences, but international newcomers to the text might misunderstand or not even notice them.

Academic work and socioacademic relations. Because of their language abilities and unfamiliarity with Canadian culture, the international EAL students I

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[25] As an example of how rapidly technological changes in administrative practices have changed, in 2003 WCU students started to register through an automated telephone system. In 2010 WCU moved to online registration, using the eUniv system.

interviewed typically required immense amounts of time to complete academic work, particularly required course reading. This left little time and energy for other activities such as creating social bonds. Yet the establishment of supportive socioacademic relationships is key to attaining academic success (Leki, 2006). The international students in this study struggled to be visible and suitable as potential friends of domestic students, as worthy groupmates in class assignments, and as diligent but not needy students in relation to their professors, but their efforts were not always successful, as in the case of S2. She felt invisible and voiceless despite her attempts to engage with her Canadian classmates.

Notable in relation to both WCU admissions, registration, and undergraduate academic work is the position of dependent child that some international students took up. This is particularly characteristic of young adult students from China. It exists in contrast with the independent adult student, the dominant subject position for Canadian postsecondary students. Disconnects occurred because the dependent child is not recognized as legitimate within Canadian university discourses.

Because of their limited voice and lack of engagement with social activities, international EAL students are much less visible at WCU than their numbers might predict. This raises questions about how it is possible for internationalization to bring benefits to WCU through the presence of international students, a rationale for internationalization that is presented in WCU's *IFD* (2003).

Maintenance of good academic standing. Students' performances are monitored and judged in various ways to ascertain whether or not they are maintaining good academic standing, and grades are the primary indices that WCU professors and administrative staff use. In this regard, time is implicated in specified ways. First, grades are examined at specified intervals: at the end of an academic term or academic year. Second, a student is awarded a grade according to a particular arrangement of bodies and materials in time and space. As examination takers, students must present themselves at specified places and times and must perform their knowledge in particular ways within an amount of

time determined by the professor. International students such as S6 and S18, who did not fit into the specific arrangements, for example, by taking too long to write an exam or by not appearing at the appointed time, were judged as inadequate, as were those whose performance on an exam was assigned a grade below a number institutionally agreed upon as indicative of satisfactory performance (e.g., S2). The consequences for students determined not to have maintained an acceptable academic standing ranged from being assigned a failing course grade to being denied a government permit to work off campus to being placed on academic probation or, in the most extreme cases, to being required to discontinue their studies and return home in disgrace. Although policies allow for student appeals, the international EAL students at WCU did not consistently have access to the requisite resources (time, language, institutional literacy, knowledge of the system) to successfully appeal life-changing decisions.

      Academic dishonesty. As I argued in chapter 7, clearly, material conditions produce acts of academic honesty and misconduct by international EAL students, and this was the case for S4. In contrast with the commonly held view that such issues are straightforward, international students tend to encounter greater difficulty in this area than many Canadian students for several reasons. First, descriptions of academic conduct policies are often obtuse even for English speakers, characterized as they often are by legalese and indeterminacy; and despite attempts to make such policies clear, this is also the case, at least to some extent, at WCU. Furthermore, research has indicated that it takes a high level of academic literacy and a lengthy time working in and with discipline-specific written genres to acquire the ability to avoid plagiarism (Flowerdew & Li, 2007; Shi, 2004). When international EAL students begin their studies with only a minimum level of academic literacy and then try to complete their programs in the same amount of time as domestic English speaking students, this does not create conditions favorable to learning enough of the discipline-specific writing standards to avoid academic dishonesty. In addition, international EAL students might be more likely to be suspected of plagiarism, and their academic dishonesty is more likely to be detected because of their divergent language profiles (e.g.,

Bretag, 2005). Finally, when international students are accused of academic dishonesty, they do not have equal access to institutional resources such as counselors or adequate knowledge of policies regarding the investigation and appeal processes, as chapter 7 illustrates in the case of S4. Because of these factors, his experience with a charge of plagiarism led him to the brink of violence.

Effects on WCU employees. WCU faculty and staff require considerable resources to deal effectively and appropriately with international EAL students. In this study there was evidence of professors' flexibility in meeting the needs of international students and willingness to spend extra time with them. The administrators I interviewed spoke of the time and effort required to "produce" each new admitted international student. With respect to recognizing international documents as in/authentic, they relied on a broad array of resources, including new technologies in both the public and private realms from agencies such as ARUCC, NAFSA, and WES.

The WCU employees who interacted with the international students sometimes took up the position of parent in relation to international students, especially when the students took up a dependent child subjectivity. There was also evidence that employees took up various and sometimes contradictory positions in different administrative contexts. The WCU officials, mandated by their job descriptions to uphold and enforce the policies and regulations of the institutions, were required to take up the position of law enforcer, or prosecutor. However, in a number of instances they also elected to be an advocate for students or a facilitator of student agency in situations in which they judged it appropriate.

Discussion: The effects. All in all, my general impression from the stories I was privileged to hear from the international students and WCU employees I interviewed was one of near impossibility. The employees were often expected to do the impossible, a challenge they met with courage, imagination, and hard work, marshalling new and existing resources and forging new understandings in uncharted territories, all the while shifting among often contradictory

subjectivities such as parent, law enforcer, confidante, and advocate. The students experimented with new subjectivities such as independent young single person with expansive career goals, and they experienced tensions when these new subjectivities came up against their traditional subjectivities such as the dutiful child. This subject was expected to follow his or her parents' wishes such as returning home to live nearby, getting married and producing grandchildren, or following a parent-chosen career path. The result of these clashing discourses was in some instances a type of bifurcated subjectivity.

All students faced the seemingly impossible task of successfully completing their academic programs within the same time frames as full-time domestic students, while drawing on scarcer resources in areas such as socioacademic relations, the ability to self-finance through part-time employment, local family support, and student services. Although many of these resources were nominally available to them, in fact, conditions such as international students' limited academic and institutional literacy and discourses related to seeking help represented real and significant obstacles to their access to these resources. Consequently, in spite of their academic promise and their aspirations, some (such as S3 and S12) left WCU angry and deeply disappointed. Some persevered in the face of often serious difficulties. Those who were successful, or seemed to be headed for successful completion of their programs, struck me as either anomalies or as having had a limited experience of Canadian university life because they had had to work so hard to be successful. Several of those who were on a successful track did not plan to return to their country of origin. Some were planning or in the process of applying to immigrate to Canada, and at least one was looking at the global employment market. These consequences of internationalization policy at WCU lead me to final comments on the conflation of immigration and postsecondary education in Canada, internationalization at WCU, and Canadian postsecondary education.

