International Education in Canada: The Construction of a “New” Professionalism

By

Heather Kelly

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Heather Kelly (2009)
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN CANADA: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A “NEW” PROFESSIONALISM
Doctor of Education 2009
Heather Kelly
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
University of Toronto

Abstract

Higher education institutions everywhere are subject to global trends, such as the growing commodification and commercialization of knowledge, which are pulling universities closer to the market (Altbach, 2001). Rationales for the internationalization of higher education, consistent with neo-liberalism, increasingly emphasize the importance of developing human capital and income generation through study and life abroad. Exploring this entrepreneurial turn, my research revealed that international education shows signs of developing a professionalized workforce. Through the use of various theoretical frameworks, including institutional ethnography, a Foucauldian focus on discourse and anti-colonial theoretical perspectives, I disclose how the managerial-driven discourse of professionalism of international educators facilitates control “at a distance” (Fournier, 1999) and prioritizes organizational interests over their everyday/night experiences. At the same time, by conceptualizing professionalization as a site of struggle (Tobias, 2003), I describe ways in which these “ruling relations” may be subverted and how an alternative professionalization strategy may be pursued by international educators in their efforts to advocate for social justice in international education.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Linda Muzzin, whose support and guidance made this work possible. Linda helped me find my own voice as a critical scholar. She embraces “education as the practice of freedom” and in so doing encouraged me to do exactly what bell hooks (1994, p.207) describes "...to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries."

My parents, Betsy and Warren Kelly, instilled in me a love of reading and learning at an early age and I am grateful for their bedtime stories and fieldtrips to the bookmobile.

I would also like to thank my partner, Ivan, who has encouraged me the whole way through. He’s been my biggest fan and somehow always knew that I would succeed even when I was doubtful!

My friends Merinda, Snow, Tammy and Tricia also deserve my gratitude and sincere appreciation for their unwavering support and unconditional friendship even though I was often unavailable: thank-you.
# Table of Contents

## Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction ................................................................. 1

1.1 Academic Globalization: Higher Education in a Global Context .......... 5

1.2 Academic Capitalism: Actors in the Knowledge/Learning Regime ........ 9

1.3 The Managerial and Professional Turn in International Education ...... 10

1.4 Discovering My Problematic ............................................ 12

1.5 Organization of Thesis .................................................... 15

1.6 Conclusion ................................................................. 16

## Chapter Two: “From Aid to Trade”:
International Education and Internationalization in Canada

2.0 What Needs to Be Known:
   Analyzing the Social Organization of the Literature ..................... 17

2.1 Research on University Administrators and Faculty ...................... 19

2.2 Professionalization and Sociology of the Professions .................... 24

2.3 To Be or Not To Be: The Profession of Student Affairs? ................ 28

2.4 The Dominant Rationale for Internationalization ......................... 34

2.4.1 Other Fields:
   Global Education, Comparative Education, Intercultural Education .... 38

2.5 The (Not So) Hidden Curriculum of International Education .......... 40

2.6 Conclusion ................................................................. 44

## Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction ...................................................................... 46

3.1 From Here to There: A Natural History of My Research Methodology ... 46

3.2 Institutional Ethnography: Organization of Activities at the Everyday Level 48

3.2.1 Situating Institutional Ethnography .................................... 49

3.2.2 Use of Discourse Analysis ............................................... 50

3.2.3 Theoretical Overview of Institutional Ethnography .................. 51

3.2.4 Anti-Colonialism and International Education ....................... 54

3.3 Identifying My Problematic ............................................... 57

3.4 Data Collection: International Educators’ Work Processes and Knowledge .... 60

3.4.1 Selection of Research Sites and Informants .......................... 61

3.4.2 “Talk To Me”: Interviewing Method ................................... 63

3.4.3 Selection of Texts and Textual Practices .............................. 65

3.5 Mapping the Work of International Educators and Relations of Ruling ... 68

3.5.1 Regulatory Frames: An Interpretive-Institutional Analysis ............ 69

3.5.2 Institutional Capture: The Use of Institutional Language ............ 70

3.5.3 “Validity” and “Reliability” ............................................ 71

3.6 Conclusion ....................................................................... 71

## Chapter Four: “How Things Work” in International Education

4.0 Introduction .................................................................... 73

4.1 The Professional Hierarchy of International Education .................... 73
4.2 How Economic Power Relations Structure the Organization of International Education ........................................................................................................ 76
4.3 Discourses Activated By International Educators ............................................. 81
  4.3.1 Capitalist/Competitive/Consumerist/Vocational (“Knowledge Advantage”) .... 82
  4.3.2 Globalization/Neo-liberal/Equality ......................................................... 84
  4.3.3 Relational/Professional Caring ................................................................. 86
  4.3.4 New Public Managerialism (NPM) .......................................................... 88
  4.3.5 Equity/Anti-Racist/Anti-Colonial .............................................................. 90
  4.3.6 Discourses and Activation by International Educators .................................. 91
4.4 The Everyday Activities of International Educators ......................................... 92
  4.4.1 International Student Advising: “Pushing It Back to the Institution” ............ 93
  4.4.2 International Admissions: “One-stop Shopping” ........................................ 98
  4.4.3 International Recruitment: “You Need To Be a Business Minded Person” .... 100
  4.4.4 Exchange/Study Abroad Advising: “My Job Is to Make Them Go Away!” .. 106
  4.4.5 International Project Coordination: “Closing the Deal” ................................ 111
  4.4.6 Managers/Directors of International Offices: Administratively Managed Professionals? ................................................................. 114
4.5 Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 117

Chapter Five: International Educators, Professionalism and the Professional Managerial Turn ........................................................................................................ 119
5.0 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 119
5.1 Corporatization of International Higher Education ............................................. 120
  5.1.1 Underappreciated, Undervalued and Underpaid ........................................ 123
  5.1.2 Top-Down Professionalization ................................................................. 125
5.2 Managerialism, Professionalism and Conditions of Work ................................... 126
  5.2.1 Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness ...................................................... 126
5.3. “The Personal Dilemma Is This Whole Thing Between Quantity and Quality”- Relational Professionalism and NPM ................................................................. 129
  5.3.1 Disjuncture: “I Guess I’m Interested In...Making the World a Better Place…” ................. 132
  5.3.2 The Social Organization of International Educators’ Goodwill ................... 138
5.4 “I Would Wish In The Ideal World To Slow Down A Little…” .......................... 141
5.5 “More Fun and Less Nitty-Gritty”: Work Intensification, Professional Specialization and Hierarchy ................................................................. 144
5.6 The Effect of Using ICTs .................................................................................. 146
5.7 Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 151

6.0 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 153
6.1 The Importing of an Audit Culture in International Education .......................... 153
  6.1.1 “I’m not an immigration lawyer you know!” International Education and Immigration ................................................................. 154
  6.1.2 Data Tracking and Surveillance of Foreign Exchange and International Students ................................................................. 155
Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

By focusing on the hidden work of international educators, this study aims to make visible the practices of a specific group of “invisible workers”\(^1\), general administrative staff engaged in international education activities in Ontario community colleges and universities. In so doing, I explicate the power relations that coordinate and “hook-up” their professional work activities into trans-local discourses of neo-liberal globalization and neo-colonialism. As a former invisible worker in this area, my goal is to contribute to the critical analysis of the global inequities inherent in contemporary international education by showing how the institutionalization of power relations occurs through the actual activities of actual international educators.

Who are these international educators? According to NAFSA, (the largest professional international education association in North America with over 10,000 members world-wide), the work of international educators can be broken down broadly into three categories: supporting groups and individuals coming into the country for post-secondary education (PSE), serving groups and individuals going abroad for PSE and serving the field of international education (Retrieved on April 25, 2009 from http://www.nafsa.org/career_center/who_are_intl_educators/#ie). International educators whose work supports groups and individuals coming in to the country work most closely with international students. However, international students and post-secondary institutions also “depend on support from many internal and external sources, including marketing and recruiting experts, overseas education advisers, ESL teachers and

\(^1\) Double quotation marks denote the beginning and end of a passage attributed to another, but also to indicate the unusual or dubious status of a word. I use “international educators” in a different way than other authors, which I elaborate in this section.
administrators, sponsored program administrators, immigration law specialists, credential evaluation agencies…and community programming administrators and volunteers who work to welcome and integrate international visitors into local communities” (para.3), all of whom may consider themselves international educators. In my previous work as a study abroad coordinator, I considered myself an “international educator” despite my front-line activities.

The work of international educators whose work supports groups and individuals going abroad for PSE involves “making connections overseas and developing new programs, recruiting and preparing students to go abroad, administration and logistical planning including travel, safety, and insurance, working to ensure academic rigor and proper credit transfers in their programs, and incorporating the study abroad experience into their institutions' overall academic programs” (para.4). As a result of being involved in these activities, I became aware of power relations and the need to transcend the "border logistics" of just getting there.

In the third category, international educators “do not only work to support physical mobility” but “they also work to internationalize their campuses in a multitude of ways” (para.5). They are involved in internationalizing courses and curricula as well as faculty development. In brief, international educators “promote international understanding through education at all levels” (para.5). International educators normally carry out this work in universities and colleges but may also work for not-for-profit associations, community agencies and in government. In my study, I will focus on the work of international educators in colleges and universities in Ontario. Beginning with
interviews with 17 international educators at three universities and two community colleges, I explore the socially-organized features of this everyday work.

International education professional associations, such as NAFSA, aim to “provide networking opportunities, professional development, advocacy, and other resources to professionals in the field of International Education” (para.1). Of theoretical interest to me is the emergence of a new Canadian international education association, training and certificate program. The International Educators Association of Canada (IEAC) was formed in Canada in 2005 to meet the professional development needs of Canadian international educators and “enhance the quality of the profession in Canada” (Retrieved on May 9, 2009 from http://www.ieac.ca/). A new training program, the International Educators Training Program (IETP), and a Certificate for International Education Professionals was created by Queen’s University in Ontario, Canada to provide training for international educators to “succeed in their work” in response to “an increasingly international and intercultural workplace” (Retrieved on April 25, 2009 from http://quic.queensu.ca/training/ietphome.asp). These new developments are evidence of the widespread appeal of discourses of professionalism to international educators.

Why is there a growing interest in international education as a profession? In a NAFSA article on the international education profession, it was noted that “the whole field [of international education] is growing tremendously now” (Dessoff, 2006:37). In explaining the attraction of the international education profession, an international educator was quoted as claiming that people filling “a growing number of jobs in the field” are people who “understand the global dimensions”. This international educator went on to say:
There are more ways to compare across countries how education is doing, and I think there is more of a sense that in a global marketplace, countries’ economies are tied to how their education systems are doing. (Dessoff, 2006:38)

It is this articulation of the profession of international education to the global economy that will be explored here, beginning with the experience of these front-line workers. Surprisingly, an account of these experiences is largely absent in the international education literature and thus my research takes up the standpoint of international educators to understand how ruling relations, such as global markets, are inserted into their professional lives.

Much of the international education literature is concerned with internationalization models, strategies and approaches. Such a positivistic and pragmatic approach ignores people’s lived experience. Institutional ethnography, in contrast, relies fundamentally on people’s experience. By focusing on international educators’ work-lives, their experiences can be made understandable in terms of the ruling arrangements permeating both the organization and their own standpoint. Although there is a growing body of literature that is concerned with the international or exchange student experience, these publications do not show how these experiences are articulated to ruling institutional processes. It is important to understand how these everyday experiences are shaped by and worked up for ruling within trans-local institutional processes and how international educators participate in these managerial discourses.
This first chapter lays the groundwork for my study and begins with a general discussion on the neo-liberal strategies shaping higher education and the increasing engagement of higher education institutions and participants in the international education marketplace. It also introduces my problematic for the study, the place where my inquiry begins, and outlines how the problematic will be taken up in subsequent chapters.

1.1 Academic Globalization: Higher Education in a Global Context

The globalization of higher education has been critiqued by higher education scholars who are concerned that deep inequalities underlie many of the current trends in globalization and internationalization in higher education (e.g. Altbach, 2002). Such trends include the “export” of students and “import” of new forms of educational provision, all of which have contributed to the steady increase in the “global flow” of students (Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2003:7). The idea of academic mobility, students and scholars moving between countries, is not new. However, according to UNESCO (2004), the movement of students, education programs and providers across borders for commercial and for-profit purposes is growing and this issue has gained new momentum and importance with the establishment of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). This new international trade agreement is administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and is the first multilateral agreement that covers trade in services. Education is one of the 12 service sectors covered by GATS. The purpose of GATS is to

---

2 Neo-liberalism, according to Dorothy Smith, is an ideological discourse that has come to govern public discussion on the economy since the early 1980s in North America and “is based upon economic theories that stress the paramount significance of a free market for general prosperity; government is viewed as costly and inefficient; and concepts of citizenship stress individual responsibility for economic well-being” (2005:17).
promote freer trade in services by removing many of the existing barriers. The goal is to grow the number of private for-profit entities providing higher education opportunities internationally and to facilitate the increased use of information and communications technologies (ICTs) for cross-border delivery of programs. These developments are largely located in developing countries, which has alarmed critics such as Altbach (2002), who has commented on the deleterious effects of such arrangements. In his words:

A few countries dominate global scientific systems, the new technologies are owned primarily by multinational corporations or academic institutions in the major Western industrialized nations, and the domination of English creates advantages for the countries that use English as the medium of instruction and research. All this means that the developing countries find themselves dependent on the major academic superpowers (p.6).

Not only does the commodification of education reinforce the conviction that education is simply a commodity to be bought and sold in the marketplace, but it also raises fundamental questions concerning the ownership and transmission of knowledge. These developments have disastrous implications for so-called “developing” nations as “the enclosure of knowledge” creates a technocratic system of professional formation aimed at producing political and economic elites aligned with the interests of international capital and the goals of structural adjustment (Federici and Caffentzis, 2004). These concerns have led Altbach (2002) to suggest that universities are the new neo-colonialists seeking not to dominate for ideological or political reasons but rather for commercial gain (although the result is the same): the loss of intellectual and cultural autonomy by those who are dominated. The motivation for multinational education, he suggests, is almost always to make a profit.

“Foreign” study is indeed big business. The international student market has an estimated value of US $300 billion a year ("The Brains Business," 2005). According to
the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), there were 2.7 million international students worldwide in 2004 compared to 1.75 million just five years earlier – a 41% increase since 1999 (OECD, Education at a Glance, 2006). Van Damme (2001:415) notes that international student flows have grown by more than 300 percent over the last 25 years and that most observers expect their growth to continue. The flow of students seeking overseas degrees moves largely from the developing countries to the industrialized nations and the majority of exchanges are with Western nations. These enrolment trends and this distribution of students abroad in these regions of the world do not support the proposition that we are “internationalizing” higher education.

Trade in higher education services has also grown in Canada over the last few years. Economic impact data analysis prepared by Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade indicates that in Canada, foreign students and their dependents contributed more than $4 billion to the Canadian economy annually (Le-Ba, 2007). Despite claims by international education associations (e.g. AUCC, 2007) that Canada continues to have a smaller share of the world’s international student market than countries like Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, foreign student enrolment at Canadian institutions is actually on the rise and has been steadily increasing over the past 20 years (WENR, 2007). A majority of Canadian universities are now actively engaged in international student recruitment through specialized mechanisms or units. Canadian universities are also becoming increasingly active in the delivery of education and training programs outside of Canada. According to the most recent AUCC internationalization survey, 42% of institutions are actively involved in the export of educational services (AUCC, 2000). The delivery of Canadian education programs at
campuses abroad is becoming an increasingly important part of the education industry.

Market forces affect Canadian higher education as never before.

Since the 1990s, Canadian government and university administrators have looked to international students, not only to help internationalize our campuses, but also to provide an additional source of revenue from differential tuition and the overseas sale of Canadian education (Vertesi in Lemasson and Bond, 1999). For over a decade, critics have accused international education of being an income generator for institutions faced with budget constraints. For example, in their article "From Aid to Trade," (1996), Daniel Schugurensky and Kathy Higgins pointed out how the internationalization of education has moved away from projects that involved postsecondary institutions providing aid projects to developing countries, and towards postsecondary institutions selling their services to foreign markets. Levin (1999), in his investigation of the impact of global forces upon Canadian community colleges, similarly determined that globalizing forces and the globalization process have impacted community colleges in several domains including the economic, which is coercing community colleges to become more efficient, less reliant upon government funds, and more responsive to public tastes and marketplace requirements. All in all, we have seen an evolution of internationalization in the past 10 years that has resulted in the commodification and market orientation of education.

Underpinning these trends is the neo-liberal discourse that limits education to educating students to become marketable global citizens who will become a vital part of the global economy. That is, the “need” to prepare future graduates for professional life in a global economy through study and life abroad is now partly driving internationalization efforts. Western nations, such as Canada, have clear policy goals to
enhance internationalization in order to improve their competitive position as destinations for students and as sponsors of international degree programs (Altbach, 2002:8). International students are increasingly seen as income earners by the host countries and not only are charged high tuition but are “serviced” by an increasing number of ancillary industries which seek to serve specific market niches and to earn a profit as well (Altbach, 2003:2).

1.2 Academic Capitalism: Actors in the Knowledge/Learning Regime

What Altbach (2006a:47) calls “academic globalization”, Slaughter and Leslie (1997:8) call “academic capitalism”, which they define as “institutional and professorial market or market-like efforts to secure external moneys.” The trend, they argue, is pulling universities into the marketplace and toward market values. Not surprisingly, this movement to become more entrepreneurial has created tension and dissonance for those working in higher education. According to Slaughter and Leslie (1997:1), not only are institutions of higher education “becoming entrepreneurial in a pattern of increased academic capitalism, so they are becoming more managerial in their governance and workforce.” Most recently, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) have argued that the proliferation of academic commercial activities creates a “need” for an expanded managerial apparatus to administer intellectual property, enrolment management, student life, and the like. “Academic capitalism”, in their 2004 version, constitutes not only “generating external revenues,” but a knowledge/learning regime created by the interstitial emergence of complex new networks of actors within colleges and universities who enter into alliances with groups outside the university to create new organizations, reshape old ones, and redefine the purposes of the university so they articulate more
closely with the new knowledge/information economy (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004:256). An entire section of their book is dedicated to discussing the activities involved in recruiting students and the ways in which marketing is directed at current and potential students. Of interest to me is their mention that the majority of Western universities and colleges are now actively engaged in international student recruitment through specialized mechanisms or units. International educators, who carry this work out, are involved in this international student recruitment and educational export, and my goal is to explicate the ruling relations that organize the work activities of these international educators. A related goal is to discover how what can be called their “professional project” accomplishes the “work of the institution”, or challenges its accomplishment.

1.3 The Managerial and Professional Turn in International Education

The international education sector has grown enormously over the past 10 years. Specifically, there has been a growth in numbers of positions directly linked to international education that have opened up at post-secondary educational institutions and private sector businesses. With this growth, a group of workers regarding themselves as professionals engaged in international education activities has emerged. These professionals may be working as “foreign” student advisors and admissions officers, study abroad advisers, directors of international programs, teachers of English as a second language, administrators of intensive English programs, overseas educational advisors, community volunteers, and administrators of sponsored exchange programs. As noted above, the imperatives of the market are now driving internationalization trends worldwide and there is also evidence of rationales supporting a more competitive model.
of internationalization. Just as Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argue that colleges and universities focus increasingly on preparing students for new economy employment, student mobility has reinforced the conviction that one of the most effective means to prepare future graduates for the needs of an increasingly international professional life in a global economy is to study and live abroad (Van Damme, 2001). I have thus argued that there is a strong relationship between academic capitalism and internationalization strategies and that international educators, who are responsible for implementing these strategies, are the unwitting agents of “neo-colonialism” and “academic capitalism”.

How are international educators responding to their responsibilities in this regime? Although scholars such as Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) have cast administrators in a negative light for their promotion of academic capitalism, others have instead suggested that managerial professionals (including professionals in student affairs) are experiencing the same sort of pressures and internal shift of orientation that the academic profession itself is experiencing with similar mixed feelings (Helm, 2004). While some attention is being given in the literature to how these changes have affected student affairs professionals, little attention has been given to the impact of academic capitalism upon other groupings of administrative staff within the university such as international educators. As an international educator myself, I was troubled by the negative implications of their work found in critiques of corporate managerial discourses. I have also been troubled that the institutional emphasis on revenue-generating efforts is at odds with my ideals and working relations and those of other international educators. In response to this entrepreneurial turn and neo-liberal ideology, I believe that international educators are looking to professionalization as a means to gain the control to
cope with these new pressures. But is the proliferation of programs, services and products designed to assist international educators develop a new knowledge base in foreign credential evaluation, visa issues, interuniversity linkages and the like providing this control or yoking them to this new regime? Notions of accountability\(^3\), performance indicators and quality have now become fundamental aspects of the discourse of professionalism. Thus, I am interested in how discourses of professionalism might facilitate occupational control and prioritize extra-local interests over local ones.

### 1.4 Discovering My Problematic

My problematic for this study is, in part, rooted in a desire to make the work of international educators more visible. By focusing on the work of international educators, using institutional ethnography, I hoped to make visible the activities of a specific group of neglected general administrative staff. More importantly, I aimed to explicate the power relations that coordinate their work and professional knowledge. For that reason, I have chosen to refer to general staff involved in the administration of international activities as “international educators” because it is positive term that begins to redress this invisibility.

My own experience as an international educator convinced me that these are important issues to explore with regards to the professional lives of these front-line administrators. This is an under-explored topic. Certainly very little research has been

---

\(^3\) Accountability in the traditional higher education literature has positive connotations. However, there is a growing body of critical literature which asks who is accountable, to whom and on what terms. There is a concern that the public and the state have narrowed the meaning of the word to value only that which can be measured. A narrow focus on accountability issues risks neglecting other key areas of higher education such as such as faculty and staff development, research, and service. It is this discourse of “accountability” that is of concern to my study (see Burke et al., 2004 for further discussion on the impact of such “accountability myopia”).
conducted on university administrators in general, which has led Szekeres (2004) to refer to university administrators as “the invisible workers”. Fortunately, a scholarly interest in administrative staff and a picture of their work is starting to emerge. Gornitzka and Larsen (2004:445), in their study of Norwegian universities over the last decade, suggested that the university administrative work force shows signs of developing towards a professionalized university administration. Arguably, the international education field in Canada is undergoing similar changes. Some international educators, for example, are suggesting that the international education sector is not appropriately professionalized and they point to a “growing consciousness in the field that international education has a distinct identity, with a definable knowledge base, set of ethics and standards and a range of professional concerns and interests pertaining to professional learning, practice and the public policy arena (Murray 2003:1). These are seen as indicators that international educators must consider “where we are heading as a profession” (Murray 2003:2).

Although it is frequently proclaimed that professions are in decline (Coburn, 1999), how are we to account for Evetts’ (2003a:23) observation that the discourse of professionalism is increasingly used and continues to expand and proliferate in the organizational and services contexts in which professionals are increasingly employed? What is really needed, she suggests, is an understanding of how the appeal of professionalism is played out differently in occupational groups in very different employment situations. Therefore, my study explores why professionalism and being considered a profession is an attractive prospect for an occupation like international education. Institutional ethnography, with its emphasis on how socio-cultural and
political terrains intersect with individual experience, is an ideal approach for exploring how these ruling relations coordinate the international education professionalization project. And the work of international educators can serve as an entry point in understanding these ruling relations.

My use of institutional ethnography will make explicit how “ruling relations” as expressed through the activation of texts, policies, procedures and practices, govern the professionalization activities of international educators. One of my assumptions was that academic capitalism and its values of revenue generation, efficiency and commodification is provoking the professionalization of the international education field in Canada. In subsequent chapters, I will explore how international educators construct their professional identities in light of these “ruling relations”. Although international educators’ efforts are well-intentioned, whose knowledge and whose values are enacted in these settings? Based on my own experience, I predicted that international educators would not necessarily be aware of the legacy of colonialism in international education. At the same time, I thought that some might critique a technocratic professionalization project with its emphasis on managerial knowledge which is at the core of globalization and the neo-liberal agenda. Gillespie (2002:6), an international educator, seeks “to organize relations with other cultures and countries in the context of globalization that carry the promise of creative change”. However, just as the research of Etzkowitz et al. (1998) foregrounds the presence of tensions between educational values of faculty and the economic values of faculty work, similarly, I will be looking for the tensions and contradictions in the professional activities of international educators. That is, I hope to find ways in which dominant discourses are subverted so that a vision of
professionalization may be pursued that seeks to engage in information exchange, mutual support, and a combination of lobbying, advocacy and direct action towards the realization of social justice and societal democratization.

1.5 Organization of Thesis

Chapter One has introduced and framed my research problem and Chapter Two will detail the literature that informs this research project and key concepts in my study. This review of both academic and professional literatures serves to illustrate how economic imperatives dominate international education. In Chapter Three, I will explicate the approach of institutional ethnography as a methodology for beginning to discover and analyze institutional relations of power that coordinate the professional activities of international educators as well as my use of anti-colonial theoretical perspectives. I also introduce Foucauldian and anti-colonial ideas that are relevant to my analysis and interpretation. After labelling of the various discourses appearing in my interviews, Chapter Four will provide a detailed account of the work-activities of international educators to show “how things work” based upon interviews with 17 international educators at three southern Ontario universities and two community colleges. Chapter Five outlines how the professional discourses of international educators are both consistent with the new public managerialism and how educators resist such attempts to undermine their work. Throughout Chapter Six, I will consider the connections between the professional project of international educators and organizational and institutional interests. In Chapter Seven I describe how the logic of
coloniality\textsuperscript{4} underpins international educators’ efforts to cultivate global citizens and coordinates with the interests of global capital. Throughout my data chapters I discuss how policy documents produced by international education associations, as well as other texts, organize the work activities of international educators. In the concluding chapter, I suggest the beginnings of an alternative model of “new professionalism” that may inform our thinking about the “profession” of international education. The problematic I will explore is how international educators are connected into the extended social relations of ruling and economy in spite of, as well as with, good intentions.

1.6 Conclusion

My research is aimed at contributing to the limited research that exists on general university administrators and stimulate discussion on how to redefine professionalization. Ultimately as an international educator, I would like to begin to think about a professionalism that does not prioritize institutional and organizational interests that contribute to the further commercialization and commodification of international higher education.

\textsuperscript{4} The concept of coloniality was developed by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano. Quijano uses the concept of coloniality of power to name the structures of power, control, and hegemony that have emerged during the modernist era, the era of colonialism, which stretches from the conquest of the Americas to the present. For Quijano, the critique of colonial power must entail the critique of its epistemic roots in Eurocentrism, that is, a critique of the type of knowledge that led to European colonial knowledges and its pretenses of universal validation.
Chapter Two: “From Aid to Trade”:
International Education and Internationalization in Canada

2.0 What Needs to Be Known: Analyzing the Social Organization of the Literature

Literature reviews are a standard feature of any research, but for an institutional ethnographer, the stance that is taken towards the literature is somewhat different. Campbell and Gregor (2002: 51) note that institutional researchers must read the literature both for conventional reasons – to expand their research knowledge of the topic but also to identify what is known and what needs to be known to explicate its special organization. Knowing emerges as contested and so the institutional ethnographer reads the literature not for “facts” but to analyze its social organization (Campbell and Gregor 2002: 52). Reviewing the literature is therefore a special kind of undertaking for institutional ethnographers. As one example, given that I am interested in how practice-based literature coordinates the professionalization project of international educators, I will use my literature review, in part, to show how institutional texts are present in accounts written by and for international educators.

This chapter will thus detail the literature that informs this research project; both academic and professional literatures will be included. I will also review various theoretical approaches that could be taken to the study of front-line managers in international education. In the process, I will elaborate on the approaches chosen for my research. The first section of the review will cover writing at the practical and micro-sociological level, beginning with higher education professions literature, which comprises a range of theoretical approaches. I will explore the limited writing on university administrators which reveals a “propensity for general staff to be ignored”
When they do appear, staff are often homogenized and depicted in negative and contradictory ways. I argue that the fact that women make up the majority of general staff and are disproportionately in lower-level positions highlights the need to engage with issues of gender and power when examining power relations and university staff.

Second, I will examine the literature on professionalization and the more critical theorizing about professions in the sociology of the professions. Much writing by professionals is normative, but I will argue that it gives insights into where emerging "professions" are at. The continuing appeal of the concept of professional is relevant to my research, as well as how professionalism is used in organizations, such as universities, to secure organizational objectives. This literature suggests that it must be theorized how these organizations and institutions are inserted into the professionalization activities of international educators. To provide an extended example of how such a set of relations might work, I will investigate the debate surrounding the professional status of student affairs professionals and the new accountability demands being placed on student affairs professionals. Are these demands leading professionals away from educating, counselling and supporting students towards more academic capitalist behaviours? This exercise is relevant as a parallel process in my exploration of the evolution of a professional identity among international educators within post-secondary institutions.

In the second half of this review, I will move to the macro-level, considering writing from a range of theoretical perspectives from mainstream to anti-colonial. “International education”, “internationalization” and “globalization”, often used interchangeably, are differently constructed in different theoretical discourses. It is
important to identify which of these discourses international educators are referencing when activating such terms in their everyday work. My intent is in not to suggest that there are stable, fixed discourses but to understand how international educators’ situate themselves in relation to, and differently from, these discourses. How international educators conceptualize and implement internationalization policies and programs reflect these varying approaches and reveal linkages to trans-local processes. Yang (2002:83) has concluded that “as the international dimension of higher education gains more attention and recognition, people tend to use it in the way that best suits their purpose,” reinforcing the point that a discourse (or discursive formation) has rationales embedded in it (Said, 1978).

2.1 Research on University Administrators and Faculty

As McInnis (1998:161) notes: “There has been remarkably little systematic study of the roles and values of university administrative staff”. Judy Szekeres (2004), a university administrator herself, also takes the position that general staff have largely been ignored in the mainstream academic literature. There are exceptions. For example, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) explore the role of middle managers in U.S higher education and analyze the efforts of colleges and universities to develop, market, and sell research products, educational services, and consumer goods in the private marketplace. They suggest that expanded managerial capacity links higher education institutions and markets. When university administrators do appear in the literature, Szekeres (2004a:13) argues that this discourse of corporate managerialism (or academic capitalism) depicts administrators in contradictory and problematic ways. Szekeres (2004a:9) suggests that this invisibility and confusion is due to the fact that administrative staff are often
confused with “academic managers” (which has led to false impressions about what university staff actually do) and therefore depictions of their work do not capture the complexity of their roles. Castleman and Allen (1995) further suggest that this lack of respect for administrative staff may be linked to gender discrimination, as post-secondary administrative staff is a feminized workforce.

To contextualize this invisibility, as I have argued above, there needs to be some understanding of the current contexts in which universities are operating. Szekeres (2004a:9) notes that universities are increasing subject to a neo-liberal agenda which is characterized by managerialism, marketization, audit and corporatisation. Others have also suggested that the institutional form of universities is fundamentally changing. Focussing on the details, Gornitska and Larsen (1998), in a study of Norwegian universities, discern what they describe as a “silent managerial revolution”. They find increases in the higher levels of administrative staff and suggest a number of reasons for this phenomenon, including growth in student numbers, research, internationalization and modernization of the public sector with result-oriented programming and cash-limit budgeting. Like Szekeres (2004a), they also contend that the forces of marketisation have led to the growth of new administrative units and specialty roles; for example, staff are focused on income generation and market growth, which are roles not traditionally associated with universities. Gornitska and Larsen suggest that there has not merely been a quantitative increase in university staff, but that there has been a trend towards professionalization of university administration. Their data showed a rise in formal status, an increase in the level of formal qualifications required to hold a position as a university administrator and the creation of new formal and informal networks over time. To better
understand the change in the role of administrative staff, Gornitska and Larsen (2004:470) also suggest that we need improved analysis of different types of work processes to understand the professionalization of administrative staff.

There is also a great deal of literature on upper administration or “academic executives” (presidents, academic deans and directors) in higher education. These studies often focus on how to lead and manage “the entrepreneurial college or university”. The need to transform higher education organizations into entrepreneurial universities is expressed in a language of reengineering and redesign, of “restructuring for high performance” (Tierney, 1998) and “building the responsive campus” (Tierney, 1999). This discourse has emphasized “leadership from above” and criticized faculty for their resistance to change and has also characterized shared governance as outdated and insufficient to the task of “strategic management” in the current environment (Duderstadt, 2000). This literature is not relevant to my study, as I am interested in how to curtail, not facilitate, responsiveness to and engagement with the market. However, the critique of this literature by critical scholars (e.g. Rhoades, 2003) is helpful in relating “managerial flexibility” to the increased responsiveness of higher education institutions to parties outside the academy (e.g., students, employers). Taken together, this focus on “managerial professionals” in higher education can therefore be seen as part of the corporatization of academic culture.

The literature on the changing roles of academic faculty in “entrepreneurial” colleges and universities in an era of capital accumulation, research commercialization and technology transfer is more useful than the calls to entrepreneurialism (see Chan & Fisher, 2008). Specifically, there is a growing body of “academic capitalism” research
which explores how the lives of faculty have been adversely affected by the movement of universities toward the market. Studies have documented how faculty are spending more instructional time in class, facing pressure to increase research and instructional productivity and devoting less time to service activities within the college or university (Milem et al, 2000). Other research describes how faculty are increasingly involved with technology transfer as a form of entrepreneurial activity resulting in a shift toward more applied research and restrictions by industry (Cohen et al., 1998). It has been argued that pressures to identify new sources of income to fund the increasingly expensive research enterprise has weakened faculty resistance to external influence on the direction of academic inquiry (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). This literature will be used later in this chapter to critique normative professions literature in higher education.

There is also a related body of literature on how new public management (NPM) approaches\(^5\), or the adoption by universities of organizational forms, technologies, management practices and values commonly found in the private sector (Deem, 1998:47), are transforming the academic workplace. Broadbent and Laughlin (2002) have described this explicit emphasis on outputs and outcomes as “accounting logic”. It has been suggested that that staff in higher education organisations are finding themselves under pressure to do more work but with fewer resources (Smyth, 1995; Cuthbert, 1996). As it changes the university environment, NPM may shape women’s work in the academy in particular ways. Acker (1997, 1999, 2007) found that women are expected to take on (and to be encouraged by managers to take on) considerable “extra” nurturing and service

---

\(^5\) Recent management changes in the public sector have been broadly described as “new public management”. The central features have been described as “...lessening or removing differences between the public and the private sector and shifting the emphasis from process accountability towards a greater element of accountability in terms of results” (Hood 1995: 94 in Broadbent and Laughlin, 1998:403).
roles such as administrative, committee and student-related responsibilities in addition to their teaching and research. It has also been suggested that the “softer” management skills of women may be used by universities to provide a cover for the harder aspects of new managerialism (Deem, 1998).

There is also literature suggesting that the contingent faculty phenomena is gendered and racialized (Muzzin, 2008; Muzzin & Limoges, 2008; Rajagopal, 2002; Hannah et al., 2002). Arguably, the working lives of faculty are different from the lives of their general staff counterparts who do not enjoy the same complement of power and autonomy. However, the gendered and racialized dimension of their experience, especially of the singularly invisible contingent faculty, is relevant.

The fact that women make up the majority of general staff and are disproportionately in lower-level administrative positions suggested a search of the equity literature for themes of the marginalized professional lives of international educators and their undervalued work. Unfortunately, no such research has been done. Further, no research has yet explored the status of racialized groups in the general university workforce. Among the academic workforce, research has found that racial minorities are underrepresented and that they also experience a significant pay gap (CAUT, 2001). As well, work by educators such as Margolis and Romero (1998) on the experiences of graduate students of colour has suggested that inequalities are embedded in the graduate school curriculum that result in the exclusion of minorities from the “inner circles of academia”. My observation that many international students, as a result of their foreign study experience, enter the international education profession suggests it will be
important to examine the racialized nature of the profession in research on international educators.

In summary, what is useful about this literature on faculty and staff in higher education is that it draws our attention to the lived experiences of women in the context of globalization and neo-liberalism. It is important to see academic capitalism and the contingent faculty phenomena in higher education as a sub-set of economic policies/practices and international power relations that are redesigning public institutions to fit the neo-liberal frame. In this context, NPM can be understood as a discourse mediating neoliberalism and institutional discourses in a variety of settings, such as international higher education (Smith, 2006:217). Arguably, what goes on at the “shop-floor” level in the everyday lives of international educators is penetrated and organized by social relations well-beyond the local (Smith, 2006:215). The professional project of international educators, discussed below, can also be viewed as ideological. As will be explained, international educators are required to orient their professional interests to the neo-liberal knowledge economy.

2.2 Professionalization and Sociology of the Professions

Since I seek to understand how international educators are actively constructing professionalization discourses, the literature regarding professions was reviewed.