Immigration, International Students, and the Canadian Workforce

Scarcely 15 to 20 years ago it was all but unthinkable—or at least a rare occurrence—for an international student to openly express a desire to stay in

Canada after graduation. Personal experience has shown that the discourses and subjectivities associated with international student and immigrant used to be mutually exclusive; exceptions were associated with extenuating circumstances such as dramatic political upheaval in the student's home country or aberrant behaviors such as "going underground"—joining an illegal or marginal part of the economy such as prostitution or working under the table—or claiming refugee status on the basis of specific conditions in their family or their home country. In 2013 the unthinkable/unsayable/undoable has become part of mainstream public policy in many Canadian jurisdictions, including WCU's province. International students have become a prized source of desirable applicants for PR status in Canada. The desires or characteristics of international students have not changed, by and large; rather, the political and economic discourses in Canada and around the world have driven this change. This move illustrates that discursive shifts and interdiscursive links have the potential to alter the boundaries between the thinkable and the unthinkable, or, more precisely, to alter the conditions of im/possibility for categories of people such as international students. Primarily, the previous hegemonic discourse of Canadian university education offered one possibility to citizens of other nations who wanted to study at Canadian universities: the subjectivity of international or foreign student, resident in Canada only long enough to complete an academic degree and then to return to their home country.

Current OECD discourses of postsecondary education and immigration and work explicitly acknowledge international education as a major source of skilled workers for OECD countries. OECD policy documents, according to Rizvi and Lingard (2006), state that "what is required now are flexible, mobile lifelong learners who have cosmopolitan dispositions and are able to deal effectively with cultural diversity, endemic change, and innovation" (p. 253). Internationally mobile postsecondary students fit the bill.

National discourses of postsecondary education, immigration, and work also view international students as potential immigrants and workers (AUCC, 2007a, 2007b), and the AUCC has urged Canadian universities to align their

internationalization policies with government priorities. The CBIE and others have since the 1970s recommended an "easing of work restrictions for international students" (Lyakhovetska, 2004, p. 214), a move that produces international students with Canadian work experience, which in turn permits them to meet one of the requirements for immigration to Canada.

At the provincial level, the recent co-location of the portfolios of postsecondary education, immigration, and employment in WCU's provincial government signals the connections among these discourses. The creation of a student category in PISP[xxviii] and the government's statement that its goal is to link internationalization, immigration, business, and labor further attest to the interconnections. Government policy and programs rely on the facts that international students will finance their own language learning, postsecondary education, and credentialing. These provincial aims work interdiscursively with national discourses evidenced through alignment with CMEC statements and establish regimes of practice that, in effect, construct students as "good" immigrant workers by Canadian employers.

Finally, at WCU the interdiscursive linking of discourses of postsecondary education, immigration, and work with provincial, national, and international discourses is apparent. WCU works with provincial and federal government departments to streamline immigration procedures for international students by giving them information about government immigration programs. In addition, if students apply for an off-campus work permit, WCU has taken on the responsibility of reporting to the government on international students' academic standing.[xxix]

Thus, there is clear evidence at WCU of the production of a new subjectivity: the international student-immigrant-worker. Previously, the focus was on international students as a revenue source; they have now been repositioned as a source of human capital for the nation. However, with this move Canada is not opening up immigration. On the contrary, opportunities for immigration are narrowing in particular ways. The subjectivity that aspects of government policy imply is that of the "perfect" immigrant with English language

proficiency; academic training in Canada; high employability, especially in this age of globalization; and, furthermore, self-financing—in contrast with the federal government's obligation to fund immigrants' official language training. With some of the most successful[26] international students at WCU headed towards immigration, one could be forgiven for perceiving internationalization as resulting in a neo-brain drain from developing nations in that this process is helping Canada—a developed nation—to meet its labor force requirements at the expense of international student immigrants' home countries.

Internationalization

As I discussed in chapter 5, an examination of key WCU policy documents reveals that WCU discourses of internationalization in postsecondary education include business (for-profit initiatives, active participation in the global economy, and partnerships); global standards (excellence, international reputation and recognition, comparison with peers, recruitment of well-prepared and motivated students); social justice and environmental sustainability (international development, community participation); and diversity and inclusivity in the student body and learning environment. The intertextuality among WCU and international, national, and provincial policy discourses circulates in relation to postsecondary education. At the international level, OECD discourses of internationalization in relation to postsecondary education include the knowledge economy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006), which is neoliberalism by another name, with economic rationales and the enlargement of human resource pools for developed nations as centrally important to internationalizing higher education. National discourses of internationalization in postsecondary education, as the AUCC documents that I discussed in chapter 5 indicate (AUCC 2007a, 2007b), are related to business; they refer to stakeholders, competition, market share, the generation of revenue-building strategic alliances, economic prosperity, and partnerships. The AUCC policy documents refer to the global standards discourse

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[26] Successful in terms of having demonstrated resourcefulness and resilience in challenging circumstances, having adapted to Canadian cultural ways.

through mention of quality assurance standards, international reputation, internationally comparable standards, innovation, and "champions." In provincial policy documents,[xxx] the discourse of internationalization in postsecondary education is also linked to a business discourse; they exhort universities to participate in economic growth and encourage subjects to be optimistic, innovative, and enterprising; to embrace change; and to aggressively pursue opportunities.

A central rationality of WCU's internationalization policy is that diversity is an asset from which everyone benefits. However, the students in this study did not always perceive that their "diverse" subjectivity reaped benefits for them. I argue that the international students in this study were expected to move seamlessly through programs in the same ways that Canadians do, despite the fact that their divergent characteristics made seamless progress difficult. Progress, and what is required to make progress, meant something different for these international students than for most Canadian students. Although they arrived at WCU considering themselves relatively well prepared, as a result of WCU's international recruitment initiatives, they often experienced the opposite as they struggled to achieve academic success.

Thus, although a couple of the students were proceeding relatively smoothly through their programs and felt valued for who they were, for the majority, the actual effects of internationalization at WCU ranged from feelings of self-blame, invisibility, powerlessness, voicelessness, silence, and depression to anxiety. Many students reported that they had to study all the time. In terms of language, despite the polycentric character of the norms associated with the English language, there remains hegemonic privilege associated with standard Canadian English in this local setting, and academic genres of English in particular. Thus, these international EAL students were more visible as deficient users of English than as expert bilingual or multilingual users of language, in contrast to the nominal recognition of the value of diversity (e.g., AUCC, 2007b) associated with internationalization at Canadian universities. As Bretag (2005) commented, the "potential of two-way educational exchange" (p. 1) might be

more rhetorical than actual motivation for the recruitment of international students. Rather, "the institutional focus has been on . . . the fees they will provide" (p. 1) and, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, on increasing the pool of desirable immigrant workers for Canada. Thus, internationalization at WCU can be characterized by "Appadurai's (2001) notion of weak (symbolic) [rather than] strong (transformative) internationalization" (Hyland et al., 2008, p. 5).