Most literature on “professions” until the 1960s took a “traits” approach. The task was to delineate the major traits of a profession (e.g. Flexner, 1915) and/or to study the steps involved in an occupation becoming a profession (e.g. Wilensky, 1964). A different perspective on professions emerged from the Chicago school of symbolic interactionists which asked not “is this occupation a profession?” but rather, “what is the process by
which an occupation stakes a claim to be a profession?” Both approaches to professional work were later subject to heavy criticism. In the 1970s and 1980s, lists of the core aspects of professionalism and the special characteristics of professional work were rejected. They were critiqued for obscuring the social and historical conditions under which occupational groups become “professions”, ignoring the unique “professionalization projects” of different occupations (Dietrich and Roberts 1997: 23) and overlooking the power struggles involved in the process of professionalization (Saks 1983:2).

This critical literature on professions is often referred to as the “professionalization, power and market monopolization” approach. Although theorists who have been placed together within this “power paradigm” have in fact approached professionalism from varying perspectives, they tend to share the view that the distinguishing feature of the professions is their ability to gain societal recognition as a “profession” (Dietrich and Roberts 1997: 23). Theorists such as Johnson (1972) regarded “professionalization” as a political process of gaining greater occupational control over work, and were interested in the role of power in establishing and maintaining that control. One concept which became prominent was “the professional project” developed by Larson (1977). She theorized how a distinct occupational group sought a monopoly in the market for its service, as well as status and upward mobility. “Social closure” was a term employed by such theorists as Parkin (1979) to capture the boundary building and maintenance aspects of professionalism. Abbott (1988) also examined the carving out and maintenance of professional jurisdictions through competition and the requisite cultural and other work that was necessary to establish the legitimacy of the monopoly practice.
These literatures on professions are theoretically useful in a study of front-line international educators in various ways. The older literature on traits required to “be” a profession, while it may have been discredited by sociologists, is not necessarily dismissed by practicing professionals (see Rhoades, 1991). Thus the sociological critiques of the 1970s are relevant to literature written by would-be professionals, such as those in my research. Further, as I will suggest below, micro-sociological theorizing about the enactment of power relations in emergent professions can be useful in an institutional ethnography of international educators.

Particularly useful for my purposes is the theorizing of feminist and anti-racist scholars. They have argued that early critical contributions to the sociology of the professions, while being centrally concerned with the concept of power, have focused too narrowly on class relations, with little attention given to the relationships among gender, race and professionalization. Particularly relevant is the gendered theorizing of Witz (1992), who describes the unique social closure strategies of professional projects undertaken by women in patriarchal society. Sokoloff (1992) also notes that despite broader changes in the labour market, occupations have largely remained segregated by race and/or gender. What is useful in these perspectives is a concern with the historically-specific role of the professions in creating and maintaining systems of value, power and authority which mirror and reinforce social inequalities. Feminist research on the health care professions has shown that while female dominated professions draw upon feminist ideologies to seek recognition for their unique contributions, there exists a tension between ideals of feminism and ideals of professionalism (e.g. Acker and Dillabough, 2007; Adams and Bourgeault, 2003). As well, given the racialized nature of the
professions it is important to consider whether and how international educators, in their professional project, enact exclusions and reproduce racism. As Nestel (2004) illustrates in her research on the professionalization of midwifery, professional struggles can represent racist processes inasmuch as they enact exclusions that impact systemically and dramatically on racialized groups of women. Together, this critical micro-sociological research suggests that exclusion and marginalization are essential to the formation of politically efficacious strategies and professional subjectivities (see also Costello, 2005).

In recent years there has been interest in the articulation of professional work with institutional processes. There was historical interest by social psychologists (e.g. in Freidson: 1998, 1994, 2001 and in Davies: 2003, 2007 writing) in how professional and administrative institutional staff negotiated their differences. Among contemporary theorists, Evetts (2003a) and Rhoades (1991) both note the disconnect between normative writing on professions, often anachronistically discussing whether a particular occupation should be classified as a profession, and critical literature, which is not acknowledged. Evetts (2003a) suggests that attention should instead be focused on the development of a professional staff to provide a focal point for both theoretical positions. In her formulation, “professionalism” is presented as an alternative to the pursuit of professional status and it is suggested that while an occupation itself may not be recognized as a profession, its practitioners may perform their tasks in the occupation as professionals. Evetts (2003a) fears that normative arguments concerning professionalism too easily turn towards institutional discourses. Fournier (1999 in Evetts 2003a: 396) also finds that professionalism is appropriated in mission statements and organizational aims and objectives intended to motivate employees. Drawing upon Fournier’s (1999)
interpretation of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism, Evetts (2003b:31) warns: “It seems as though professionalism is being used as an ideology and a discourse to convince, cajole, and persuade employees, practitioners and other workers to perform and behave in ways which the organization deems to be appropriate, effective and efficient”. She goes on to note that in occupations that involve service or “caring work” and that are staffed by women, a great deal is being asked for very little financial or other reward. In the case of international educators, the possibility should be explored that the ideology of professionalism, which is so attractive and appealing to professional workers, is being used as a mechanism of occupational change and control to promote organizational and managerial objectives. Yet, Evetts (2003a:411) also notes that the meaning of professionalism is not fixed and that it is the highly contestable nature of the meaning of professionalism that leaves space for professions and professionalism to act as a countervailing force against organizational control.

2.3 To Be or Not To Be: The Profession of Student Affairs?

As an example of the trait approach to the professions, the Student Affairs professional literature will be reviewed in the following section. Key to the trait approach is an attempt to determine the degree to which an occupation meets certain “professional” characteristics. As I have emphasized above, it is important to move from the normative question of whether a particular occupation is a profession to an analysis of why the concept of “professional” is so appealing to workers.

As we will see, relationships between student affairs practitioners and students are being dominated by organizational forms of regulation such as hierarchy, bureaucracy, managerialism, target-setting, accountability and market-forms of customer relations.
This indicates the construction of professionalism in student affairs “from above” rather than “from within”. That the discourse of professionalism can be understood as a managerial instrument of professional, occupational control is relevant to my study of international educators who are a parallel group of font-line administrators in higher education.

It is also important here to refer to Rhoades’s (1991: 152) distinction between those who do theorizing within a profession versus those who study it, critically, from a sociological perspective. Here, I am using student affairs practitioners’ functionalist theorizing about their professional status as a means to critique the administrative literature. At the end of the section, I also draw upon some critical literature to critique this normative interpretation of professions and professionalism.

Student affairs, according to Turner (1994, para.1), has been “praised and critiqued in the literature perhaps more than any other functional area in higher education”. Arguably, a preoccupation with defining the profession and a search for a common knowledge base dominates the professional discourse of student affairs. Are such discourses also circulated and activated by international educators in their construction of their everyday professional lives?

Student affairs has struggled to justify its existence as a profession and thus taxonomic approaches have heavily influenced the debate by practitioners about the professional status of student affairs. In this literature, the key question has been: “Is student affairs a profession?” The answer has almost unanimously been that student affairs does not qualify as a profession. Student affairs, it has typically been argued, is not a “profession” sanctioned by legal or social means, nor is it a formal qualification
necessary to work in the field. Further, there is no pre-requisite for membership in a professional association and no requirement for continuing professional education (Conway, 2002). Fenske (1989) notes that scholars have suggested that there is no single functional focus in student affairs nor does the field have a consensual integrative philosophy. Bloland (1992) similarly points out that many commentators argue that student affairs cannot be considered a profession, as the field is comprised of disparate work activities and is simply an administrative designation. Based on such an assessment from an out-dated functionalist position, student affairs has been widely regarded as a “non-profession”.

In contrast, some scholar-advocates within the field have instead suggested that student affairs is in the dynamic process of professionalization and that this should be the goal (Young, 1988) while others suggest that student affairs is an “emergent profession” (Carpenter, Miller & Winston, 1980). Carpenter (2003) suggests that “for a variety of good reasons, student affairs work may never full qualify as a profession, but it may not matter in practice”. This preoccupation with the core aspects of professionalism can be found in the international educator literature as well. Jablonsky (1998: 2-6) summarizes the problem as an “identity crisis”. The notion of fragmentation and the impact that this has had on the ability of student affairs to become an organized and collective professional body has been a primary theme in this section of the student affairs literature. Examining it provides some clues for understanding how professionalization discourses are being used.

From a critical perspective, the argument over what constitutes the common body of knowledge in student affairs or any other cohort of university staff, fails to recognize
that there are competing knowledge(s). Some student affairs scholars have noted that ideas of what counts as “knowledge” in student affairs, have become so narrow and confining as to discredit and even exclude the diversity of contributions beyond traditional, normative research (White 2002: 159). Attempting to explain the two solitudes of normative and critical literature on professions, Slattery (1995) contends that the scholarship of student affairs still expects and values a type of rational and structural reasoning that is aligned with dominant discourses. White (2002:160) suggests that the student affairs literature reflects a hierarchy of scholarship, with different (i.e., less traditional) forms of scholarship erroneously perceived by the mainstream to be less rigorous and less useful. Specifically, there is a lack of attention paid to theoretical paradigms such as critical theory and pedagogy, which call upon educators to better examine and interact with the politics of education.

There are exceptions. For example, student affairs scholars such as Helm (2004) are concerned about the consequences of academic capitalism for the profession of student affairs. It has been documented by many student affairs professionals that budget, climate and accountability demands place new pressures on front-line professionals such as those in student affairs who are being required to increasingly justify their effectiveness on campus to secure future budget allocations. Rentz (1998:46 in Helm 2004:12) asserts “that unless student personnel professionals [can] document their effectiveness with students, future budget allocations [will] be greatly decreased. Accountability has entered higher education from the corporate world”. As I have mentioned above, the relationship of student affairs professionals to students is increasingly being commodified in the sense that students are framed in commercial
rather than educational terms (Helm 2004: 23). Student affairs professionals are also concerned that the marketization of student affairs will move the profession away from its defining values of student development. Professional associations have even produced guidelines that caution against approaches that do not prioritize the needs of students (Helm, 2004: 106). Woodward and DeArmond (1998 in Helm, 2004:11) assert, “We are moving perilously close to swapping our core values for market place values as a way to protect our interests as a profession”. They go on to say that:

> our clients no longer become our first concern but rather protecting our corporate interests as a profession becomes our first concern! And this is what is so important for us to address in student affairs – not so much whether or not we are a profession, but whether we are becoming de-professionalized (Woodward and DeArmond 1998:17 in Helm 2004:108).

These remarks suggest that this movement to the market is causing considerable concern for student affairs professionals. The fact that the critical professional literature in student affairs is concerned with academic capitalism is important to my study. As noted in the introduction, the academic capitalism literature suggests that expanding managerial capacity is linking higher education institutions to the new economy (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). The fact that administrative front-line workers located elsewhere in the academy are expected to engage in entrepreneurial activity-- but sometimes resist--is relevant to my study on international educators. In the next section, I will review the critical literature in international higher education which suggests that new developments in international education, often characterized as features of economic globalization, are also examples of academic capitalism. By drawing upon the critical literatures on the professions, academic capitalism and economic globalization, my study is set up to
explore how the work of international educators is both articulated to and subverts institutional relations of ruling.

This literature directs attention towards power relations organizing the everyday work of international educators and suggests how they articulate towards or reject demands for “accountability”. As Helm notes (2004:16-17), studies have been conducted which address the impact of the market on faculty (e.g. Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Rhoades 1998) but none have examined how academic capitalism affects student affairs professionals (or other academic professionals) directly and, as I have noted, while little attention is being given to how these changes have affected student affairs professionals, no attention has been given to the impact of academic capitalism upon other groupings of administrative staff within the university such as international educators. As noted above, given that most of the academic capitalism literature focuses on faculty (e.g. Gumport, 2000) or research (Geiger, 2004), I will not review the academic capitalism literature in detail. What is important to my study is the general proposition that universities and colleges are engaging in market-like activities (e.g. Newson and Buchbinder, 1986; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and the documented extent of corporate influence on the university (e.g. Turk, 2000). Rhoades’ (1998) argument that faculty are “managed professionals” is also relevant; I will explore the extent to which international educators, especially front-line managers, are also “managed professionals”.

The academic capitalism literature which highlights the specific technologies of NPM found to be operating in colleges and universities such as performance indicators (e.g. Polster and Newson, 1999), the increased emphasis on technology in instruction (e.g. Noble, 2002), and marketization policies and practices (Marginson, 1997) is useful
to my consideration of the incursion of the so-called audit culture in international higher education. As international educators actively construct discourses on professionalization, are they aware of how these discourses might be mediated by new managerialist discourses?

Just as I have compared and contrasted the normative and critical literature on the professions in this section, I will compare and contrast the various types of international higher education literature in the following section.

2.4 The Dominant Rationale for Internationalization

In this section, the mainstream literature on internationalisation will be reviewed. Canadian scholar Jane Knight has offered one of the most widely referenced definitions of internationalization. She defines internationalization as “the process of integrating an international/intercultural dimension into teaching, research and service of the institutions” (1997:8). Van der Wende (1997) pointed out that such an institutional-based definition has its limitations, which prompted Knight (2003, para.3) to update this definition defining internationalization as: “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education”.

Knight (1997) clusters rationales for internationalization into four groups. The political she relates to issues concerning the country’s position and role as a nation in the world, e.g. security, stability, peace, ideological influence etc. The economic refers to objectives geared to either the long-term economic effects where internationalization of higher education is seen as a contribution to the skilled human resource needed for international competitiveness of the nation and where foreign graduates are seen as key to
the country’s trade relations or, direct economic benefits. *Academic* is the third category of rationales in which it is assumed that by enhancing the international dimension of teaching, research and service there is an added quality of our higher education systems. The *cultural/social* is the fourth rationale Knight identifies—the idea that interaction with other cultures is seen as important to the development of students. While Knight recognizes that there are a variety of ways to describe and define internationalization, critics point out that it is not clear what these rationales truly mean and how the rationales may be linked (Beck, 2001:40). Although Knight (1995:5; 2000:17) claims in her earlier work that the academic rationale dominates, Beck points to evidence suggesting that economic rationales are more prevalent and that academic rationales may actually be aligned with economic rationales (2001:39).

Other scholars, such as de Wit (1999), notes that these rationales for internationalization of higher education have changed over time and that there has been a discernable shift from political to economic rationales in recent times. As I have noted above, Van Damme (2001) argues that international student flows have become “more trade than aid”, since in many cases international students have become full-fee paying students. He argues that revenue generation has become an important rationale in institutional policies promoting recruitment of foreign students and that a growing part of international student mobility thus is becoming market-driven rather state-driven or aid-oriented (Van Damme, 2001: 421). Huisman and Van der Wende (2001) has also argued that there has been a shift from a “cooperation paradigm” to a “competition paradigm” in the internationalization of higher education. Similarly, Peter Scott (2001) has analyzed the transition from the “old paradigm” of internationalization, ruled by geopolitical
considerations, to the “new paradigm,” dominated by economic rationales and linked to
globalization and the development of the knowledge economy. Globalization, with its
emphasis on the virtual mobility of people, capital and knowledge, would seem to be for
some scholars a more appropriate concept than internationalisation to explain the changes
in the higher education sector (Van Damme, 2002).

This may explain why most recently Knight (2004) has added new and emerging
rationales to this traditional grouping of the rationales driving internationalization. These
include: developing and recruiting human capital through international education
initiatives. Knight (2004:3) suggests that the knowledge economy, demographic shifts,
mobility of the labour force and increased trade in services are factors which have driven
nations to place more importance on developing and recruiting human capital through
international education initiatives. As well, in the past decade, she suggests that more
emphasis has been placed on economic and income generating opportunities attached to
cross border delivery of education and new franchise arrangements, foreign or satellite
campuses, online delivery and the increased recruitment of fee-paying students. Knight
(2004:4) even suggests that “branding” could be introduced as a new rationale. She notes
that while institutions have always been competitive in trying to achieve high academic
standards and an international profile, there has been a not so subtle shift towards
developing an international reputation to be successful in a more competitive
environment, as evidenced by institutions seeking out accreditation and quality assurance
services to create an international reputation and name brand for their own institution or
network/consortium. To me, these are examples of a more commercial approach to
internationalization. Even Knight (2004) must concede that social/cultural rationales,
while significant, so not carry the same weight in comparison to the economic and political rationales. Among her new and emerging rationales, what is of most theoretical interest to me is the emphasis on human resources development and commercial trade. These rationales clearly link the work activities of international educators (namely the recruitment and retention of international students, the cultivation of work-place ready graduates through study abroad disguised as “global citizens” and the development of trans-national education initiatives) to neo-liberal economic globalization.

In addition to highlighting the rationales underpinning internationalization, Knight (1995, 1997) and others (e.g. Qiang, 2003) have outlined different approaches to internationalization such as the “activity” approach, “competency approach”, “ethos approach” and “process approach”. According to Knight (1995), the most frequently cited approach is the activity approach, namely advocating student mobility. These different approaches have also been differentiated according to two streams – internationalization at home and abroad (Knight, 2004). The former describes the more conventional cross-border activities of individuals, whereas the latter refers to the international and intercultural dimension of the curriculum, the teaching/learning process, research, and extra-curricular activities (Knight, 2004).

I suggest that internationalization is a much more complex process than this and that internationalization has all too often been conceived in terms of standard structures and strategies. As I suggested above, a more nuanced approach would link how international educators conceptualize and implement internationalization policies and programs and reveal linkages to trans-local processes. Knight (2004) has suggested that internationalization is one way in which countries are responding to globalization. But
others, such as Maidstone (2000), have questioned whether internationalization is an appropriate response to globalization and if, in fact, it might be part of the problem. He raises important questions about our uncritical acceptance of the need to ‘go international’ and asks us to reflect on what the consequences might be for an “uncritical acceptance of the internationalization imperative” as a “value-free position that views internationalization simply as an appropriate response to globalization” (Maidstone, 2000, in Beck 2001:5). For Maidstone, the real question for international educators to address is: how we can begin to confront globalization through internationalization, rather than abetting it (2001:169)? In the context of globalization, which carries with it the danger of creating a market place in knowledge that excludes the poor and disadvantaged, it becomes ever more important to address such a question.

2.4.1 Other Fields: Global Education, Comparative Education, Intercultural Education

International education has also been influenced by, and confused with, other branches of education. Global education is most often conflated with international education. In summarizing the literature in the field, Tye and Tye (1992) suggest that global education involves learning about those problems and issues that cut across national boundaries and about the interconnectedness of systems—ecological, cultural, economic, political and technological. However, like international education, global education is criticized as a Euro-Western initiative which seeks to equip already privileged and powerful students with the skills to effectively manage these new global realities thus reproducing and maintaining unequal relationships (Burbules and Torres, 2000).
Comparative education, too, is often confused with international and/or global education. Comparative educators have primarily been concerned with the forces shaping educational systems around the world. Arnove (2001:502) argues that comparative education is held together by a “fundamental belief that education can be improved and can serve to bring about change for the better of nations”. At the same time, comparative education has been criticized for at time relying too heavily on quantitative data and case studies focusing on school reform or system changing activity rather than looking at the big picture.

An increasing number of critical international education scholars would like to see more interaction and integration with intercultural education. Intercultural education is sometimes seen as an alternative to multicultural education, which is critiqued as producing knowledge about particular groups without any apparent interconnection between them (Cushner,1998). In describing intercultural education, Bennett and Bennet (1994: 148-149) suggest that, “Internationalists tend to focus on a global vision with intercultural understanding necessary for making the world a better place”. But intercultural education, like global and comparative education, has also been critiqued for not recognizing the interconnection and dialectics with critical praxis (Asante, Miike and Yin, 2007).

A similar refrain among all these branches of education is that we need to “reframe” these fields as a result of our knowledge of the working of the global economy. According to Arnove (2003), understanding the dialectic between the global and local is central to understanding the widespread economic, social and educational changes under the umbrella of “globalization”. Thus, each field reviewed here has been critiqued for
failing to take into account that these approaches perpetuate Euro-centric hegemonic values extra-locally. As Beck (2001:28) notes, it is surprising that, with the emergence of a common concern with the new kinds of socio-economic conditions commonly attributed to globalization, there does not seem to be much collaboration across these sub-fields. As Gacel-Ávila (2005:121) reminds us, although no country has escaped globalisation, or its challenges, this “development” has been generated in an unequal, divergent, and contradictory manner. I agree with Gacel-Ávila (2005:122) that it is crucial for international educators to seek out alternatives to these political and economic practices, which are expressions of the power held by a mere few countries and international businesses.

2.5 The (Not So) Hidden Curriculum of International Education

In this section, I will explore the hidden narratives that inform the mainstream international education literature reviewed above. Although research on the ‘hidden curriculum’ has been concentrated mainly in school learning, the concept is equally important in the field of higher education. I use the concept here to draw attention to how, as part of international education, lurk practices which are articulated to both neo-liberal economic globalization and neo-colonialism. There is a just emerging body of critical literature in international higher education which uses anti-racism and ant-colonialism to critique the dominant systems, structures and relations in international education. Another important feature of such work is that it has incorporated methods of colonial historiography and geography to map the continuing legacy of conquest and colonialization in education. As Willinsky (1998) has argued, imperialism’s education project is not complete and we continue to live in an inexorably divided world. It is
therefore necessary to understand how the universalizing of Eurocentrism fundamentally shaped international education how this shaping introduced assumptions that are still with us today. History and context are crucial for anti-colonial undertakings in international education (Dei in Dei & Kemph, 2006:1).

Although the tendency is to see international education as a recent phenomenon, students have been crossing borders for educational purposes for at least three millennia (Bachner et al. 2001: 4). International education as a contemporary field is considered by many to have emerged after World War II through the Marshall Plan and other projects. These were designed and implemented by the USA under President Truman to restore, modernize and “improve” the rest of the world (Sachs, 1992; Esteva & Prakash, 1998; Waters, 1995). Educational assistance, including student and faculty exchange programs, was among the earliest forms of technical assistance given to “poorer” nations (Pengelly 1989). Much of international education activities at the time were promoted through modernization theories which were predicated on the assumption that capital accumulation and economic growth led to the highest state of development epitomized by nations of the “North” (Peet, 1999). Although development assistance is no longer the common source for international education activities, this ideology has shaped contemporary international education. As I have noted above, the very concept of development has been thoroughly discredited by post-colonialist scholars such as Vandana Shiva, Wolfgang Sachs, Gustavo Esteva and Arturo Escobar, among others, who critique the portrayal of development as “Westernization” and suggest that the development enterprise itself creates and perpetuates underdevelopment and dependency within the Third World (Rao and Walton, 2004).
During the era of the Cold War, the ideological, political, and economic power struggle between the United States and Soviet Union dominated much of international higher education relations (Altbach 2004:5). Industrialized nations viewed higher education as another battleground for the “hearts and minds” in the world—particularly in the Third World (Altbach 2004:5). Assistance programs, scholarships, the translation and reprinting of books, the provision of foreign aid, and other initiatives were all seen as part of Cold War political strategies. Altbach reminds is that “one cannot forget that national interests and agendas, on all sides, are involved in academic cooperation”. (2005:4-5).

Of importance in recent years is the influence of neo-liberalism upon international higher education. Here, as was noted above, we can see the importance of the academic capitalism literature. As Apple, Kenway and Singh (2005:10) note, no analysis of contemporary transition in education policies can be serious without placing at its very core issues of neo-liberal globalism. Of relevance is the literature on the phenomena of the marketization of education (Ball, 1994; Marginson, 1997). Often it is claimed that a market-based agenda is resulting in the breakdown of the “public relevance” model of education, subjugating higher education to the rhetoric of privatization and global competitiveness (Morrow, 2006:xxv). Not only is university governance becoming increasingly corporatized but ideologies of the knowledge economy are resulting in curriculum becoming more vocationalized and more concerned with instrumental knowledge than with its cultural and critical dimensions (Rizvi, 2007:viii). Neo-liberal policies are particularly relevant to current and future international education, as the educational counterparts of these policies have increased pressure for higher education
institutions to prepare students to live and work in a global economy and have pressed the need for universities and colleges to become more entrepreneurial. This has resulted in increased international student recruitment and educational export to generate their own revenue.

Post-modernist and post-colonialist approaches have also critiqued neo-liberal discourse in international education. In the ‘80s and ‘90s, a post-structuralist critique emerged which provided the conceptual tools to begin to deconstruct colonial discursive structures and to attempt to reconceptualise new ways of understanding that do not rely on colonial assumptions and beliefs (Fuery & Mansfield, 2000; Spivak, 1999). The processes of ‘othering’—whereby the other/Other are produced—are at the basis of colonial discourses, and, along with other neo-colonial concepts, can provide the reasoning and justification for continued oppressive and discriminatory colonial practices. For example, indigenous peoples and cultures are routinely positioned as primitive, exotic and uncivilized (Said, 1978). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) urges us to recognize vestiges of camouflaged modernist practices in international education by attending to what might qualify as a “hidden curriculum” in current research where individuals from nations with relative economic and/or political power enact their understandings of international education on less affluent, less powerful communities. Barndt (2006) similarly suggests that international education must include Aboriginalizing and diasporicizing our curriculum and pedagogies to acknowledge the diversity that is not just out there but in here. According to Scholefield (2006:13), if we are to conceptualize practices and scholarship that are ethical and inclusive, these voices must also be part of the dialogical discourse we are imagining. All of these concerns have
led Pengelly (1989:23) to suggest that international educators have been slow to consider the ethics of development:

The implications and ethics of transferring western technologies into other cultural settings [were not discussed in those early days of international programming, and] colonialism and imperialism are seldom discussed directly and, in the rare instances when they are, international education activities are absolved of such possible negative outcomes.

Critics of international education suggest that inequality continues to characterize contemporary international education, like its predecessors. For Altbach (2005:1), creating international education based on equity constitutes a major challenge—one that academe has so far largely ignored.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I reviewed the micro-sociological literature that informs my research, including the higher education professions literature which focuses on the activities of general university administrators and faculty in the “exchange university” as well as the gendered and racialized nature of their work. The macro-sociological literature on international higher education, and related fields, including writing on internationalization and globalization was also reviewed. I compared and contrasted both mainstream and critical approaches. Rather than dismiss the functionalist literature, I used it as data pointing to power relations.

This led to my critique of economic power relations in international education. As noted above, the imperatives for international education seem to be economic competitiveness, international trade and the need to equip students with the skills to thrive in a global market. As Altbach (2005:14) notes, the landscape of international higher education is characterized by inequalities and is increasingly focused on
commercial and market concerns worldwide. This, of course, creates serious problems for international academic relations. For Altbach (2005:15), what is needed is “a realistic understanding of the political economy of 21st century academe”. He reminds us that all too often, international academic relations assume goodwill and a “level playing field” (2005:14). Even when international educators express the best of intentions, I will be considering how professional discourses intervene that re-inscribe colonial and colonizing relations. In the next chapter I will explore in more detail how anti-colonial, Foucauldian and institutional ethnographic research methodologies can help to explicate how the professional discourses of international educators are connected to neo-liberal economic and neo-colonial ruling relations in education. In my conclusion, I will return to the anti-racist and anti-colonial literature briefly mentioned in this chapter, to suggest that international educators must seek to understand how their dominant ways of knowing and relations with “others” establish sustainable hierarchies and systems of power in order to re-vision their professional practise as a political project.
Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.0  Introduction

Given my concern with how the professional discourses of international educators are connected into the extended social relations of ruling, I began with institutional ethnography as a methodology. This approach allows me to detail the institutional practices that are changing on the ground and which are coordinated ideologically across many locations. It also led to a focus on discourses in documents and my interviews that is more Foucauldian. Finally, as an international educator myself, I already knew that international educators “on the ground” may not necessarily link their professional ideals to dominant neo-liberal and neo-colonial critiques of internationalization; thus I used anti-racist and post-colonial theoretical approaches to inform my understanding of power relations and social inequalities permeating the work of international educators. This chapter will document the approaches I have undertaken to theory and method, including my commitment to begin with a standpoint in a marginalized location.

3.1  From Here to There: A Natural History of My Research Methodology

Early on in my research process, I decided to use institutional ethnography (IE)\textsuperscript{6} as my primary research methodology because it directs researchers to explore the social relations that structure their everyday lives. It was first developed by Dorothy Smith as sociology for women/people, not just about them. Combining theory and method, IE emphasizes connections among the sites and situations of everyday life,

\textsuperscript{6} My project is not a typical IE in the spirit of Dorothy Smith. I have adapted her approach to use anti-colonial theory and like many other institutional ethnographers, I am indebted to Foucault and use discourse theory in my analysis. However, my research is rooted in the standpoint of international educators and attends not just to the work that they do but the trans-local coordination of these activities. In this way, I consider my work an IE.
management/professional practice, and policy making, considered from the locations of everyday life (Smith 1987).

Professions and professional knowledge are very much present in institutional ethnographies, as these studies often write of the power of being professional and how professional dialogue is caught up in the ruling relations (e.g. deMontigny, 1995). My work was influenced by other institutional ethnographers, such as Liza McCoy, Janet Rankin and Marie Campbell. McCoy’s (1999) study of managerial accounting in Ontario community colleges explored how college administrators participated in market relations by positioning their colleges to be "entrepreneurial," "efficient," and "businesslike" in operation and orientation. Similarly, I will question how international educators work processes are fitted to this interpretive frame of “efficiency” and how managerial work practices have developed concomitantly with neo-liberal economic relations. Rankin and Campbell’s (2007) account of the effects of healthcare reform in Canada on the professional practice of nursing reveals a systematic shift from the nurses' professional focus of caring to one of efficiency and cost-containment. More importantly, they demonstrate how the professional discourses of nurses are connected to the public management agenda. What is relevant to my research is their suggestion that the efficiency agenda has not only restructured organizations and the work of nurses, but has reshaped nursing itself. In my research, I will explore how the movement towards the market has created a dissonance for international educators, yet has shaped international educators’ understanding of efficiency and corporatization as components of their own professional responsibility. Institutional ethnography, with its emphasis on how socio-cultural and political terrains intersect with individual experience, is therefore well-suited
for understanding how ruling relations coordinate the professional project and work activities of international educators.

Although there are some definite principles and procedures in IE which I will expand upon in this chapter, according to Smith (2006:1), there are many ways of realizing them in research practice. Institutional ethnography is committed to exploration and discovery. I, too, am learning what it is like to practice institutional ethnography. By explicating how international educators participate in (or their work is articulated with) institutional relations, my ultimate aim is to provide international educators with a “map” of how things work. Such a map can be used to find ways to resist these ruling relations to better facilitate the ethical practise of international education. In so doing, I am committed to institutional ethnography’s goal of discovering the institutional order and its organization through investigating what has been and is happening to people.

3.2 Institutional Ethnography: Organization of Activities at the Everyday Level

To repeat, the aim of ‘institutional ethnography’ is to realize knowledge of the social in which people’s own experience of the everyday world is systematically extended to the social relations and institutional orders in which we participate (Smith 2005: 43). Smith (2005:29) says:

It is a method of inquiry into the social that proposes to enlarge the scope of what becomes visible from that site, mapping the relations that connect one local site to others. Like a map, it aims to be through and through indexical to the local sites of people’s experience, making visible how we are connected into the extended social relations of ruling and economy and their intersections.

Institutional ethnography can thus be viewed as a strategy for investigating the everyday world which works from the actualities of people’s doings to discover the social relations
as they extend beyond individual experiences. It grasps connections between experience, situated activities, and the extended social relations which organize ‘what goes on’. The reach of an institutional ethnographic enquiry “goes from where actual people are in their own lives, activities and experiences to open up relations and organization that are actually present in them but not observable” (Smith 2006:4). In this way, we come to see “how things are put together” or how things are coming about as they do.

In this study, I will examine the professionalization of international educators as the purposeful coordination of their activities across multiple local sites of action. International educators are actively constructing discourses on professionalization but are not necessarily aware of how these discourses are mediated by others and so, I will be looking for how organizational interests influence what international educators say, do and know. This is possible because the language of their experiential accounts is permeated with references to ruling relations.

3.2.1 Situating Institutional Ethnography

Institutional ethnography can be tied to a number of qualitative research traditions in the social sciences. It utilizes fieldwork to understand how people make “sense” of their communities, but unlike traditional field researchers who are “just looking”, institutional ethnographers look from the margins inward – towards centres of power and administrations – searching to explicate the contingencies of ruling that shape local contexts (DeVault 1999:48). As institutional ethnography aims to discover the social relations that organize a particular setting, other sociological tools are also used by institutional ethnographers. For example, institutional ethnographers may use text and discourse analysis to examine the textual forms and practices of knowledge that organize
work processes (DeVault and McCoy in Smith, 2006). The similarities and differences
between institutional ethnography and other social science methods are summarized by
Eastwood and DeVault (Retrieved on April 16, 2008 from
http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/mdevault/Information_about_IE.htm):

Whereas in standard sociology, "ethnography" signifies the description of
a particular local setting, in institutional ethnography attention is directed
to how activities in a local setting are structured and shaped by
institutional relations which extend beyond the local. The method is
ethnographic, but more concerned with political-economic contexts than
most qualitative approaches; it is sensitive to textual and discursive
dimensions of social life, but grounded more firmly in fieldwork study of
texts-in-use than most forms of discourse analysis.

Institutional ethnography thus necessitates combining strategies for sociological inquiry
in distinctive ways. The advantage of this approach is that it is grounded in everyday
activity (i.e. is materialistic) while other traditions such as discourse analysis developed
by Foucault, which is also concerned with the effects of power associated with official
forms of knowledge, are very abstract. In institutional ethnography, the focus is on how
official forms of knowledge operate in practice, which is the focus of my research.

3.2.2 Use of Discourse Analysis

Institutional ethnography shares with Foucauldian discourse analysis, then, an
interest in texts, power and governance (DeVault and McCoy 2006:44). Foucault (as
interpreted in Hall 2001:72) defines discourse as "a group of statements which provide a
language for talking about...a particular topic at a particular historical moment."
Discourse, Foucault (1981) argues, constructs the topic as it defines and produces the
objects of our knowledge and thus it is more than an individual way of thinking and
producing meaning--discourses are also linked to the effects of power as they produce
new knowledge and ways of thinking. My interpretive analysis in Chapter Five, for example, may be described as Foucauldian in the way it emphasizes the discourses taken up by international educators and suggests in the analysis how discursive features of this “professional” work is productive of a certain managerial subjectivities. In institutional ethnography, however, discourse is not simply a large-scale conversation “taken-up” by individuals but can be directly indexed to the activities of people in actual sites (DeVault and McCoy 2006:44). This notion of discourse never loses the presence of the subject who activates the text in a local moment (DeVault and McCoy 2006:44).

### 3.2.3 Theoretical Overview of Institutional Ethnography

Smith explores the social organization of everyday life through the interplay of “social relations” or “concerted sequences or courses of social action implicating more than one individual whose participants are not necessarily present or known to one another” (1987: 155). She pays particular attention to power and how many social relations are also ruling relations. Smith uses the term “ruling relations” to bring into view the socially-organized exercise of power that shapes people’s actions and lives (Campbell and Gregor 2002:32). Applying this methodology, I will be drawing upon the experience of international educators to disclose how their activities are organized and “articulated to the social relations of the larger social and economic process” (Smith, 1987:151-152).

To discover the relations of ruling in international education, attention should be directed to texts which help organize and describe the connection across sites that are actually in operation (as interpreted in Campbell and Gregor 2002:33). Smith uses the term “textually-mediated social organization” to express the idea that engagement with
texts concerts and coordinates the action of people. Smith (as interpreted in Campbell and Gregor 2002:41) wants us to understand that people participate in discursive activity and that this is how ideas carried in texts actually affect people’s lives. Smith thus introduces the concept of text-reader conversation to describe the process that translates the actual into the institutional and conversely, the ways in which institutional discourses render “institutional” the particularities of everyday experience (Smith 2005: 105). So, my task is to understand how institutional discourses powerfully organize international educators work and brings them into line with ruling ideas.

For example, the “Knowledge Advantage” discourse circulated by the Government of Canada which emphasizes the recruitment and retention of the “best and brightest” international students is one of the discourses-in-use in my study. In an opinion piece in the Globe & Mail, the President of AUCC, Claire Morris, along with the CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Perrin Beatty, commented on how Canada can address the “skills challenge” repeating some of this “Knowledge Advantage” discourse:

How can we collectively address these challenges? We can educate more Canadian students from all sectors of society and attract the best and the brightest students from abroad. We can ensure that our university research environment is internationally competitive to attract top researchers from around the world. We can provide talented students with strong research and analytical skills, and more opportunities to gain research experience. We can give them opportunities to apply their newly learned skills in our businesses and other working environments. Graduates — particularly those with advanced degrees — are essential to the development of private sector research capacity and the successful commercialization of university research discoveries.