On the other hand, internationalization at WCU has created access for international EAL students to new and different conditions of possibility and discourses. For example, the students in this study accessed new discourses of gender and sexuality, dis/abilities, and mental health/illness. Space has been created for new hybridities and subjectivities to which international students might not have comfortable access in their home countries, such as the single working woman (e.g., S6, S10). International students such as S6 and S10, who expressed ambivalence regarding the normalizing discourses of marrying, producing grandchildren, and living close to parents in their home countries seemed to be reveling in WCU's discursive environment. Another instance of new opportunities that result from internationalization at WCU was that, although the conditions might be restricted at a Canadian university for many lower-performing students, opportunities might open up for others. For example, many able young people might be constructed as lower performing in their home countries because of highly competitive university entrance conditions. At WCU some of these students were experiencing success in postsecondary education in ways that were not possible for them in their home countries. In addition, students such as S7 with certain learning challenges have opportunities for accommodations in Canadian universities such as WCU that are not always available to them at home. These international students at WCU created and recreated themselves as they tried out different ways of doing university and of being themselves.

The shifting discursive landscape can thus be seen as creating spaces not only for negative effects, but also for the emancipatory, the new, the bizarre, and the intriguing. This study sketches a picture of international students and

employees at WCU who have been struggling to make themselves up as recognizable, acceptable subjects within the discursive field of Western academia, and also to some extent within the discursive fields of immigration and work in Canada. I observed individual subjects who were working on themselves, often in an entrepreneurial fashion, to accomplish this aim. The international students shared information about the shifting terrain within networks of trusted others; for example, they related that this particular test might be easier than that one, this testing site might offer particular opportunities for getting around the rules, this university program feature could act as a loophole, this professor understands international students in particular ways that could work to their advantage. I heard about students who had made contractual arrangements with education agents and had used the services of other entrepreneurs such as national and international English proficiency testing companies. In addition, certain individuals have seized opportunities to create businesses, some of which are underground enterprises, which help students to make themselves acceptable to WCU in terms of English proficiency or educational credentials. Some of these enterprises involved document fraud or students offering to pose as others to sit for tests, and so on. In general, I observed students who used all the resources available to figure out the institutional practices of WCU and to share strategies to construct themselves as successful. I also heard the stories of employees who sought out new resources and made new alliances within and external to the university as they struggled with tasks that sometimes seemed impossible. In sum, I perceived international students and WCU employees who were experiencing contradictory desires, configuring possibilities, solving problems, continually calculating their worth, and working on themselves as projects in an entrepreneurial manner to maintain an advantageous position for employment in the global marketplace.

In many respects, the internationalized landscape at WCU is facilitating the production of neoliberal subjects. First, "the neoliberal self is largely defined in terms of income and the capacity to purchase goods" (Davies, 2005, p. 9), and these international students as consumers shopped for international universities

and programs and selected courses as consumable objects. Second, neoliberal subjects also must be flexible and mobile and possess "cosmopolitan dispositions" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 253); certainly, the internationally mobile students of my study are candidates in this regard. Third, neoliberal subjects are responsible for their own welfare, are adrift from values, and perceive less responsibility to the social; they are less trusting and have the "illusion of individual autonomy" (Davies, 2005, pp. 9-10). They are individualized, "lacking concern for the social good" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 155), although in the case of international students, the immediate family is often included with the individual as a unit, as in the case of students such as S12.

Davies (2005) argued that, because "the costs of maintaining the newly fragile self is [*sic*] constructed, in neoliberal discourse, as an individual responsibility," the neoliberal subject "must work so hard and has no narrative certainty about itself, [and] it is quite difficult to take care of. It becomes dependent on the practitioners of the psy-sciences, new age practices" (p. 10) Yet, although all of the international students I interviewed had used at least some of the services and programs of WCU's international student services program, few had availed themselves of other campus student services and thus lacked access to such resources as counseling services. This was apparent in the experiences of the students with whom I talked. For example, S1, S2, S3, S4, S12, and S18 found themselves in strikingly difficult and traumatic circumstances related to their academic work at WCU, yet only one reported having used WCU's student counseling services. This phenomenon has also been documented with respect to international students at other Canadian universities (Dei, 1992, pp. 9, 10; Li, 2004, p. 41; Lyakhovetska, 2004, pp. 191, 204-205). So although these international students were participating in the production of themselves as neoliberal subjects, they did not have equal access at WCU to all of the resources required to sustain neoliberal subjectivities.

Finally, neoliberal subjects assume individual responsibility for calculating risks and making choices (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 215). They understand "the symbolic economy of the self" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 171).

Besley and Peters contended that the genealogy of entrepreneurial self entails "the relationship promoted by neoliberalism that one establishes with oneself through forms of personal investment . . . and insurance" and that "this process . . . is self-constituting in the Foucauldian sense of choice-making shaping us as moral, economic and political agents" (pp. 171-172). Overall, neoliberal subjects are calculative, self-enterprising, and self-managing and understand themselves as projects to be continually worked on (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2007); several international students in this study gave the impression of being neoliberal subjects according to these descriptions. For instance, S7, S15, S16 and S19 explicitly framed their decisions to enroll at WCU in specific programs and pursue particular part-time employment in terms of how the outcomes would affect their positioning in the Canadian or global employment marketplace after graduation.

Postsecondary Education in Canada

In this final segment of this chapter, I consider how internationalization has altered the possibilities for what a Canadian university education can be like today compared to the 1960s to 1990s. I comment on what is possible and impossible for international EAL students to experience at Canadian universities and how all of this might change what is possible and impossible for all Canadian postsecondary students.

The dominant discourse related to public university education in Canada has been characterized by truth statements such as that education expands the worlds of young people; facilitates their intellectual and social development; gives them opportunities to enjoy themselves and to explore identities, to mature, to find themselves in a sense; and gives them additional resources that place them in more advantageous positions to seek employment in the future. My interviews revealed evidence that students who come from outside Canada to attend universities buy into this discourse in many respects. However, the extent to which it seems possible for them to experiment with subjectivities and to learn the institutional practices and discourses to gain access to this dominant discourse are variable and inconsistent because of the conditions of possibility that they

experience. In terms of academic work, the type of university education that was possible before internationalization and neoliberalism no longer seems possible.

Canadian universities are under constant pressure to be competitive and efficient and to move students through programs as quickly and in as cost effective a way as possible. This contributes to WCU's desire to attract "good" international students. Hence, WCU expects students to be independent and responsible for managing their own well-being. The sense is that if they are smart, they will cope, and they can stand the intensity. When WCU deals with Canadian-curriculum high schools and joint programs, they jointly construct recognizable student subjects; such programs also portray WCU as a more recognizable entity for international recruiters, education agents, parents, and students.