Immigration will also play a critical role. Streamlining our immigration process to make Canada a more attractive option for skilled immigrants will be important. However, Canada cannot count on maintaining current levels of immigration of advanced degree-holders to meet future labour market
needs. In an increasingly knowledge-based world, competition for highly-educated immigrants is growing in developed nations and emerging economies alike.

Consequently, more needs to be done to attract the best and the brightest international graduate students who remain critical to fuelling the country's pipeline of highly qualified personnel. (Globe and Mail on February 26, 2008 in AUCC E-Newsletter, 2008).

These comments show how education in a “knowledge-based economy” is constructed as agency capable of fostering economic prosperity by facilitating innovation and providing sufficient human capital (i.e., educated workers) to meet the changing demands of industry in Canada (Kirby, 2007). This notion that Canada has a “skills crisis” and that the best way to meet the challenge is to recruit the best and the brightest international students’ from abroad is also articulated by international educators.

Smith describes this version of knowledge as “ideological” due to the socially organized practices of its construction (Smith 1990a:32-45). Ideologies "provide categories and concepts expressing the relation of local courses of action to the institutional function" (Smith, 1987:160). Ideological categories can be viewed as a kind of conceptual currency which provides for exchange among different parts of the institutional complex and through which the different sites are coordinated. The categories and concepts of the ideology are used by members of the setting to describe and analyze how their own practices fulfill the institutional function. Moreover, in their actual work practices, members to a local setting intend (rely on and direct themselves toward) the categories and concepts of those ideologies (Smith, 1987:160). This is why it is useful to talk to them about what they do. Discourse transports ideology from individuals to governing bodies, to practices within bureaucratic administration, to
extended social relations which are the external contexts that shape and influence the practice of international education.

Another example is provided by Smith (2005: 217), who suggests that neo-liberalism is an ideological discourse that has come to govern public discussion on the economy. She notes that within neo-liberalism, concepts of citizenship stress individual responsibility for economic well-being. In the international education literature, I also see such a discourse at play. Smith goes on to describe how Canadian institutional researchers have observed the emergence of new public managerialism as a discourse mediating neo-liberalism and institutional discourses in a variety of settings. I will investigate how this discourse is articulated as part of the professionalization of international educators.

The focus of institutional ethnography is on mapping “what actually happens” rather than abstract theory building. Smith (2005:50) warns against a priori theorizing, or imposing a conceptual framework over any project of enquiry. Further, social relations are not a priori assumed in institutional ethnography to be malign. However, given the clear relevance of colonialism and colonial modes of knowledge production, I will integrate this theoretical approach into my analysis to bring attention to the “intersectionality” of power with a wider, historical framework.

3.2.4 Anti-Colonialism and International Education

Given that colonial and neo-colonial relations continue to be (re)produced in academic discourses of international education, I predicted that it would be useful to explore an anti-colonial perspective in my research. Rabaka (2003, para.13) reminds us that “one of the most important tasks of a critical anti-colonial theorist…is to capture and
critique the continuities and discontinuities of the colonial and neo-colonial in order to make sense of our currently...colonized life...and worlds”. Through my academic project, I therefore will explore how colonialism and re-colonizing projects continue to manifest themselves in international education in variegated ways. As Dei and Kemph (2006:2-3) emphasize, colonialism and imperialism are not dead and new iterations must be understood.

In my analysis and interpretation, I deliberately deploy a discourse of “anti-colonialism” rather than “neo-colonialism” or “post-colonialism”. Utilizing an anti-colonial framework, Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001:308):

define the term ‘colonial’ to include all forms of dominating and oppressive relationships that emerge from structures of power and privilege inherent and embedded in our contemporary social relations.... Colonial is defined not simply as foreign or alien but more importantly as dominating and imposing.

Defining colonial in this way allows us to see how all social relations and power issues, including those in higher education institutions, can be colonial. Thus, an anti-colonial framework allows me to reveal and critique that which is neo-colonial in international higher education.

Following Dei, I do not believe that the structures, practices and ideas which enable anti-colonialism are all that different from those of neo-colonialism. Also, I am similarly concerned that post-colonialism relies too heavily on textuality and idealism at the expense of historical enquiry and materialist interpretations (Dei and Kempf, 2006:13). Colonial and postcolonial theory offers a powerful set of theoretical tools and draw attention to the “institutional, societal, and philosophic forms of racism, ethnocentrism, and Eurocentrism” (Narayan & Harding, 2000, p. viii). Further, post-
colonial theorists such as Bhaba (1990) have usefully argued that colonial encounters and discourses cannot be assumed to be unified and unidirectional. Others, such as Spivak (1988) have also emphasized the possibilities of counter knowledges and resistance. Anti-colonial scholars, however, have drawn attention to the material world outside of the subject, insisting that structural material forces determine or script the subject’s agency (Dei and Kempf, 2006:16). Such an approach does not deny agency and is consistent with the emphasis on the material in institutional ethnography. An anti-colonial project affirms that the subaltern can and do speak but “simultaneously recognizes that the limits of class, ethnicity, culture, gender and difference define how, when and why the subaltern speaks” (Dei and Kempf, 2006:16). Therefore, I have chosen to see what an anti-colonial discourse can contribute to foregrounding the material problems of the everyday world that emerge from structures of power and privilege.

The anti-colonial approach challenges any form of dominance whether economic, cultural, political or spiritual (Dei and Kempf, 2006:5). It is about identifying all forms of colonial domination as manifested in everyday practice as well as global interactions. Scholars have even suggested that globalization is the new word for imperialism (Dei and Kempf 2006:1). It has been suggested that the colonial and neo-colonial tools extend to the forces of the market economy. Although I will argue that the dominant rationale for international education is economic, it is important in this context to note that the implications of colonialism are not only political-economic: knowledge production has also been colonized. That is, it is essential that we also consider anti-colonial issues in relation to education, information and intellectual transformations (Asante in Dei and Kempf, 2006: ix). International education is also racialized. Specifically in my critique, I
will explore how dominant internationalization discourses fail to critically engage questions of power and privilege and instead, maintain the racialized status quo.

The two research perspectives of institutional ethnography and anti-colonialism are not at odds, methodologically, as both reject universality and focus on material practices. Chio (2005:28) suggests that institutional ethnography, with its rejection of knowability, is interested in how “Others” are rendered *knowable* and *known*. In this way, institutional ethnography is a mode of enquiry that assists those previously excluded from knowledge production to find a space and “voice” to explore their experiences (Devault and McCoy in Smith 2006:42), a position that is consistent with an anti-colonial perspective.

### 3.3 Identifying My Problematic

Institutional ethnographers find in people’s lived experience of the everyday world the ‘problematic’ of an investigation. An inquiry grows from what a researcher makes problematic. A critical methodological stipulation in institutional ethnography is that the entry point of an investigation is always "the standpoint of actual individuals located in the everyday world" (Smith, 1987:159). As Campbell and Gregor (2002:46) describe it, “[a] work process for institutional ethnography brings in, explores and explicates a particular problem that is there, being lived by someone in the everyday world”. Smith says that she uses the concept of the problematic “to direct attention to a possible set of questions that may not have been posed or a set of puzzles that do not yet exist in the form of puzzles but are ‘latent’ in the actualities of the experienced world” (Smith, 1987:91). It is important to note that while institutional ethnography may start by exploring the lives of those directly involved in the institutional setting, they are not the
ultimate objects of investigation. That is, my study of international education only begins in the experiences of international educators; aspects of the institutions relevant to the people’s experiences, not the people themselves, constitute the object of inquiry. The ethnographer’s standpoint, Smith articulates (2005 38-39), may be defined by his or her own experience or by what she or he has learned by talking with others; it does not refer to a problem or set of issues that are the researcher’s motivation to take up his or her work. Rather, it is people’s experience which set the problematic of the study. Yet, this does not mean starting with people’s problems. The problems or concerns that people are experiencing may motivate inquiry but they do not define the direction of research. As Smith (2005:41) says “[a] problematic is a territory to be discovered, not a question that is concluded in its answers”. De Vault and McCoy (2002:755) emphasize this open-ended aspect of conducting an institutional ethnography investigation:

There is no “one way” to conduct an IE investigation; rather, there is an analytic project that can be realized in diverse ways. IE investigations are rarely planned out fully in advance, identifying research sites, informants, texts to analyze, or even questions to pursue with informants. Instead, the process of inquiry is rather like grabbing a ball of string, finding a thread, and then pulling it out; that is why it is difficult to specify in advance exactly what the research will consist of. The researcher knows what she want to explain, but only step by step does she know who she needs to interview, or what texts and discourse she needs to examine.

This diversity of interest creates "a kind of laboratory where research problems arise and must be solved, discoveries are made, limitations are confronted, and possibilities explored" (Campbell and Manicom, 1995:6).

At the same time, institutional ethnography requires the researcher to see herself as a knower located in the everyday and finding meaning there (Campbell and Gregor 2002: 11). Thus, in identifying the problematic that will inform this institutional
ethnography, I draw upon my own experience as an international educator and front-line manager. One of my assumptions was that the emergence and encroachment of academic capitalism into the university as well as negative depictions of university staff in corporate managerial discourses have produced tension and conflict. I have experienced how the values that underlie academic capitalism and academic managerialism are often at odds with my ideals and working relations. Institutional ethnographers are directed to look for such instances of “disjuncture” between experiential and ruling visions of how things work that are indicated when participants feel that something ‘chafes’ (Smith, 1990). From my experience, I predicted that international educators would share the belief that opening minds to the world will not just contribute to economic and commercial interests but also to peace-building, democratic civil society and human rights. I started with the theory that we are looking to professionalism as a means to cope with these new pressures. I expected that we international educators saw ourselves as professionals and supported “professionalism” as an occupational ideal to collectively advance our interests but as well as our advocacy for international students. In my own experience, a tension has emerged in international education practise between an institutional “accounting logic” (McCoy, 1999) and a discourse of “global good will”.

Through institutional ethnography, I therefore started out to show how these conflicting positions are socially constructed and to describe ways in which these “ruling relations” could be subverted.

Eventually, in my IE, I addressed various issues that arose, such as:
(1) How is the work of international educators articulated to “ruling relations”? What role do internationals educators play in the activation or subversion of these discourses?

(2) Why is it an attractive prospect for an occupation like international education to be considered a profession and for international educators to be identified as “professionals”? How do “ruling relations” coordinate the professional project of international educators?

(3) How might a “new” professionalism be constructed that allows international educators to advocate for social justice in international education?

These questions were taken up in my interviews and discourse analysis.

3.4 Data Collection: International Educators’ Work Processes and Knowledge

Central to locating the institutional in the everyday is the concept of work. Work knowledge or experiential knowledge of informants’ work and also of the contexts and conditions that coordinate their work becomes the institutional ethnographer’s data. There are two aspects to what Smith (2005: 151) refers to as work knowledge: one is a person’s experience of her work and the second is the implicit or explicit coordination of this work with the work of others. These are what Campbell and Gregor (2002: 60) refer to respectively as “entry level” data and “level-two” data. Entry level data in my institutional ethnography was gained through interviews with international educators to learn more about local conditions and experiences. The next step was to analyze texts to gain a broader understanding of the organizational context in which international educators conduct their work. It is important to understand how international educators’ work is organized outside their own knowledge. Here, as noted above, anti-colonial
thought guided my interpretation. My task was to explore the linkages across and beyond a setting to determine how they are coordinated with the work of others.

3.4.1 Selection of Research Sites and Informants

Although Smith (2005: 35) notes that the institutional researcher may be unable from the start to lay out precisely the parameters of the research (as what will be explored unfolds as the research is pursued), the direction of inquiry is by no means random. In order to be more specific, here, I will therefore provide an account of who my informants were and what kinds of questions they were asked.

I started the interviews looking for how the experiential talk of international educators revealed social relations and social organization and am sought to answer three guiding questions proposed by Smith (2005:135) which are important for any institutional ethnography: (1) What social relations are they reflecting? (2) What is their speaking part in those relations? (3) How do these social relations play a part in generalizing institutional processes beyond the locally observed? To initiate dialogue with informants, I drafted a set of questions which I used as a conversation guide (Appendix A). Informants were asked about their specific locales as well, to gather information about ruling relations.

Initially, I conducted in-depth interviews with 12 international educators at two universities and one community college in Southern Ontario. These institutions were chosen for their similarity in terms of location (urban setting), size and commitment to internationalization (all three institutions engage in international exchange activities, international student recruitment and have embedded in their mission statement a commitment to internationalization). But as noted above, an institutional ethnography is
open-ended and while the researcher knows what she wants to explain, only step by step does she know who she needs to interview. As I learned more about the work activities of international educators, I realized that I needed to interview more informants at a more diverse group of institutions. I received approval to expand the number of informants. In total, I interviewed 17 international educators from three universities and two community colleges.

A range of international educators were selected from the areas of recruitment, admissions, advisors and management of international programs to gain a broad understanding of the many organizational contexts in which international educators conduct their work. Initial participants were contacted through pre-established professional relationships but I allowed for other contacts to be made through ‘snowball sampling’. Specifically, when someone else was named as someone who may be interested, I followed up and made contact. Every interviewee was informed that anonymity and confidentiality would be assured in the final document. To protect their identities, I also do not reveal the names of institutions in my study.

Participants were assured that they could choose not to have the conversation recorded, if they wished, and only one informant asked that our conversation not be recorded. All participants were sent a copy of the transcript following the interview so that they could request that certain parts be excluded but none of my informants requested exclusions. As well, participants were also given an opportunity to request a copy of the summary of results of the study and all but one requested the summary.
3.4.2 "Talk To Me": Interviewing Method

As an institutional ethnographer, I gave careful consideration to the relationships of research that I entered, as relations of power inevitably permeate research settings. Feminist researchers have argued that researchers bring power to their research settings and how power is dealt with in the research relationship should therefore be an important consideration in data collection. Feminist researchers have struggled with ways to establish research relationships that are more equitable and not exploitative (e.g. Oakley, 1981). Conversation is one such strategy employed by feminist researchers to overcome this distancing. In a similar way, De Vault and McCoy (2002: 756-757) describe interviewing in institutional ethnography as “talking to people”. Informants in my institutional ethnography were similarly encouraged to explore their experience in open-ended ways. Rather than using a standard set of questions, following DeVault and McCoy (2002: 757), I based each interview, in part, on what I learned from previous ones.

As Campbell and Gregor (2002: 64) note, because institutional ethnography offers the potential to explore and disclose issues that organizational leaders may not fully understand, this can be threatening if leaders are not prepared to see things in a new way. There are also issues to be taken into account when considering ordinary members acting as informants. Informants are understood to be experts and therefore it is important that they feel that the research is interesting and even useful. However, some aspects of their work may be problematized. It is also important to ensure that, on the other hand, those who are trying to subvert institutional ideologies do not feel needlessly exposed and made vulnerable by how the research may be reported and taken up by others. A related
concern was my power as a researcher. I am constituted both as an insider, because of my former role as an international educator, but also as an outsider and purveyor of academic capitalism in my current role as a front-line manager.

At times I was concerned that international educators might feel that I was overly critical of their professional project in our interviews. For example, when one of my first informants asked me how I felt about my research project, I took the opportunity to openly share my concerns with her:

It is tricky…. I hope that I will be able to make some recommendations while a the same time, I do not want to be too critical of the efforts of those people who seek to professionalize our work because a big part of my research is to champion the work of international educators and acknowledge that they have unique insights. So I want to be supportive of their efforts yet at the same time, I am concerned by the movement towards the standardization and credentialing of what we know.

The respondent, I think, understood because she commented:

It is a tricky situation for you...but I think that…I appreciate the challenge… maybe you are not criticizing these pioneers but talking about what can be added on to what they’ve already achieved…so, I think that is what your message is about.

She went on to say that:

[But there may be] some concerns about this…. Is this all? Is there anything we have missed?

When she made this last comment, I realized the real value of my research might be in offering participants a knowledge resource for international educators who were asking “Is this all? Is there anything we have missed?” As I moved through my interviews, I kept in mind that one of the goals of institutional ethnography is to explicate ruling relations with the purpose of social transformation.
In interviews, I found that it was very difficult to get interviewees to talk about what actually happens possibly because they knew of my working knowledge of the field and my current role as a manager. Further, most of the international educators in my study were reluctant to be critical of their organizations where they held tenuous positions. Campbell and Gregor (2002:63) talk about how informants may be reluctant to share under these conditions. I learned to be sensitive to the real-world conditions in which international educators work and to re-frame my questions accordingly. For example, one of my original questions was: “Have you ever been requested or asked to implement a policy or work process that you didn’t agree with or caused you some discomfort?” This was a very difficult question for international educators to answer. When I re-phrased this question and instead asked: “What stressors do you experience on the job?” I was able to learn much more.

Smith talks about how for the institutional ethnographer there is always much more to the interview than the researcher is aware of or can attend to in the process itself (2005: 138). Therefore, my role was that of “an acute, thoughtful, probing listener who is learning from the informant or observational setting” (Smith 2005: 138). Being mindful of the asymmetries of power in the researcher-informant relationship, I was respectful of international educators’ experiential authority and locations.

3.4.3 Selection of Texts and Textual Practices

To gain access to the social organization that extends from elsewhere into peoples’ lives and back outside again, ruling texts are useful. Smith uses the term “textually-mediated social organization” to express the idea that engagement with texts concerts and coordinates the action of people. She has argued that texts are pivotal to
understanding the organization of contemporary societies. In her words, texts form the "bridge between the everyday/everynight local actualities of our living and the ruling relations" (1999:7). As Grahame and Grahame (2001) note, Smith’s conception of texts is very broad, encompassing an array of documents, media reports, the discourses of sociology and other social sciences, accounting records, forms of various kinds, and the like. Texts such as these allow the institutional ethnographer to focus on how the routine textually-mediated practices of people engaged in their daily work are coordinated across multiple sites. What is key in Smith’s (2005: 166) definition of a text is the replicability and activation of texts. That is, the ability of a text to coordinate people’s doings trans-locally depends on the ability of a text, as a material thing, to turn up in identical form in different sites and be taken up within an accountable work process.

Texts can be incorporated into an ethnography as “occurring” or “activated” in local settings at particular times or the ethnographer can explore how they coordinate institutional courses of action (Smith 2005:180). My institutional ethnography does capture, in the informants’ account of their work processes, a few instances of their activation of particular forms, questionnaires, reports, etc. However, my efforts were primarily directed towards understanding how international educator’s dialogue contains vocabulary that refer to texts, relations and organizations that are generalized beyond the particularities of their experience to illustrate the coordination of international educators professional activities. For as Smith (2005: 135) asserts, “[w]e cannot speak ordinary language without incorporating and speaking the social organization it carries”.