In conclusion, what is being created in the socioacademic realm of the Canadian university might be a narrower experience of postsecondary education. International EAL students who study all the time (cf. Li, 2004, pp. 29-31) have little time to engage in divergent extracurricular activities, seminars, or interesting lecture series, or to develop socioacademic relations. Studying all the time can lead to a limited experience of university. In addition, because many of them are in Canada only long enough to obtain a degree, their increasing presence can contribute to the increasing indifference and "withdrawal from civic involvement" (Sennett, 2005, p. 118) characteristic of advanced liberalism, and perhaps also a greater sense of detachment from others and from society. Sennett talked about the "economy of impermanence" (p. 116); that is, workplaces characterized by a lack of permanent offices because employees "might think they belong" (p. 117). In neoliberal academia, new and superhuman academic identities are celebrated: "Sleeps 4 hours a night, runs 5 kilometres a day" (Devos, 2003, p. 161). International EAL students are similarly expected to do the impossible. Yet, what does a student put aside to become recognizable? The subjectivity that the university creates and expects can be very different from the subjectivity that individual international students expect based on their previous experience. When they encounter the inevitable challenges, international students fear being seen as needy, not getting it, a problem, stupid, dependent, and not successful; and they

might not want to single themselves out as someone who cannot keep up. Therefore, to go for help and reveal how much help they need can seem all but unthinkable.

As I discussed in chapter 5, rationales for university internationalization at WCU and at the national level (AUCC, 2007b) are based on the expectation that the increased numbers of international students will enrich the experiences of domestic students. There is some evidence of these expectations being met (e.g., S13's experience with a professor who elicited his and another international student's perspectives in class). However, in general, the silence and invisibility of the international students at WCU, as the interview data illustrate, suggest that these "promises" of internationalization are not materializing at WCU.

In the global educational marketplace in which the educational credential of a degree from a North American English-speaking university has ever-increasing value, the stakes are high for all. According to Popkewitz (2000), research can be "a political as well as an intellectual strategy for disrupting [the] knowledge/power relation through making visible and open to resistance the systems of ideas that construct the subject" (p. 20). By identifying key discourses at WCU that are active in relation to internationalization, explicating the fine details of how particular discourses and policy texts are constructed, and describing how they operate to structure and organize lived academic experiences, this research has created a portrait of the actual, contextualized social effects related to the academic achievement and success of international EAL students in one Canadian university. Although the aim of this research was not to offer solutions or fix particular people, policies, or practices, I hope that my illumination of these effects will offer valuable insights to researchers, policy makers, government officials, and university administrators who are interested in how Canadian universities can better understand and meet the needs of international EAL university students within the context of internationalization and in response to its challenges and pressures.

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS

Basic information

- What is your home country? First language? Do you know any other languages? Please tell me about your family. Can you tell me about your educational background? How did you first start to learn English?

- When did you arrive in Canada? Did you come directly to this city? If not, did you attend a university somewhere else in Canada? Have you attended an English-medium university in another country? If so, when and where? What did you study?

- What program are you in at WCU.? What year are you in – first (etc.)?

- What are your goals and objectives? Where do you think you might be studying or working in 5 years? In 10 years?

Choosing WCU

- How did you first learn about this university? What were your reasons for deciding to study here?

Admission: General

- What documents did you provide to the Registrar's Office when you applied for admission? What happened after you sent these documents?

English proficiency requirements for admission

- How did you meet the English proficiency requirements for admission to this university? Please tell me about this.

- English proficiency test: Which tests have you taken? When and where did you take the tests? How did this work? How did you arrange for the test scores to be sent to the university? How long did the process take? How and when did the university inform you that your test scores had been received, and whether they were adequate?

- If you graduated from an English for Academic Purposes program: How long did you study in the EAP program at the university? When did you complete the program? How did the results get to the Registrar? How and when did the university inform you that your results had been received, and whether they were adequate?

Visas

- Please describe how you obtained your student visa from Canada Immigration and Citizenship. Have you renewed your visa? If so, could you please describe this process? How did you get information about how to obtain a student visa?

Your studies

- How are your courses going?

- Can you tell me about the positive experiences you have had with your academic studies?

- Can you tell me about the challenges you have experienced at the university with your academic studies? What has been disappointing? What has been frustrating? Please explain. Can you tell me what happened (e.g., when, where, how, with whom)? For each problem: How did you deal with the situation? If your friend encounters a similar situation in the future, what advice might you give him/her?

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FOR EMPLOYEES

Everyday activities

- Could you please describe a typical workday, as you experience it? What are some of your daily tasks?

- What are some of the unique characteristics of your administrative unit? What are some of the weekly/seasonal/annual cycles?

International students

- Are there many international students in this department? Are many of them English language learners?

- What are some of the opportunities that you see for your department or for the university with the inclusion of international students? What are some of the challenges?

- Can you describe a typical series of events you might go through with the process of ____?

- Can you tell me about a challenging situation you have encountered?

- What have been some of the most satisfying experiences about working with international students?

- Has anything been disappointing about your work in this area?

- Has anything surprised you about your own responses to working with international students?

- Have your approaches to working with these students changed over time? In what ways? In what ways have your approaches stayed the same?

- What advice would you give to someone who is just starting a job like yours, with respect to working with international students?

About a specific policy

- Do you or others in your office ever have to refer to this policy in your day-to-day work?

- What can you tell me about this policy: when and why was it developed? Who is responsible for developing it? For implementing it?

Working with the policy

- Do you often encounter students or staff who don't know about, or who misunderstand this policy?

- Can you explain what happens when a student ___? Or: Can you tell me what you do when ___?

APPENDIX C: CRISIS VIGNETTES

This appendix consists of the stories of five of the international students I interviewed whose experiences were particularly challenging and dramatic. Two of the five students whose situations are described below were from the People's Republic of China, and the other three were each from a different country. It is challenging to convey the intensity with which some of the students spoke. One, who at the time of the interview seemed very confident and composed, told me that during his first year at WCU, while studying English in the ESL program: "I cried every day." With the support of his teacher and the program staff, he got through that year, and had been successful, so far, in his undergraduate degree program. For this student, his determination and perseverance through the difficult times seemed to have paid off.

Vignette 1: S4

S4 was from a former British colony where English was the official language of the country; he did not attend the WCUESL program, and was not required to provide an English proficiency test score. He seemed very self-assured and confident, but somewhat guarded. Judging from the way he described his family, he may have been a member of the postcolonial elite in his country.

It was in the third year of his undergraduate program that he experienced a series of events that led to an academic crisis. He was troubled by some deaths among his family and friends in his country.