In order to protect the anonymity of my participants, I did not use institutional documents (e.g. documents produced by the universities and community colleges) as this
might inadvertently signal the institutions included in my study. Given the small size of international offices at each institution, revealing the individual institutions would render my informants vulnerable to discovery. Unfortunately, this meant that I was not able to rigorously map each actual sequence of work and text. Although I was not always able to trace how texts come in to be processed and are sent forward for others to process them, I was able to at least discover how discourses operating as texts had the potential to organize institutional practices of international educators.

I utilized text from key policy documents produced by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) such as briefings and position papers, statements on internationalization and other texts including promotional materials to map how there is broad continuity of themes in policy mandates for international education. Textual analysis of these specific documents was undertaken to reveal the emphasis on developing human capital through student mobility. For example, I discovered that some international educators activated capitalist/consumerist/vocational discourses which emphasised the importance of developing human capital through international education. AUCC also articulates how international education initiatives are critical in today's economy and provide direct benefits to Canada’s economy:

Canada’s universities must attract more Canadian and international graduate students to meet labour market demands. Graduate students also require opportunities to hone their research skills and increase their contributions to the labour market through internships and co-op placements. International graduate students benefit the Canadian economy whether or not they choose to remain in Canada. The lasting relationships they form lay the foundation for future trade, research and diplomatic networks that are increasingly important in the global economy (AUCC, 2008a:4).
Here we can see how international educators’ local discourses fit institutional ways of thinking about international education. This is what George Smith (1990) has termed “politico-administrative regimes”, that is, the way in which the larger discursive terrain serves to organize the ways in which people and the issues they represent get incorporated into the policymaking process.

When it emerged as important in the process of interviewing, I also explored the curriculum of the International Educators Training Program (IETP) developed by Queen’s University, which offers ‘competency based training’ to international educators. All texts were examined for the ways in which they might mediate relations of ruling and organize what can be said and done. I aimed to make visible the ideological code that is constitutive of internationalization activities in Canada and that is inherent in international educators’ activities and professional discourses. I was concerned here particularly with the institutional policy framework within which the work is done. Attention was given not just to the texts themselves but in my data analysis, to how international educators interacted through these texts.

3.5 Mapping the Work of International Educators and Relations of Ruling

The goal of institutional ethnography is to discover and analyze institutionally arranged social relations of power by mapping the complex practices of ruling. As I have emphasized, it is important in the data analysis in institutional ethnography to develop an account that exposes the linkages between different kinds of data and moves from local accounts and local action to the specific relations of ruling. Texts and language are central to this phase of data analysis. I transcribed interviews, alert to what Smith (2005: 191) refers to as “regulatory frames” or the ways in which varieties of conceptualizations,
theories, policies, laws, plans and so on operate at a general level to structure institutional action and coordinate people’s work at local levels.

Transcription was generally done verbatim. However, I did not capture non-linguistic sounds with the exception of laughter. I did remove word repetitions and place holders such as “um” and “ah”. This was done to facilitate the reading of excerpts for their descriptive content. As McCoy (1999:48) notes, “in institutional ethnography, people’s descriptions are primarily of interest for what they tell the reader about the social relations being investigated; only secondarily are they of interest as turns of talk”.

3.5.1 Regulatory Frames: An Interpretive-Institutional Analysis

I did not look for agreement among different informants, for as Smith (2005:63) reminds us, ethnographers look “for the intersection and complementarities of their different accounts in the relations that coordinate their work”. My goal was not to produce a complete account of the work of international educators. I was interested in the “text-mediated discourses that frame issues, establish terms and concepts, and in various ways serve as resources that people draw into their everyday work processes” (Devault and McCoy 2006:34). Investigating this enabled me to better understand how international educators are connected with relations power in which the economy is a part. So, although I ultimately did not map an institutional process in which the work that texts coordinate is primarily located in texts, I nonetheless explored sequences that locate the professional discourses of international educators within the institutional regime.

While international educators may not realize how their professional discourses are embedded in and rely upon these ruling relations, I do not mean to imply that they are necessarily complicit in a grand structure of oppression. Although “ruling regimes” will
shape local practices, one can also expect contradictions, slippages and openings while allowing for moments of resistance. By charting the specific practices that “operate” systems of oppression, I hoped to see how strategies for change meshed or did not mesh with professionalization strategies. Institutional ethnography is an approach to knowing about the social world that is useful for people who have an interest in upholding values that they think are worth struggling for (Campbell and Gregor 2002: 8). Thus, it is ideally suited to this research.

3.5.2 Institutional Capture: The Use of Institutional Language

Smith warns that the institutional ethnographer must be careful not to jump to a level of generalization beyond that of a particular everyday setting (2005:135). The general relevance of an institutional ethnography comes not from a claim that local settings are similar but from the capacity of the research to disclose features of ruling relations that operate across many local settings.

Another danger for the institutional ethnographer is that the interview situation is subject to “institutional capture” (Smith 2005:156). This occurs where both the informant and researcher are familiar with the institutional discourse and know how to speak it, thus subsuming the actual under the institutional. DeVault and McCoy (2002: 760) note that informants may have been trained to use the very concepts and categories that institutional ethnographers wish to unpack, as they are accustomed to speaking from within a ruling discourse. As well, with my insider status I sometimes mistakenly assumed (as I discovered after some reflection) that I knew how things worked and that my informants did too. And so, my informants sometimes did not provide me with the particulars of their work processes. To address this problem, what I tried to do was get
past the “organizational rationale” of a particular informant and be wary of displacing the particulars of informants’ local work within “the organization's organizational accounts”. The challenge is for institutional ethnographers to learn from people what they are actually doing (Smith 2005:157). And so, I constantly returned to the particularities of what international educators are and have been doing. As a technique for moving the talk beyond institutional language, I constantly returned to the particularities of what international educators are and have been doing.

3.5.3 ‘Validity’ and ‘Reliability’

The institutional researcher’s use of the term “validity” differs from other researchers in that the institutional researcher does not rely on a technical method to produce “objectivity”; this is not the aim of research. Instead, the “validity” of this mode of inquiry stems from the fact that it is always oriented to the standpoint of others in order to understand “what is happening”. The aim is to get a clear account of how things go together. Thus I checked my interpretation of interview accounts from time to time, asking, and “am I getting this right? or “what am I missing here?” (Campbell and Gregor 2002: 77). Smith (2005: 42) also stresses that if institutional ethnography is to serve those whose standpoint it undertakes as a starting point, then it must produce accurate and faithful representations of how things actually work; it must be truthful.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explicated the approach of institutional ethnography developed by Dorothy Smith as a methodology for discovering and analyzing institutional relations of power that coordinate the professional activities of international
educators. I have also positioned myself as a researcher to indicate my unique perspective on the topic. My particular use of discourse analysis and anti-colonial theory was also covered. In the following chapter, I will turn to detailed accounts of international educators’ activities.
Chapter Four: “How Things Work” in International Education

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the work activities of international educators as they are coordinated by Ontario community colleges and universities and articulated with trans-local discourses which are constitutive of neo-liberal higher education policy. The focus is on discovering how things work in the actualities of the work lives of international educators. My analysis starts in the actual experiences as international student advisors, study abroad coordinators, international project managers, international admission officers and managers/directors of international offices to reveal the coordination of their work with institutional others (see Table 1).

4.1 The Professional Hierarchy of International Education

As discussed in Chapter Two, general administrative staff are a part of the higher education workforce neglected by researchers and thus are referred to by Szekeres (2004a) as the “invisible workers”. One of my earliest observations in the field was that the significance of their work was also partially invisible to international educators themselves. For example, one initial observation was that some informants did not immediately recognize themselves in the title of “international educator”. When I approached Adriane, an international admissions officer, to participate in my project, she worried that:

I am not sure if my position at the international centre entitles me to be a good resource for your study. By international educator, do you mean teacher? I just handle international admissions so I don't know if I can be considered an educator…maybe you should talk to my Director?
This position in the division of labour would be classified as entry-level (see Figure 1).

Thus, when I used the title “international educator”, this informant assumed that I was interested in speaking to a more senior academic administrator, but her response was not unique. Like Adriane, informants assumed when I first made contact that I wanted to interview a faculty member—not an administrator—despite the fact that my letter of invitation clearly stated that I was interested in talking to administrative staff. Another informant, Angela, near the top of the hierarchy, struggled with the title “international educator” as she wondered who would be included and excluded by this definition:

I’m having a hard time because I cannot define “international educator” because my boss who is the AVP [International], I refuse to believe that he’s an international educator! Although in all practical ways he is! So, I’m not sure how you would define them [international educators]? Are they only student mobility exchange coordinators and not senior office administrators? Are they international student advisors but not policy makers? Are they academics or are they only practitioners and not academics? So it is very, very hard for me to define what we mean by that.

She does not consider her supervisor, a faculty member with institutional responsibilities for internationalization, an international educator. She seems to suggest that practitioners, rather than senior academic administrators such as her AVP International, should be considered international educators. At the same time, she was understandably concerned that my definition may be too narrow if I was only talking to mobility coordinators and international student advisors. Although so-called student mobility coordination is one of the best known forms of international education, internationalization encompasses many more activities such as co-ordination of branch campuses, mutual recognition agreements (franchises, twinning and articulation agreements) and transnational university networks. In fact, it is the development and rapid expansion of these new, market-oriented institutional forms rather than traditional institutional cooperation arrangements which prompted me
to look at the transnational delivery of international higher education. Thus, I responded that I was interested in speaking with anyone who considered themselves an international educator but that I was excluding faculty administrators since my research focus was general administrative staff. The failure of some participants to “see” themselves in this term suggests that international educators’ professional identity is not stable and fixed, as there was no shared understanding of “what constitutes a profession” and “who is a professional”. At the same time that they sometimes rendered themselves invisible, international educators agreed felt that there was a lack of recognition for their “professional work” from outsiders.

In fact, many of the international educators I approached were surprised to be the focus of my research. Tammy, an international student advisor (ISA), commented at the end of our interview that she was surprised that the questions were about her work:

So, based on the questions you asked me, I can tell that your research focus is not about the students. It is about the professionals; it is about international student advisors, the managers and about this group of people.

Describing how she felt about a research project that focused on the experiences of administrative staff like her, Tammy went on to say that:

I think that this [research] is extremely, extremely new because I believe that there is so much literature about international students: their impact, their adaptation to the country and to the institution. It wouldn’t be difficult to find this kind of literature. Regarding international educators, there is always research about training, about issues that we are dealing with such as cross-cultural communication, services available to students and program development, but not focusing on the real group of people [international educators]…in your way…. So I find that this is really new and exciting.

Again, her comments reveal a sense that the experiences of international educators have largely been ignored or are absent in the international education literature. When I asked
Kimberley, an international project coordinator (IPC), what value international education activities had for her institution, she replied:

You should remember you are talking to a person who is not very high up for an administrator and I don’t have a lot of power!

Her remarks are consistent with the suggestion above that international educators may experience exclusion from the ruling apparatus. International educators would seem to struggle at times to make more visible the kind of work that they do. Yet, participants saw the importance of understanding their role as part of the regime of international education.

4.2 How Economic Power Relations Structure the Organization of International Education

The structure and organization of international activities differed from institution to institution. This is not surprising, as previous research has found a variety of institutional structures and approaches to internationalization in Canada (Lemasson and Bond, 1999). As well, the level and support for international education varied among my informants’ institutions, linked to levels of financial support and endorsement from senior academic administration. However, as shown in my diagram in Figure 1, it was clear that there was a hierarchy. International educators who were more engaged in commercial or prestige international activities (such as study abroad or recruitment officers), which brings in money for the institution, were better resourced than many of their colleagues, such as international student advisors, who provided front-line services to international students. I recall one instance in which I was having difficulty finding the international student centre, only to discover that it was located in the basement, whereas at the same institution the study abroad coordinator was located in the VP Research’s suite in a
brand-new facility! Despite supportive institutional efforts to recruit students, this underlines that providing support services for international students was not considered a prestige activity in international education. Observations such as this led to my visualization of the hierarchy of positions in Figure 1.

International educators certainly perceived that the key to the success of internationalization was institutional support “from the top”. This, too, is not surprising, as a study by AUCC (1995b) found that the commitment and support of senior administration was the most critical factor facilitating the institutional internationalization process. In explaining the prominence of international education at her institution, Jennifer, an ISA, talks about how operational success is linked to prestige and a hierarchy of positions:

I think the large part of that is the AVP International. He’s amazing, he really does have the international focus and he’s a good advocate so [regarding] the things he doesn’t understand, he uses staff as a resource, which is great because there’s that back and forth in terms of learning and getting expertise. He uses the expertise in his office which I think is part of the reason why they’re such pros. Because he dreams. He also encourages everybody to dream. It has its good and its bad parts when you have an office full of dreamers. You have great projects, right? It can also be tiring but I think that’s sort of secondary because, I mean, we get to do cool things. His boss who’s the Vice President Academic, she is also a real advocate of the international, and having those two positions which are like second or third among our most prominent positions [at the institution] is really important in terms of securing and doing different projects. Having people who are really committed and on side whether they be faculty or high administration is probably the key because you can’t do anything without money. Great dreams come down to money but not if nobody will give you the funds.

Her comments suggest that international educators have differential access to institutional resources and power depending upon the institutional position of the AVP International. Kimberley’s comments also reveal the importance of academic status hierarchies:
If you have a President and a VP Academic or a VP Research who are pro-international, then the international gets a boost and you have this big buzz at the university that “internationalization is great”. If you don’t have people from upper level administration that see the value of [international education], then there’s not much support for internationalization.

Jennifer summarizes the importance of senior administrative support to ensure access to funds like this:

Having people who are really committed and on side, whether they be faculty or high administration is probably the key because you can’t do anything without money. Great dreams come down to money.

These comments reveal that international educators are embedded within a complex set of institutional power relations and hierarchies of influence.

At the same time, these senior academic administrators may not have complete autonomy in international education. Emma, a senior study abroad advisor (SAA), described how her VP International was misled into thinking that an increase in international student fees would result in more financial assistance for international students:

We raised the fee for international students and [the VP International’s] feeling of why we were doing that was to then offer scholarships to people from under-developed areas or under-represented areas and he really did want that. It was altruistic, it really was, but because that’s not in his portfolio though, he didn’t have any control over it. So I think that there’s some negative here in that not all the scholarships he wanted to develop happened and not all the money that was raised from the increase in fees went to scholarships.

In this example, Emma’s comments revealed a senior international academic administrator caught up in institutional power relations that prioritized income generation over the needs of international students. Angela, a senior international project coordinator (IPC), was also frustrated by how the internationalization agenda (like so many other funding-oriented activities in postsecondary education institutions), was so clearly
influenced by changing institutional funding priorities. For example, instead of maintaining a commitment to international education during the double cohort, we were given a message [from senior administrators] saying that we were to discourage any international undergraduate students. That was a big source of discomfort to me because I could not imagine how the domestic funding issue was so directly impacting this philosophy we had on internationalization. We were not walking the talk that we had in terms of internationalization. So yes, that was a time when I was very, very uncomfortable.

These comments support the well-established claim that there has been a shift away from the educational equity, cultural and political rationale for internationalisation towards the economic as the dominant rationale. Development assistance was counted among the first international education activities in the post-secondary sector in Canada (Pengelly, 1989) but development assistance, it is claimed, has lost much of its importance and new forms of internationalization are emerging (Lemasson and Bond, 1999). Arguably, the historical construction of international education as “development” wasn’t really that altruistic and as will be argued in Chapter Seven, new forms of internationalization can be seen as colonialism in disguise.

Critiquing the “new internationalization”, participants referred to how, in recent years, there has been a dramatic shift towards new forms of post-secondary revenue generation. For example, when I asked Tammy why her institution was invested in internationalization, she talked about the financial benefits of “raising her institution’s profile” through internationalization:

Well, that is easy – support, support and support! If you draw [in] more community groups, networking, it may have potential fundraising implications. We have a huge Chinese community…a lot of wealthy Chinese that have millions and millions of dollars. As you are aware, our [senior administrative officer] donated five million dollars. You know…that’s a huge, huge benefit for the institution…and secondly, profiling, as I said, and impact,
it’s raising our institution’s profile among other universities…and also revenue, if you include international recruitment; they are paying international tuition fees; it is just revenue generation for the university.

These comments illustrate that the economic rationale of international education is expressed in many ways. Arguably, higher education is now more responsive to government intervention and market forces than in the past, as there is increased pressure to seek diversified sources of funding and to compete globally (Naidoo and Kong, 2003; Slaughter & Leslie, 2004). Kimberley talked about the pressures generated by attempts to articulate higher education practices with the private sector initiated by government:

The relationship between higher education and the government is a big tension. For example, the Premier’s mission to India and Pakistan and then the agreement that was signed last year with China. These agreements actually put a lot of pressure on Canadian institutions and pressure on people involved in internationalization. So I would say this is one of the big pressures.

All levels of Canadian government are involved in promoting the trade opportunities generated by international higher education. In Ontario, trade and investment missions to China in 2005 and India in 2006 have resulted in companies and educational institutions signing memorandums of understanding to “strengthen the economic foundation of both jurisdictions while fostering trade and investment relationships between them” (Office of the Premier News Release, November 11, 2005). But one of the challenges for international educators such as Kimberley was in finding sustainable funding to support the international exchange programs connected with these trade missions. As she put it:

Funding is always a hurdle. Yes, sometimes you don’t have funding or sometimes you come up with funding because the university can offer that but it’s not sustainable. So you come up, maybe, with a funded program for two to three years and then you don’t have the funding anymore. So after you build on certain programs and encourage internationalization because you know that students can actually participate; then all of a sudden, there’s no money so it goes into decline. So this up and down, up
and down because of uncertainty in terms of funding causes a lot of pressure.

Kimberley is not only frustrated that the post-secondary institution, rather than the government, must find funding to support such programs generated extra-locally, but that students are led to believe that opportunities will be made available to them only to discover that funding is no longer available. Alford (1972) called this funding system “dynamics without change”, a method of ruling that appears to address issues but lacks the commitment to do so.

As my conversations with international educators will reveal, higher education institutions are now operating and functioning in a global environment in which the expressed motivations for international education include discourses promoting an international profile or brand, improving quality, increasing national competitiveness, and developing human resources. These have maintained and engendered commercialization, foreign degree mills, brain drain, and growing elitism (Knight, 2008). Table 2 shows how international educators’ institutional work is oriented to these commodifying and quality improvement discourses as indicated in their interviews. Here the various work activities of international higher education are placed within broader socio-political power relations such as neo-liberal globalization and capitalism. After a brief consideration of these discourses, I will describe how the activities of international educators take-up these discourses.

4.3 Discourses Activated By International Educators

In the following section, I identify these institutional or ruling discourses that are taken up by my informants. (They are more fully explored in subsequent chapters). To
summarize my discussion in Chapter Three, I refer to discourse as an institutionalized way of thinking--a form of knowledge/power which gives meaning to and organizes social institutions and processes. As an institutional ethnographer, I aim to discover extra-institutional talk or forms of knowledge that are activated within relations of ruling. Like McCoy (2006:121), I must also stress that identifying institutional discourses is not about “slotting informants into a typology” as might be suggested by Table 2. Rather, my analytical task beyond identifying discourses is to describe how they are operationalized through the specific work activities carried out by international educators.

The talk of international educators activates several discourses in the construction of their everyday work experiences that are described in the section below: (1) Capitalist/Competitive/Consumerist/Vocational (“Knowledge Advantage”); (2) Globalization/Neo-liberal/Equality; (3) Relational/Professional Caring; (4) New Public Managerialism (NPM); (5) Equity/Anti-Racist/Anti-Colonial. This is a prelude to my analysis of their work, which makes up the rest of this chapter.

4.3.1 Capitalist/Competitive/Consumerist/Vocational (“Knowledge Advantage”)

In this discourse, taken up by managers and recruiters, Canada cannot be expected to retain its competitive edge if its workforce lacks strong international and cross-cultural knowledge and skills. It is said that Canada must cultivate a competitive advantage based on knowledge and innovation from abroad. As this argument goes, more opportunities must be facilitated for students to go abroad to acquire cross-cultural competencies so that they possess knowledge of economic opportunities in “foreign” countries and technological “know-how” that can be profitably applied in Canada. In turn, post-secondary educational institutions must attract international scientific and technological
talent by recruiting international students so that Canada’s labour market needs are met. Developing “human capital” is articulated in institutional texts as key to Canada’s competitiveness. International education, it is argued, can help students increase their stock of “know-who” by giving them opportunities to make contacts with researchers, business people and innovators in foreign countries and learning who is doing what research in the world (see Conference Board of Canada, 1999:10). It is even suggested in this discourse that international education may help those that deal with culturally different markets in Canada that have been created as a result of immigration.

International educators talked about the positive economic impact of international students and their dependents on the Canadian economy through their tuition and fees and living expenses. For example, Patricia, a manager, talks about why we have seen a policy shift towards encouraging international students to study and stay in Canada. She says:

First of all, there is the economic impact of having international students in the country. The average student who comes to Canada spends $25,000 a year above what they spend for tuition so their financial impact is huge. It’s an industry; often called educational tourism. The big spenders spend more than $80,000 a year. So I think that there is some recognition that education is a product we can sell. I think Canada is very good at education and we’re well recognized but we are well behind the US, Britain and Australia. Secondly, I think that there’s an understanding that education is one of the best ways to make good global citizens. So I don’t think it’s all about money. I think that there are global issues—in business and health care, for example— that will be best solved through international education. Thirdly, I also think that Canada needs immigrants. I think there’s recognition that students educated here who acquire Canadian work experience are more easily are transitioned into the Canadian lifestyle. There's recognition that international education is a good way to funnel immigrants into our society and it’s less costly for the transition.

Even though Patricia claims that “it’s [not] all about money”, the value of international education, in this discourse, is economic. I also refer to this discourse as the “Knowledge Advantage” discourse, named after the Federal government policy papers titled
Advantage Canada: Building A Strong Economy for Canadians (Government of Canada: 2006); Achieving Excellence: Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity (Government of Canada: 2002a); and Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians (Government of Canada: 2002b). The government’s explicit policy commitment in these economic plans is to encourage the “best foreign students to attend Canadian colleges and universities by marketing the excellence of Canada’s post-secondary education system”: they also propose to “make it easier for Canadian-educated foreign students to stay in Canada and become Canadian citizens” (Government of Canada: 2006). As noted in Chapter Three, these policy documents have been activated by higher education associations such as AUCC and ACCC and international higher education associations such as CBIE; these are organizations to which most international educators in my study belong (see Table 3). This is an example of how the work of international educators is textually mediated and carried into the institutional.

4.3.2 Globalization/Neo-liberal/Equality

As shown in Table 2, globalization/neo-liberal/equality discourses were ubiquitous. In neo-liberal talk, international education is positioned as engaging “global citizens” in the pursuit of global interests so that all students, both domestic and international, are given the opportunity to become “globally literate”. For example, Christina, an International Project Coordinator, has this to say about the value of an international experience for “disadvantaged” youth. She says:

One thing that I would love to see happen is to see more disadvantaged youth --who would not in a million years think “international”--involved in international education. What a sense of personal empowerment! If I could get Caribbean students from Regent Park to South Africa one day or India--it doesn’t matter where the heck it is--then they would see that they are part
of a bigger global village. If we can give these kids an international opportunity they otherwise would not have had, then I think they will be better leaders.

This discourse insists that “barriers” to full participation in international education must be removed. However, this discourse fails to identify relations of power beyond the individual. There is some concern that the knowledge economy could exacerbate the divide between rich and poor countries, and rich and poor people within those countries. But the key to overcoming this divide is postulated in this discourse as “enhancing educational opportunity and access” so that governments can grow their educated and skilled human resource base in order to successfully enter the knowledge economy.

Although creating “global citizens” may at first appear to be a more benevolent discourse then creating “global workers” (as discussed above), the end result is often the same: education as a means of increasing economic capacity.

Another strand of globalization talk was an emphasis on international quality assurance, recognition and accreditation. International educators were concerned that presently, there is no universal agreement within the international higher education community regarding the definition of “quality”. New kinds of international quality assurance and accreditation schemes (codes of practice, self-assessment instruments, evaluation, auditing and certification of internationalization activities, etc.) are seen as the crucial elements of regulation in a more trade-oriented international higher education market operating to build “capacity” in so-called developing countries. For example, Sarah, an International Recruitment Officer, talked about the popularity of “dual degrees” for the acquisition of English language skills. She says:

I think more and more institutions are asking for dual credentials—where students come to Canada after two years of study in their home country to
study for two additional years and then receive two degrees. These arrangements are going to grow in each of our markets especially because Canada is an English speaking country and we speak normal English. This is a big, big advantage for Canada especially for students that are coming from a non English speaking country. The fact that international students can master a global language through their studies is very important.

International educators, like Sarah, talked about how the development of shared “standards” would assist with the recognition of foreign diplomas and degrees and the recognition of credits and credit-transfer. In this discourse, international educators talked about how the tensions related to the commercialization of international education, especially to the development of transnational education in “foreign” countries, could be resolved through the development of global regulatory frameworks and agencies that take up issues of status, legitimacy, credibility, and reputation. I will argue that such a discourse is embedded in Eurocentric assumptions about the role and purpose of higher education.

4.3.3 Relational/Professional Caring

Much like nursing programs that promote professional caring (Limoges, 2006), international educators involved with students directly as well as some managers (as shown in Table 2) argued that getting to know “other” people, living in “other” countries and learning about “other” cultures creates good-will and that such an understanding “makes the world a better place”. This discourse, while honoring difference like neo-liberalism, does not identify power relations. A variant on this discourse is “student-centredness”, a “caring” orientation in which international educators expressed the need “to put the student first”. In this talk, the provision of international activities was viewed as a means to “enrich the student experience”. If students want more opportunities to study and work overseas, then international educators are expected to deliver. For example, Emma, a Study Abroad Advisor, in talking about what drives her international
education programming, says: “You have to give [students] what they want, so figure out what they want and offer it if you can”. Since it is individually based, such an approach is also compatible with student consumerist discourses.

Some international educators articulated the point that a caring orientation was what defined their work as “professional”. In other words, they are professionals because they care. Despite finding themselves under pressure to do more work with fewer resources, participants in my study were very positive about the work that they do and talked about an extraordinary level of commitment to the field and to the institutions where they work. At the same time, international educators felt that their caring work is not valued by the institution. I theorize that international educators are developing “absorbing” mechanisms (Broadbent and Laughlin, 1998) to “manage” these changing “disturbances” so that their core activities and relational-professional values remain unaffected. For example, as an absorbing group, international educators are activating relational discourses to find value in their work of taking extra time to advise students. Hence, they talk about how they are “making the world a better place”. However, this commitment to their work, I will argue in Chapter Five, is open to exploitation through new managerial discourses.

At the same time, this relational discourse remains un-problematized by international educators. As noted earlier, Deem (1998:68) asks whether women and their skills in “soft management” are explicitly being used by universities to make “new managerial” regimes more acceptable even when women managers themselves reject the premises of new-managerialism. I will also suggest in Chapter Five that the relational discourse identified above, which is deployed in many female dominated professions, is
being exploited by universities often under the guise of “service to students” and/or professionalism to make new managerialist changes more palatable. There is also some evidence that international educators’ experiences working within managerial regimes make them wary of professionalism.

4.3.4 New Public Managerialism (NPM)

Discourses of new managerialism, a subset of neo-liberalism, are readily identifiable in the talk and work-lives of international educators. Techniques such as the marketisation of services; the monitoring of efficiency and effectiveness through measurement of outcomes; and the fostering of competition between academics and administrators have put considerable pressure upon international educators. As I have suggested above, NPM through professionalism, subjects international educators’ work-lives are subjugated to increasing demands for productivity, resulting in work-intensification. As Carolyn, a senior manager noted, “My work has definitely intensified over the years and there are more pressures on us when you talk about being a profession”. International educators are also subject to a variety of managerial practices which are placing increasing demands upon their time and pushing their performances towards higher levels of productivity. International educators routinely experience long working hours, increasing workloads and job insecurity. NPM can be thought of as short-hand representing this range of changes and organizational forms in international educators’ work.

Accompanying NPM is the rise of an “audit culture” and an “accounting logic” which is transforming the work of international educators as demands for “accountability” and “quality assurance” are creating a host of “auditable structures”. As
these neo-liberal practices are often difficult to see and analyze, it is very important to make such practices visible (Davies, 2005). As participants made clear, all international educators’ work lives have been affected by increasing demands for quality assurance and accountability in higher education. Carolyn, a manager, describes this challenge for universities. She says:

Creating “quality programs” is at odds, in some ways, with securing resources because you can’t measure “quality”. So the focus is on how many students go abroad. Whether students come back more closed minded about a culture than they did when they left is beside the point! At least you can provide the numbers and say we sent more students than we did last year and often that is what is considered “moving ahead”. Just because you are dealing with a higher volume of students, you are doing a good job, even if I can’t actually tell you the quality of the international experience those students have had!

In Chapter Six, I will argue that one of the ways in which this has been accomplished has been through the introduction of NPM reforms in higher education which are promoting a more “business-focussed” approach in the management of public services. Although international educators indicate that they resist some of the new practices associated with these audit discourses, their professional project in some ways is activating and circulating these audit technologies. Specifically, as I will explain in more detail below, the activation and circulation of risk management discourses by study abroad advisors positions “foreign” destinations as dangerous locales. International project co-ordinators are also deploying discourses which emphasize the importance of “enhancing the institution’s reputation” in a climate of competitive inter-institutional comparisons. Using these examples of “risk management” discourses in study abroad, “quality assurance”
discourses in overseas partner selection and the increasing surveillance\(^7\) of international student’s immigration status, I will argue that such activities introduce disciplinary mechanisms that mark a new form of coercive neo-liberal governmentality (Shore and Wright, 1999) and that professionalization activities of international educators may also articulate to these organizations and institutions.

### 4.3.5 Equity/Anti-Racist/Anti-Colonial

Although the talk of international educators refers to how international education tends to espouse global civil society, in practice this is not necessarily achieved and participants occasionally engaged in critiques of these activities. From an anti-colonial perspective (as I use in Chapter 7), international education was sometimes talked about as the “internationalisation” of Eurocentric knowledge systems and educational discourses. Issues related to power and difference, according to this argument by practitioners, must become a priority for international education.

I have hinted above at how neo-colonial discourses are organizing international educators’ experiences. For example, international educators’ work processes and knowledge are coordinated by the “Knowledge Advantage” discourse which emphasizes the importance of attracting and retaining the “best and brightest” international students in order to increase the number of skilled workers for the Canadian labour market. The “Knowledge Advantage” discourse can be seen as not just a capitalist discourse but also a neo-colonial discourse. The permanent migration of a skilled group from a “developing”

---

\(^7\) For most surveillance studies, Foucault is a central thinker as his interpretation of Jeremy Bentham’s ‘Panopticon’ is a metaphor for endless surveillance and individualization in modern society. I find a middle ground between Foucauldian and IE approaches, as does Walby. Walby (2005:158) has argued that researchers studying surveillance would benefit from engaging with the method of institutional ethnography because “IE has a unique ability to explicate how surveillance subjects are linked to and managed by discursive, managerial, and professional forms of power”. Like Walby, my interest is how local surveillance practices connect with extra-local relations of surveillance.
country to an “overdeveloped” one is known as colonial “brain drain”\(^8\). While many critics of higher education have critiqued the increasing “vocationalism” and the re-emergence of a human capital discourse which positions students as workers for the knowledge economy, few have critiqued, as do a few informants in my study, how international education is also implicated in this project. In fact, international education with its so-called “humanist” orientation is sometimes positioned in the literature as the “antidote” to such trends, producing “global citizens” whose mission is to contribute to the so-called public good. Angela, an International Project Coordinator, expresses this concern. She says:

I think that in Canada there isn’t enough of a different discourse. There’s one voice of internationalization which is couched in academic terms but it isn’t about that at all. It [international education] is getting more and more interwoven with the globalization agenda and we aren’t able to disentangle international education from economics.

Critically-minded international educators, like Angela, see that they participate in ruling relations by orienting activities toward the market—not just through the creation of revenue—but through the production of “internationally-minded” workers whose “cross-cultural communication skills” and “knowledge of other peoples and culture” will be deployed in the service of global capital.

**4.3.6 Discourses and Activation by International Educators**

As shown in Table 2, the extent to which international educators participate in these discourses varies. International educators often activated/participated in more than one of these discourses in the same comment. However, some discourses are clearly

\(^8\) According to a United Nations Development Programme administrator, Kemal Deris (Taiwoo, 2007), since 1990, the brain drain has cost the African continent over $4 billion in the employment of 150,000 expatriate professionals annually. The leadership that could work towards those nations’ self-determination is thus assimilated into the dominant society.
more prevalent than others and others can be tired to particular activities in my analysis to
follow. Below, I outline how international educators are actively constructing discourses
on professionalization with or without awareness of how these discourses are mediated
by relations of ruling.

4.4 The Everyday Activities of International Educators

As noted above, international educators work in the areas of international student
advising; mobility or study abroad programs; international admissions; international
recruitment and marketing; international project coordination and finally, as managers of
international offices. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, my informants were drawn from all
these occupational groups.

I have argued that the fact that women make up the majority of international
educators is significant. Based on how a relational “ethic of care” is deployed in many
female-dominated professions and my observations, I will argue that it is also being
exploited by universities under the guise of “service to students” to make new
managerialist changes more palatable.

I also observed that international students, as a result of their foreign study
experience, may be attracted to enter the international education profession; that is, the
racialized nature of the profession is also significant. As discussed above, one of the
dominant rationales for international education is the recruitment and retention of
international students for the Canadian labour market. The fact that some international
students are subsequently employed by institutions as international educators suggests
that colleges and universities are actively participating in the “brain drain” of experts
from low-income, post-colonial countries to satisfy their own labour market needs. To the
extent that brain drain occurs, this neo-colonial practice exploits international students' experience and knowledge to further institutional internationalization agendas. These issues will be examined in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.

In order to explore how international education activities are coordinated trans-locally across many settings, informants were selected at various levels from front-line to managerial positions and from both institutional types (community colleges and universities). Both newcomers to the profession as well as senior international educators were interviewed.

While there is great variation in their work, the interviews make clear that international educators’ work-lives have been changed by the importing of managerial processes and the spread of the “audit culture” in higher education. Here I move beyond a descriptive account of their work to examine how each level of international educators is “caught up” in these processes through which academic capitalism is enacted.

### 4.4.1 International Student Advising: “Pushing It Back to the Institution”

International student advisors (ISAs) are generally responsible for a range of support services and programs for international degree-seeking students at their institutions. As Figure 1 indicated, ISAs are usually located at the bottom of the hierarchy. Tammy described her work as an international student advisor as follows:

> I provide services for all the international students in this institution. Part of my job is to supply international students with advice; for example, students really need some support to extend their student visas, apply for work permits and understand Canadian immigration policies. So, you need expertise to assist students with the legal immigration process and these are ongoing services required by students because no one as an international student in this country can study legally without proper immigration documents. So, that’s our regular service.... We also have advisory services on all kinds of issues: health insurance, academic issues, cross-cultural communication issues,
personal issues and registration policies. So we basically bridge the students to other university services. We also make referrals if I identify that the student has some serious personal issues. We may refer them to hospital, to the counseling office or to the Career Centre. We sometimes assist professors in understanding international students’ problems. Some students appear to have serious academic performance issues and some students have legal problems. So advising, bridging, and service is a big part of the regular services of the international office in this university. Another part of the services housed in this office is really about activities and programs. We organize regular social activities, as cross cultural communication is the key for people from different counties.

Tammy clearly sees herself as an advocate for international students and other international student advisors also felt that advocacy was an important part of ISA practice. Why is it that a job that requires so much professional judgment is so low on the hierarchy? It is theoretically interesting to note that these are the positions that are the most feminized and racialized. It would also appear that the bottom of the hierarchy is the most student-centred, as services for students do not generate institutional income and in fact, such services are often provided through student fees (paid by students in addition to international tuition).

International student advisors also clearly felt that immigration advising and advocacy was a primary and very important function of their job. In fact, Tammy referred to immigration advising as her “regular service”. Michael, in talking about how he transitioned a new international student advisor to her role, positioned immigration advising as a “primary function of the job”:

I said [to her] you have to be able to advocate with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). She said, “That’s a slippery slope to get onto”, and I thought: “Oh my gosh! That’s a primary function of the job!”