Yeah I kept my marks up till last year, or year before last, and then everything just came crumbling down. I had a couple of deaths back home. . . . That was really tough for me. So that affected my grades a lot, brought me down. I had to drop from [my WCU Faculty]. . . The semester before this . . . I took an English class . . . I wrote an essay and I can't, I don't know, like I am not acquainted with the ways of, what do you call it . . . proper referencing academic works from other people. I wasn't that good in it . . . So my English prof, sees it, reads it, thinks I plagiarized. She doesn't call me. She doesn't send me an e-mail, she doesn't tell me to come explain myself. Like I know of other international students that had similar issues that basically profs called them and said, "Okay, I'm giving you a chance, this is how to reference it. Go work on it and then bring it back" and she never gave me that. . . . She didn't try to contact me, nothing, no other way, in no way at all. And then sent it to the disciplinary panel. What was really funny about it was the day before I got the letter from the disciplinary panel about the plagiarism, I saw the teacher in school. That was after the exam. . . I [said] "hey how you doing, I hope you're having a nice summer." Just I was being friendly. That's just to show how unaware I was of the crime they alleged me of, you Because if it's something you're aware of you wouldn't . . . But I was just happy to see my teacher. And she smiles and . . . I'm a good person reader . . . [it

seemed that] she was shocked or surprised that I was talking like that. I was wondering. . . But when I went online . . . I look at the mail and I see the letter, so then I understood why she [was surprised at my manner].

I went to the disciplinary panel, sat in front of them and told them my case. And I said everything, and . . . . from the reply they gave me, they knew I was being honest and everything. But [because] I had been in the university for this long, they assumed I should know how to reference, how to not plagiarize. . . . But [in spite of] the fact that I've been in this university for this long, . . all my classes had nothing to do with writing. They were computer science classes, math classes, . . . so you can't tell me "you've been in here for this long, so you should be able to know how to do this." . . .

So they penalized me. I tried appealing it and they still stuck to the decision. . . Plus at that point in time my younger brother went missing, and back in [my country], if you get missing, it's not like someone just gets missing; it's that the person doesn't want to be found, or the person is, you know, . . . something else, so was extreme. So that was a big toll on me . . . .

My education was hanging on the ropes at that point in time because I was [on academic probation] and . . . when that happened, it took off 45 percent of the mark I had. So that totally brought my case worse and got me to a point where I was almost getting kicked out and required to discontinue from the university . . . I'm, sorry, when I talk about . . . it again it pisses me off. . . . When you tell someone you have issues, personal issues, they think it's the same thing as Canadians saying, "I got issues." They think you can just go home and then solve your issues. No you can't just go home and solve your issues. . . .

You can't do nothing; you're just sitting here, just a sitting duck waiting to hear from your parents what they say. And even what they say, sometimes you ask yourself is it true or is it like pretty much because they don't want to say things to hurt you or to get you all bothered. . . . But at the same time you want to hear the truth, so either way you just . . . you're a big ball of mess and some people don't understand it at all.

This student's perception was that the correct procedures weren't followed in the case of this academic integrity issue. I asked him if he had checked into the policies related to academic integrity, and whether they had been followed.

No I didn't, but I knew something was wrong. . . . I had so many other things to worry about, and I was fighting for my education. But at the same point, there were more important things then. . . . Just the family, everything. Family to us is everything. That's what we have, you know. . . . I was at a point where I just wanted to . . . see . . . how far they would want to destroy me and then . . . I was fed up and everything. I just wanted to see because that was really stupid. I don't see why I didn't get something, it never got to me. . . . I don't see why you wouldn't call me and all I get is a letter addressed to me from you but it comes in the

package from the disciplinary committee, like a copy. . . . I still have the package.

He told me that he had not received the initial letter either by regular mail or by e-mail but he received the whole package from the disciplinary committee, with a copy of the letter in it. He was very angry, and he said "it's really not proper." I asked him whether he had had an advocate at the disciplinary committee meeting.

No, I didn't go with any advocate. We had the chance of an advocate, but I didn't go with any because I just thought I could plead my case. . . I speak well and I know myself. . .When someone asks a question, before I answer, I think I'm good at picking out where the person is leading towards . . . because behind every question there's a reason, an answer. And then I'm the only one who can explain myself more clearly.. Also usually at those meetings, disciplinary committee meetings, there's supposed to be another student. There was no student in my case. . . But I didn't like to ask if it's okay, I didn't care to bring it up. . . . There's a lot of things I would have used to beat the case . . . if I *did* all those things they accused me of, if I did them intentionally. The way they handled this, there's a lot of things I could have done to beat a different way, to beat the case.

I wanted to make sure I understood him correctly; I said I understood him to be saying that his plagiarism was not intentional. He was emphatic in his confirmation. He said that he didn't know how to cite sources in an essay. He thought that his case was so strong and so clear that if he just had had a chance to explain it himself to the disciplinary committee, they would have understood. Thus, he had not paid much attention to the policies before the first meeting.

Because like if I did it intentionally, all those [policies] there, I could have brought it up, right? And that would have given me some power under my belt, also, right? But that wasn't even considered. Because I believed I didn't do anything wrong, right? So I should be able to - the truth sets you free - but in my case it didn't. And I had such a strong case . . . And even during that semester I was taking a . . . computer science [class]. And it's a research kind of class. And . . . I showed them my drafts that I sent to my prof, with his comment, "oh, your referencing is poor, oh you don't know how to reference, go into the ESL, the English help desk at the university, and let them show you," right?' I [did that] . . . You'll see . . . comments on the last draft: "oh your referencing is getting better but you need to work on this, this." So this shows that during this period, even after this, I was having problems. . . . So this was evidence that . . . I was trying to learn how to reference, that I didn't know how to reference. So it's not a case where you'd say I knew. But still, that didn't count either [for the disciplinary committee]. That had nothing to do with the other. It's not directly related to the other, which is also bull.

I asked him whether he had had any previous experiences with academic integrity problems at WCU. He told me that this had been the first time. He was not allowed to rewrite the paper: "They wouldn't. That was all I asked for. I said, 'Okay, I know I made a mistake. Give me the opportunity to rewrite this paper; my education depends on this.' And still they didn't . . . because of the assumption that . . ." It seemed that he had been on the verge of violence, as a result of the injustice that he perceived that he had experienced.

> And when I think about it, during that period I was totally in a different state. I was in a state of self-destruction. I was pissed. I was pissed at the world, I was pissed at the university, I was . . . a total nut case. . . I was just a walking time bomb, a talking time bomb. . . .When you look at the States –look at the shooting that happened in Virginia, Virginia Tech, then people say "oh, those internationals came and did this." I'm not saying for me that's (not clear), not at all, but what I'm trying to say is like . . . some universities don't understand the pressure or the differences . . . in certain students. And they wonder why the hell did this guy do this, what kind of a beast this is, but forgetting that it's the same people that fed the beast, you know, like you're the one that fed him and gave him all those reasons to . . . . I was so fed up. I got to the point where . . . if I got to be asked to discontinue, I would walk up to the President's office and sit down and talk to him and let him know what my mind was, exactly how I felt, that's how frustrated I was about everything. They don't understand when everything just falls down to you, like in my case everything just came down to me all at once, right?

He went on to talk about his sense of not being heard:

> When people don't care to understand where you're coming from, it frustrates people. And some people, especially like people who can't speak a second language. . . . Or you look at . . . people that stammer . . . when they get mad, they're more prone to violence. . . . Because they're annoyed and they can't speak, they get frustrated. . . . [when it] seems like what you're saying isn't heard at all, you get frustrated.

At some point in the process, he did make a connection with a WCU employee about whom he said "I owe him because he believed, he understood . . . and he helped me go through it." In contrast with some WCU employees who he said "pretended to listen," this individual and another employee he mentioned "were there, they were very helpful. . . . They listened; that was the most important thing."

I asked him what he had done since this incident to learn about how to write papers. He mentioned several WCU sources of assistance that he had sought out and found useful. He said:

I'm still not very good at it but I think I'm pretty decent at it. I didn't even know if you take a picture of a website you have to reference that picture also. Those kind of things you don't get taught back home. I don't even think in Canada, I bet you there's a lot of Canadians don't know they have to do that.

An unanticipated but positive outcome of this crisis was that he would soon be graduating with two degrees:

Actually . . . trouble makes you realize what opportunity it is. If I didn't go through this mess I wouldn't realize that I can come out with two degrees, X and Y. Because I've been going through all these problem; they're looking at my classes and they're looking at what I could take . . . to skyrocket out of this.

He concluded by saying:

I've been taken down several times and I'm standing on my feet. And . . . I know people that would give up university at least for a little bit . . . But I never did that. I stood on my legs and then I said I was here to do this, and I'm going to finish this. And now it's the people that's supposed to help me get to my goal are trying to persecute me for something I didn't really do wrong. . . . What I went through last semester wasn't easy at all. Well, what does a man do? Stand up and continue. For myself, I'm going to graduate from this university.

Vignette 2: S2

S2 was an Asian student who came to WCU before finishing the final year of her undergraduate university degree in her home country. Her plan was to study English, take some WCU courses, and then return to her country to finish her degree. In the WCUESL program, she had appreciated the small class sizes, but subsequently found it difficult to make the transition to the large first year courses at WCU. As she struggled desperately keep her head above water, she tried to determine which study strategies worked best for her. She reported: "I feel maybe every person has their own way to study. So I cannot ask somebody how do you study? I get the idea, but it may not fit in for me. I just figured it out for myself." While she was not discounting the value of learning study strategies from others, she needed to find out what worked for her.

Her first WCU course in spring semester was very difficult for her, but she passed. After completing this course, she went home to her country for a break before returning in the fall to resume her courses. While she was home, one day she checked her WCU e-mail and was shocked to find a message from WCU.

I actually couldn't really understand what's going on with me. And I thought . . . because it's English. . . and I just e-mailed to my kind of mom in [WCU city]. And she just explained to me in easy words. And she said,

"You are on probation but you can still take some courses and you can go back into [your WCU Faculty]."

She explained to me that her "kind of mom" was the Canadian woman with whom she lived while she was in WCUESL's home-stay program. This woman had helped her a great deal and had explained many things to her about the way things worked at WCU and in Canada. When she received this e-mail, it seemed natural for her to turn to this woman for help in understanding it. She told me she was in despair when she found out that she had been placed on academic probation; she said: "I'm the bottom of every unhappy people." Her shock was in part because of the way it was communicated: online, and with no warning, according to her. Her initial impulse was to quit the WCU program and abandon her plans to return to Canada. She felt very ashamed and embarrassed. However, after some reflection, she decided to register in classes and return to pursue her original plan.

At the time of our interview, she was still working on improving her grades to the point that she would be permitted to reenter her academic program. Students on academic probation are placed in a special program at WCU until their academic standing improves. She had found the support she received through this program very helpful; it was personal, and she felt that there was genuine concern for her improving her academic standing. One of the minor challenges was that she had to renew her study permit very often, which required extra time and money.

For this student, the discourse of academic probation was linked to practices and subjectivities that she did not identify with, was embarrassed to be associated with, and was angry that she felt she was being accused of. These included being lazy, not caring about the quality of one's academic work, and not studying hard. In fact, what she understood to have happened was that when her GPA slipped slightly below a university-designated standard, she was moved automatically into the probation category, and this action in turn generated the e-mail that was sent to her. I had the impression that for her, academic probation was linked to the discourse of judicial probation. Thus, part of her distress was connected a sense that she was being accused of not being a "good student." She had been working extremely hard, using all the resources and strategies at her disposal. When she was suddenly assigned probationary status, she could not understand why, and felt falsely accused.

One of the most difficult aspects of her experience, as she related it, was that it had been decided and communicated in what she experienced as an impersonal manner, via computer: "and those office workers just see some numbers on the screen, and they never see something that is behind those numbers. So I just think they should change; like if they want to put someone on probation, they should know that student well." She went on to say: "they cannot just see the numbers and then and tell the students, 'you're doing bad, so you're on probation.'"

Figuring out how to access the social realm at WCU was mystifying to her. She was troubled by her lack of success in making Canadian friends, and said: "everyone has their own groups; maybe because they're from high school already. So I don't know how to get involved with them." She attributed this partly to the fact that she didn't speak enough. She said: "I mean if I'm too speechless, I think they will never notice me." When English is an additional language, it is challenging to use English for social interaction.

She went on to say that she was surprised that Canadian students did not seem to notice her, or think she was special. At her home country university, she said that if a foreign student enrolled, there tended to be great interest in them, in talking with them, and in learning about them. She expressed regret that nobody seemed to notice her here at this Canadian university. In discussing this with others, she came to realize that Canadians like to think of themselves as not discriminating against those who are different from themselves. These others had told her not to feel upset "because people here don't think you're special – just get used to this." She told me "it's good to say they don't have any discrimination, but sometimes it hurts my feelings a little bit . . . I wish I was special." While she acknowledged the good intentions of Canadians, she felt that their non-discriminatory practices and discourse had the effect of making her feel "not special" and not noticed.

She also had a troubling experience related to asking a classmate for a favor. After missing a class, she asked a fellow student if she could borrow her notes and copy them. She returned them promptly. The next time she asked the same student, she refused, saying she wasn't comfortable with this. S2 speculated: "maybe she didn't know I was an international student, and maybe she thought I just wanted to be lazy to take notes or something like that; at that time I was so depressed." As an English for Academic Purposes teacher, I am familiar with the advice typically given to international EAL students: that they should do everything within their power to ensure that they understand university lectures. I have suggested this strategy myself, that an international student try to make friends with Canadian classmates and ask if they can help each other with lecture comprehension through study sessions or over coffee. In this student's case, it appears that she was taken to be lazy, or perhaps even academically dishonest by her Canadian classmate.

Her sense of exclusion deepened when she received her first tuition bill from WCU. She told me: "when I first looked at my bill, it says 'differentiate fees,' and I felt like a real outsider." Differential fees were first introduced at Canadian universities in the 1980s; the term refers to the higher tuition fees levied on international students, in comparison with Canadian students. The rationale is that international students and their families do not pay Canadian income taxes, which are the source of a substantial portion of universities' base budget income. At this particular university, the introduction of differential fees for undergraduate programs, along with the opening up of admission for international students occurred in the mid-1990s. While it remains not uncommon to hear international

students complain about having to pay higher tuition fees than Canadian students, this student's first take on it was interesting: she had been classified as different, as an outsider, as excluded. The types of difference experienced by S2; that is, having to pay more, but not being noticed, and not perceived as special; exist in contrast with the type of difference at her home country university, where difference meant interesting, special, and worthy of note.

Vignette 3: S3

S3 arrived at WCU in the summer 3½ years prior to when we met for the interview, and immediately began the data collection for her master's thesis research, under the direction of her supervisor. She completed the data collection that summer, and then in the fall term, she enrolled in the courses recommended by her supervisor. She entered WCU with a sufficiently high TOEFL score, so did not attend the WCUESL program. She found her fall term course load very challenging; she decided to withdraw from the most difficult course and take it in a later term. Unfortunately, when she reregistered in this course, she failed it.

When S3 failed this course, she told me that her department "could not permit a student to get a failing mark . . . so we called several committee meetings and hearings in the department. To decide if I should go or stay here." She talked about these meetings; she said "when they talked about me, I had to go out. Sometimes I stood outside the door and heard that my supervisor was, how to say, not discuss, used a really high voice . . . He was angry." Only her supervisor was on her side; "even my committee member, my committee chair said I should, how to say that word, MLP."[27]

In describing the traumatic series of events, she tried to view the situation from the perspective of the "other side." She said "maybe that's part of [my] culture. . . . try our best to avoid fighting." In spite of her and her supervisor's efforts to negotiate an acceptable solution, it became a lengthy, drawn-out battle: she called it "a long-lasting war." She said they were "how to say – not enemy, how to say – the opposite side." She also talked about feeling unable to defend herself: "If we are equal, I can express my emotions directly, but we're not equal. We are far apart."

When I first asked her about the course she failed, she said "actually I don't want to think back," because it was too traumatic. She went on to say "I even suffered depression and my parents cried on the telephone; they said if you cannot endure any more, just sign [the form to withdraw] and come back." She asked for advice from a WCU employee and some Chinese professors at WCU. She said that the particular WCU employee she spoke to "first . . . made me calm down." Then, after listening to her story, he recommended that she speak to a professional counselor in WCU's student counseling office. She did so, but

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[27] Must Leave Program (pseudonym): bureaucratic term used at WCU. Several people I interviewed used this acronym as a verb: for example, "I was [MLP]ed."

commented "I felt not very comfortable in my head, with my stomach . . . I even went there with no hope. I just tried." She went for counseling several times.

In the end, she said "it cost me almost one year to win this war . . . . both of us [supervisor and her] spent lots of time and make many efforts with this." She wanted to give up but said

> I paid too much for this program. As well as my supervisor. All the people involved in this program. That's a big problem. I cannot consider only myself but also the funding provider . . . my supervisor said "your program is only a two year program but now you spend three years and I spend lots of money to support you and to give you stipend."

It had taken her almost one year to prepare for and participate in the hearings and the different meetings, during which time she was not allowed to work on her program. S3 told me:

> They can decide whether I should go home or stay here, but I can say nothing. And even the professors sitting in the grad committee, they even don't know my Chinese name. They only know my face and my English name. . . And you know, a person you don't even know, they can decide your future.

A mutually acceptable decision was finally reached; the department allowed her to take a graduate course as a replacement for the undergraduate course she had failed. She passed this course, and after our interview, successfully defended her thesis, and immediately returned home to her country. Reflecting back on her reactions during these difficult times, she said that failing the course "made me know my capacity is limited. I'm not a superman, and it caused me a big problem."

As the process unfolded, she came to realize that she needed to be less passive, and to be a more active participant in seeking, interpreting, and making use of policies, if she was to be successful in completing her program. She told me "I was trying to find anything that might help me stay in my program, from university policy and department regulation." However, she remained reluctant to be critical; she characterized those who criticized as being "like a dog, to bark at other people."

She talked about how the characteristics of her generation in her country might have been a factor in how she initially dealt with the problem. She said "maybe that's another problem – the generation gap. My year is . . . I'm a graduate student." According to S3, the generation that followed hers, was characterized as more aggressive.

In thinking back about her problems, she was of two minds. She said: "maybe I should say sorry to them because I caused this problem. I made trouble. I don't know how to say, but it seems I'm the crimer. . . . I said sorry many, many

times. To professors, to committee members, . . . in front of the hearing. I . . . got all fault to myself." She continued: "[I tried] to persuade and to plead and to please, please give me another chance." On the other hand, she said "But I felt angry. It seems the environment forced me to think like that."

Because of this experience at WCU, she had changed her mind and no longer wanted to pursue an academic career. As we concluded the interview, she told me: "I hope my story, even though that's not a happy story, can help your research and provide some information."

Vignette 4: S12

S12 went to Vancouver when she first arrived in Canada to study English. She then used her TOEFL score as evidence of her English proficiency for WCU admission. She arrived at WCU at the start of the term previous to our interview and immediately started her Masters program in a professional faculty. She had used an agent in her country to help her find a Canadian university and apply for admission. When she arrived at WCU, she was told there was not enough room in the program to which she had applied, so she switched to a different program. The new program was in an academic discipline different from that of her undergraduate degree, and so she anticipated a challenge. There was another glitch, in the form of a misunderstanding with her supervisor about what she thought was a promise of scholarship funding for two years; she was dismayed to find out there was no funding available.

During that first term at WCU, she took five graduate courses. When I asked her why she had taken so many, she told me that her supervisor "commanded" her to do so. He said that he wanted her to start her research and experiments at the beginning of the second term. Unfortunately, she failed one of the five courses, and that made her feel desperate. She said at that point, "I [would] do anything." However, her supervisor told her "don't tell anybody you failed one course."

During this very difficult first term, she didn't want her parents to worry, so at first did not tell them about her problems. The following term when I interviewed her, she felt more relaxed; she was taking just one course. However, her problems continued. Her supervisor had initially assigned her a research topic, but since then had changed it twice. At the time of the interview she had not made a final decision, and it was troubling her.

She also talked about her work as a TA in the department. Her working conditions seemed unfair to her, but she did not feel she had any choice. She needed the money, especially since she had not received the scholarship she thought she had been promised. In addition, she was not sure about the rules and regulations regarding graduate students' work, and she did not know what she could do to change anything.

When she shared her difficult situation with her parents, she told me:

My father also suffered these days. He thought it's not a good decision to send me here. He said, "our three people, can't divided any more." He thought it is the best thing that we are together.

This student was clearly very close to her parents. I asked her if she imagined herself living in the same city as her parents after university, and she said she probably would; that her parents hoped she would. Success for her as a student was closely connected with success for the family. She told me that her parents had a plan for her.

> I: Do you think, if you had not gotten a good mark in grade twelve, and did not go to university, would your mother and father have been happy with you?
>
> S12: They won't be happy. But they already have their plan. After I finished my first year in university, when we chatted with each other, they mentioned that they want to spend . . . a lot of money, to send me to Australia, or New Zealand, to go to the universities there. Because it's very easy, as long as you spend money. So I thought, oh, you already have such a plan.

During high school, when her parents thought she wasn't doing well at school because she "wasn't intelligent," they "had no hope" for her. They did expect that she would obtain an undergraduate degree, but she told me that they didn't think she would "be a master." However, after she changed her study strategies and started performing better academically, they had revealed their new plan to her.

> I said it was unfortunate that she had not had a good experience at WCU. She replied:

> I feel it's also like my problem. Because my father said "you changed your program. So you must have the preparation to suffer a lot." My father said, "you will lose your fur." It's a traditional Chinese saying. . . . So maybe I didn't study hard enough.

When animals lose their fur, it can be a sign they are not well, that the season is changing, or perhaps just that new fur is growing. In the context of the above exchange, it seems that her father predicted she would suffer from the program change.

> Her negative experiences at WCU had led S12 to want to quickly finish and go home. However, at the beginning of the Winter term when I first interviewed her, since her research topic was still not settled, she did not know how she could proceed. She asked me not to extrapolate from her experiences because she said "one supervisor is not enough"; she thought that her experience was an isolated one. In a follow-up interview after the end of that term, I learned that she had discontinued her program and was in the process of moving to

another Canadian university to begin a different Master's program, this one without a thesis.

Vignette 5: S18

I interviewed S18 at the start of the Winter term. He was at WCU on a scholarship from his government, on leave from his job. His graduate studies were connected to his job. His initial English proficiency level was low, so it took him over a year at the WCUESL program to develop his English to the point where he could begin his PhD program in a professional faculty.

He encountered a major crisis with his academic program while still studying English. When he was in the high intermediate level of the full-time ESL program, his supervisor asked him to audit one of the graduate courses in his department. He told me it had been disastrous, but said

> S18: It's my fault. Because at that time my supervisor give me opportunity to attend class in the university, in the morning, And my [WCUESL] class, afternoon. So I involved myself. I thought I just attend, as audience. But they asked me for all homework, test, report . . . I didn't know that in the beginning. I didn't withdraw from the [audit course] because maybe supervisor think 'oh, you don't have ability.' Because I [told him] I have problem, . . . [and he said] "Okay, manage your time." So I preferred to focus in this part instead of [the ESL class]. For this reason, I failed [the ESL class].

> I: That's very interesting.

> S18: Yeah. I put myself in a critical situation.

> I: Do you think your supervisor put you in a difficult position, too?

> S18: Maybe he thought . . . He tried to give me more benefit by involving this course, have more information. Because this course, I will take it again. But the problem – I take it at wrong time.

> I: Did your supervisor understand that the ESL program was full-time?

> S18: He thought it's like—it's just 4 hours a day; it's easy. And he don't have any idea about my language ability. Maybe he thought I have good ability at that time. And I don't need to take a lot of time. Because at that time, usually, in [the WCUESL program, at the high intermediate level] everything change. They give you assignment, give you more homework, they give more stress [to get good marks]. For this reason . . . that make me big stress. Difficult focusing, everything.

When he repeated the ESL course the following term, he passed it without any difficulty, confirming his belief that he had failed it because the course he audited

had consumed so much of his time. His supervisor had taken the initiative to suggest auditing an important course with the belief that it would help him later when he was fully admitted to his doctoral program, and on the assumption that he would have time to audit this course because he was attending the ESL course for only four hours each day. However the ESL course is considered full-time because of required studies and activities in addition to the four daily hours of in-class instruction.

The other major challenge S18 talked about was tests and time. He spoke about time as if it were an enemy.

S18: When I went to the midterm exam, I get problem. They have midterm exam less than one hour. Because short answer. . . I am very slow, and I just in the mid the questions, that I finish. They write, other students, very quick. . . . When [my professor] told me I need short answer, I don't know what she mean by short answer. . . . I know many things about these questions. We can write more and more. This is the problem we have. We still, our expression is weak. So we do expression more words, more writing. While other peoples have . . . experience to write something specific. . . So we lose the experience about how to write properly.

I: You lack that experience?

S18: Yes, exactly. Like, we know, but we know many things. We have to choice, to select, but we afraid we going to select something wrong. So we try to write something more.

I: So you write a lot?

S18: Yeah. But is not about guess. We know what the problem, but how to explain this things . . . Other student, maybe take two line. I need 4 or 5 line, to write this same meaning. . . In my country, usually we have . . . extend in our writing. Write a lots. . . . Even [if] the question don't take more than half hour, you have three hours. . . . It's kind of slow, thinking. We used to in our system.

I: You're used to that?

S18: Yeah, used to that. Take more time than others. Here, I think, they have different way. You have to think quick. . . . We have any tests, it's a rule, more than 2 hours, 3 hours. For this reason, even [if] is not very difficult, but they give this, like, plenty of time. So people don't need to be stressful. Take time.

I: That sense of time - is it like that in work contexts too?

S18: You mean in our job? . . . Most of the office, the work in my country, is public; . . . the private work is [not] very big, in my country. So there is kind of routine work. But is always, is not something very quick. . . . If you have something to do, . . . if you didn't work it, there is nothing will happen. Depend on your employer. If he ask you to do that fast or not.

This student had endured several setbacks and had coped with debilitating disappointment and discouragement. Fortunately for him, he had funding to enable him to bring his family with him; they helped him through the difficult times. I asked him what he had learned about how to overcome difficulties, what coping strategies he had used or developed. He told me:

I try my best. . . . But something I say, Okay, we don't need to think in the future. Just do our best. Step by step. Because if we think, this is destroy everything in the future, we can't do anything now. So I start now. And think, step by step. But I get what I plan for the short time, not for a long time.

The challenges associated with graduate work that are encountered by all graduate students are significant. However, dealing with a different language and culture in addition to these challenges seems to create all but insurmountable odds. Going step by step is one strategy that makes even more sense for international EAL graduate students than it does for Canadian graduate students.

CONFIDENTIAL ENDNOTES

These are references that would identify the research site or specific individuals.
Thus, I have omitted them from this document. I am keeping these endnotes in my
files.

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