ISAs recognized that immigration advising had become an integral aspect of the job. Why, then, was working with CIC labeled a “slippery slope”? Participants suggested that
although they had to work with CIC on almost a daily basis, CIC might not serve the “best interests” of international students (i.e. facilitating the entry of international students into Canada and their transition to the Canadian labor market post-study) because their procedures were administratively cumbersome. In view of this “red tape”, the practice of immigration advising caused international student advisors some frustration. Tammy felt that immigration advising was an example of CIC “pushing it back to the institution”. As she put it,

There are many things I disagree with CIC about…for example, the post graduation work permit. The requirement is that a student must have a job offer within 90 days and I really don’t agree with that; I think it is ridiculous. They ask the student to count from the day of their graduation until the 90th day to secure a job and apply for a work permit. Can you go on the street and find any Canadian student that can secure a job within 90 days? I think this is totally unreasonable and they just tell the student that it is possible. So I have never agreed with that. It’s not reasonable and it’s not possible. So why don’t you tell them to just not apply? And it makes things challenging even for CIC because some students find a job maybe on 89th day and they have one day to apply…what are we going to do? We are going to fax their application to CIC…calling them all the time…making their job more stressful. But they set up the 90-day rule and how do you count which day is the first day of the 90 days? Every institution is different so CIC doesn’t even know how we count it! Nobody knows! They are so good at pushing it back to the institution.

Here we can see that CIC is clearly part of the relations of ruling as articulated in this ISA task. Not surprisingly, Tammy went on to quip that: “Sometimes I feel like I am a lawyer!” She was identifying a shift in recent years from coordinating programs to enhance the educational and social experiences of international students towards immigration advising, which was not formerly a post-secondary activity. In Chapter Five, I will argue that this is part of the government's attempts to introduce audit technologies into higher education for the dual purpose of monitoring international students and facilitating their retention and integration into the Canadian labour market.
The work of student advising, despite its key role in assimilation, could be frustrating for those with a student orientation and they critiques aspects of internationalization that were harmful to students. For example, although seeking resources was part of all international educators’ work, international educators were concerned by the trend to seek these resources from the market. In particular, international student advisors were worried about rising tuition costs for international students from low income, post-colonial countries. Tammy commented:

We [international educators] understand that international students are paying much more money toward their tuition than domestic students and that most of the students are coming from developing countries, so it is a big financial challenge for them [to pay tuition].

Michael, a senior international admissions officer, also raised a concern that international student tuition fees for professional programs, which are more than double the domestic fees, is difficult for all except the elite international students. As he said,

In more recent years you have differential fees but then you also have professional fees. Within Ontario, we’ve had huge tuition increases and that is even more burdensome for international students because they have professional fees on top of international fees. I think you get a different class of student, unfortunately, coming into the classroom.

As Michael pointed out, throughout the last decade, tuition fees in Canada, particularly for popular professional programs, have risen dramatically for both international students and Canadian citizens. Federal and provincial governments have cut funding for post-secondary education and this is one way Ontario universities and colleges have responded. International student advisors were most concerned that so little of the revenue raised from international student tuition was used to support services and programs for international students.
ISAs, such as Tammy and Michael, are positioned within equity discourses as they try to be socially responsive in their work by lobbying for reduced international student fees as well as advocate for increased provision of services for international students. Their comments stood in stark contrast with the rhetoric on the importance of recruiting international students as workers in the Canadian labour market which was the dominant textual discourse. Although some texts emphasize the importance of international students to Canada's academic life in terms of bringing new perspectives to the classroom, their value as “workers” is clearly stated in other policy documents. It is not simply the substantial revenues generated through tuition and living expenses that make international students attractive but international students, especially international graduate students, are positioned as potential “workers” for Canada’s knowledge economy:

In spite of some of the lowest tuition fees of the major English-speaking countries, Canada still lags behind the major host countries of international--well behind smaller Australia. While we have seen steady growth at the undergraduate level, international demand for graduate level study in Canada has remained flat, disturbingly so given Canada's interest in attracting and retaining the necessary human capital for research and development. (CBIE, 2002)

International students are clearly positioned in these texts as a “human capital”. Therefore, advisors show courage and commitment in resisting them. However, as we will see in Chapter Six and Seven, by providing international students with assistance and services to facilitate their immigration, ISAs are not always aware of how their work is articulated to global, neo-liberal economic power relations which facilitate the flight of human capital from so-called developing countries to Canada, otherwise known as the “brain drain”.
4.4.2 International Admissions: “One-stop Shopping”

A third employee position included as part of post-secondary international education--the international admission officer (IAO)--is responsible for the international admissions process, including international credential assessment. IAOs assess international students’ documents to determine their admissibility for degree programs at their institution. Another aspect of the job is to develop institutional procedures and safeguards protecting against fraudulent documents.

The development of these institutional procedures provides a glimpse of the surveillance system in place to monitor these admissions. International admission officers talked about how new systems and procedures are being developed to identify and track fraudulent documents. For example, Adriane, a junior IAO, mentioned that a listserv has been set-up by the Association of Universities and College of Canada (AUCC) so that institutions can post the names, dates of birth and countries of origin of applicants who are suspected of applying with fraudulent documents. Institutions in my study blocked these applicants from applying at their own institutions. Adriane also explained that she was expected to enforce rigorous documentation policies so that her institution could minimize fraud and protect the “integrity” of the admissions process.

While credential assessment remains the primary responsibility for international admission officers, it can be argued that since 9/11, there has been a subtle shift from understanding foreign credentials by IAOs towards carrying out procedures for identifying fraudulent documents. That is, I am suggesting that, for various reasons, identifying potentially fraudulent or counterfeit academic documentation has become a more significant work activity for international admissions officers. This observation was
conveyed to me in a conversation with Adriane, the only international educator I interviewed who asked that our conversation not be recorded. This emphasis can be seen to be part of the audit culture in higher education, where new managerialism is realized by introducing new norms of conduct and professional behaviour. This shift in activity is away from playing the advocacy role of identifying barriers to foreign credential recognition or becoming more knowledgeable about educational systems and towards detecting “cheats”. The international admissions process now assumes that international students must be monitored for fraudulent behaviour.

Ancillary services that charge for foreign credential assessment have evolved at Canadian post-secondary institutions. Institutions also encourage students to have their credentials verified by an external credential assessment agency. For example, Adriane explained that while international students are not required to use such services (arguably, educational institutions should be providing such services free of charge to international applicants for admission purposes), her institution was encouraging students to seek a document-by-document equivalency of foreign academic credentials to Canadian education for a fee from a credential assessment service. This effectively downloads institutional responsibility to the student, just as the government downloads partial responsibility to the institutions.

International admission officers were also involved with the streamlining of recruitment activities in addition to their admissions activities. One international recruiter described how her institution developed a “one-stop shopping” approach by aligning recruitment, admission and services for international students. Sandra, an international recruiter who works with international admissions officers, explained:
So now we do “on-the-spot-admissions”. It’s like one-stop shopping. We take an admissions officer with us at least once a year. We usually do that in April so that they can issue the offer letters and assess the documents right at the information session or fair. We only do that in India for now but we intend to expand it into other countries.

That is, this community college has even begun evaluating transcripts of prospective applicants during overseas education fairs, with some applicants granted admission on the spot in an effort to speed up the admissions process. Such fast-food-like for-profit strategies contribute to and further legitimate the marketization of international higher education. IAOs are clearly the articulators of capitalist, competitive and consumerist discourses, as their work activities are oriented towards the market.

Given her close working relationship with international recruiters, who occupy higher-status positions, Adriane expressed frustration that her position was not classified “higher”. I suggest that from a critical perspective this type of argument can be seen as a strategy of professionalization. That is, in the manner suggested by Witz (1992), the specialized knowledge of some international educators can serve to produce a hierarchy of international educators where those at the lowest levels are excluded. As Evetts (2003a:30) notes, the ideology of professionalism that is so appealing to practitioners emphasizes exclusive ownership of an area of expertise and knowledge. It was evident from the comments of Adriane and other informants that international education is now an area of expertise subject to professional claims for specialization and exclusion of claims not considered legitimate.

4.4.3 International Recruitment: “You Need To Be a Business Minded Person”

Almost all Ontario post-secondary institutions now employ international recruitment officers who are responsible for the marketing of university and college
programs overseas. Promotion and marketing abroad helps generate extra revenue for universities, since cash-strapped institutions gain from international students’ tuition fees. International recruitment officers (IROs) are the individuals primarily responsible for the recruitment of international students to their institutions. IROs attend higher education fairs, arrange visits to and from overseas colleges and universities; and conduct campus tours and visits; as well as manage the post-secondary institution’s agents to develop and maintain links with overseas institutions and embassies; and provide marketing advice to schools and faculties on the recruitment of international students. Thus, international recruiters are very much engaged with the market.

When I talked to Sandra, a junior IRO, about her work skills as an international recruiter, she emphasized:

For my position I would say that [it is important to be] a good sort of marketer, good sales person, and [be] very adaptable in different environments. [These skills] are needed to do the job because we go into different environments. So, you have to be very adaptable and versatile and a business-minded person.

Amanda also talked about the importance of a “business background”. As she put it:

When I do these deals, I have to do financial forecasting. When I forecast for a campus, I look five years out and I have to do these statements. So it’s like starting a business: you have to do the environmental scan and all of the things to put together a case. So the business background is significantly helpful.

Amanda went on to talk about how a business background makes her “more productive”:

I want to say that one of the things that make the role interesting is that I have a business background and I’m not an academic. As I said, I’ve been in business for 25 years with different corporations, Canadian and American. I ran my own company and then when I came into teaching, I only had a taste of the academic world for a very short part of my career. So what I bring to the table is the business side of it, which makes it better. I’m a more productive person. [Laughter] Maybe that’s not fair [to academics]! They’ve had people in the role who have had no business background or little business background and they’ve had people in this role who were only academics. It’s
the blend of the two that makes the job interesting and successful. And so what motivates me is I get to use my business background and I still get to be in the education business and when I go to open those campuses now I wear a business hat and an academic hat.

While they might prioritize business interests, international recruiters were well aware of the inherent tensions between business and academic missions. This was evident when Sandra, the junior IRO cited above, spoke about her discomfort working with agents:

> I would say interacting with our business partners can be a source of stress because although we are an educational, public institution…they are a private business and they need to make money. And the way they do it is basically they recruit students. They are very ethical and do a very good job but they often request us to do this faster or do it another way. Our business partner needs to make profit out of it so this job can be sort of stressful because their demands are different.

These agents or third parties, such as brokers, facilitators, or recruiters, act as intermediaries between awarding and providing institutions for establishing transnational educational arrangements (Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education, Council of Europe: 2001). It is often charged in the critical international higher education literature that agents’ motives are solely profit-driven, which undermines the provision of public, democratic education.

IROs also talked enthusiastically about efforts to promote and market international education. They suggested that activity has increased over time and that marketing is increasing sophisticated. There was also talk among the international recruiters I interviewed that international education in Canada needed to be guided by national policies and strategies, especially with respect to developing an international “brand” for Canada. Patricia, a new manager, said:

> Governments who are doing well are Australia, the US, Britain and Ireland and some of those places where they really put a face on study in their country. And that’s what we need -- “Study Canada”. I think there has been
an attempt but it’s not enough. There are some provinces who have really
taken a leadership role in promoting their province. Ontario has finally got
on board with that and we’re beginning to get moving but again, it is not
enough. At least it’s a start and its better than where we were. So there are
some good trends but I think their needs to be more attention to [branding]
and hopefully we are moving in that direction.

It is interesting that Kim mentions a need for a coordinated approach to international
education and a pan-Canada approach to marketing programs. Although Ontario receives
more international students than any other province in Canada with about 40 per cent of
the national total, the Ontario government is increasingly concerned that “there is
competition from other jurisdictions to retain and increase the share of international
students” (MCTU Press Release, August 31, 2008). To support initiatives to attract more
international students to Ontario, the government invested $1 million in 2004 to market
Ontario's postsecondary education internationally through a coordinated marketing
strategy that included a new website --www.studyinontario.com --in an effort to attract
international students (MCTU Press Release, August 31, 2008). The Ministry of
Training, Colleges and Universities also supports participation at the major international
conferences: NAFSA, EAIE and APAIE, as well as at some recruiting fairs. Not only is
the Province pursuing marketing efforts to ensure that the Ontario remains a destination
for international students, but they are also increasing the opportunities for Ontario
students to study abroad. After many years of being totally uninterested in
internationalization, the current provincial government has made it part of its higher
education strategy (Desai-Trilokekar and Schubert, 2007). The Ontario government is
making an investment of $3 million in 2007-08, growing up to $5 million in 2008-09, to
support the internationalization of Ontario's postsecondary education system. Through
this strategy, the government is working to “enrich the educational experience of
Ontario's college and university students” by building on existing student exchange agreements and investing $2.7 million over two years through *Ontario International Educational Opportunity Scholarships* to support 1,000 Ontario students to study abroad.

Why this sudden interest? Internationalization is no longer pursued solely for income generation but as a Provincial economic investment strategy and as part of this rationalized system, post-secondary education institutions are encouraged to participate through funding.

To ensure that universities attract their share of global talent, according to this discourse, institutions are pursuing aggressive outreach and promotion programs.

Amanda talked about how

[e]verybody’s in this game. Five years ago I wouldn’t say that. But now I think everybody’s trying to play the game, even the smallest little college or university. When I go out on the road--I was in the Caribbean last fall and there were 40 Canadian institutions at a fair. And then the week before that, they had about 75 American institutions at a fair. So there’s a lot more people in the game and now it’s become more and more competitive. So to grab that international student when you’re in the country, you have to be even more aggressive. It’s not about just recruiting individual students one-on-one but [it’s also about] doing marketing, advertising and all the other things that might attract students--like parent’s night, alumni night, increasing contact with student ambassadors and attending education fairs. We’ve got a lot more activities than we used to create awareness of our school.

Another participant described how outgoing exchange students were expected to do at least one presentation to prospective international students at their host institution to entice the prospective international students to study at their home institution. And at least one institution is involved in establishing an international alumni network to develop future “ambassadors” from its international alumni base with a view to supporting future international student recruitment. That is, in the articulation of student
recruitment, institutions are involving their own students in campus recruitment efforts, capitalizing on their linkages and networks.

When the evidence presented by participants is taken together, there is no question that post-secondary institutions are increasingly looking to internationalization activities as a way of generating alternative sources of income. This activity was typically framed as a “win-win” situation, in that international recruiters pointed out how they were contributing to the student experience. For example, Sarah, an IRO, said:

I love going and meeting the students and, you know, nothing makes me happier than when you’re overseas and you’re meeting all these students. And then when you get back to the college during start up in September and January and you meet the students during orientation week. It’s great to see that they’re here. It’s nice when they pop into your office and say “I got a job” or “I’m doing this, I’m doing that”. It’s really nice to see them succeed.

Here the success of the students is twinned with the benefit of the institution. But long-tenured international educators, such as Angela, had problems with the idea that international recruiters qualified as international educators. As she put it:

So many people define themselves as international educators--people that I would not see myself as at all! Recruiters, for example, see themselves as international educators and for me, they aren’t.

Emma, a senior study abroad advisor, was concerned about standards regulating this activity. In her words:

In the field of recruiting international students, I do think there should be standards. I think Australia ran into that trouble with schools selling visas so I think there that again is a legal side of it. There is activity that you have to regulate. People recruiting have to have certain standards to live up to: avoiding kickbacks, that sort of thing.

---

9 In 2007, the Australian Crime Commission found that visas were being sold by private post-secondary education providers to international students. These providers are not agents but claim to be degree-granting institutions, largely unrecognized and unaccredited.
As well as indicating that all is not well with the activity of international recruiting, these statements illustrate that international educators may attempt to deploy exclusionary and demarcation strategies to maintain the integrity of the professional group, as described by Witz (1992). Witz gives examples of physicians excluding other health professions from their professional jurisdiction to maintain “quality control”. In this case, international recruiters’ direct engagement with the market was a source of discomfort to international educators committed to advocacy and their words point to excluding the offending group. There is also administrative interest in protecting the reputation of the institution.

4.4.4 Exchange/Study Abroad Advising: “My Job Is to Make Them Go Away!”

Exchange/Study abroad advisors (SAAs) manage the flow of exchange students both to and from the institution. As Matthew joked, “My job is to make them go away!” Study abroad advisors may oversee the recruitment and selection of exchange students, co-ordinate pre-departure sessions, orientation activities and re-entry programs for students as well as conduct on-site visits to programs. SAAs are also involved not just with exchange activities (opportunities to study at a foreign university while paying domestic tuition fees at your home institution) but with study abroad activities (fee-based, short-term study programs at a foreign institution often taught by a professor from the student’s home institution). As SAAs provide services to students, it might be expected that SAAs would occupy lower-status roles. However, with the emphasis on global skill building, I suggest that SAAs now occupy a higher-status position. Their increased status might also be attributed to the popularity of short-term study abroad programs which are income generators for post-secondary institutions.
Study abroad was positioned by international educators as an opportunity for “personal development” for domestic students as well as international students. For example, Kimberley talked about how study abroad is an opportunity to “learn about one’s self”. As she put it,

Going abroad is great thing for people to learn about themselves and to gain new perspectives. It would actually make them more flexible or adjustable so it contributes to their personal attributes.

Matthew commented on the importance of cultivating not just knowledge of a discipline but also “knowledge of the world around them” in students through study-abroad:

That’s part of our job in a sense--to make sure that they’re graduating with more than just knowledge of their discipline--to have knowledge of the world around them.

Andrew, a new SAA, also talked about how study abroad helps students find “meaning” in promoting

[t]he ability to look at your life in a different way; from a different perspective, just putting yourself in a different setting. So for those students that we send abroad I think being away from home and their comforts and a system that they know so well makes them appreciate the system that they are from or the system that they’re going to more. It could be just valuing their family or their friends and other things about their lives that maybe they haven’t been removed from before. So they haven’t been able to evaluate the meaning of that to their life. Then for incoming students, I think it’s a new source of independence for a lot of our students. I hate to generalize, but the common trend is to go to a university that’s in the city that you’re from originally or close to your home town. So [study abroad is about] learning how to do just general life skills and that kind of thing.

It is theoretically interesting to me that Matthew focuses on the learning outcomes of domestic students when it would be similar for international students. Yet, as Michael noted in his earlier comments, international students are recruited to the institution as revenue-generators or I have argued, potential workers for the Canadian labour market.
Student mobility, accordingly, is presented as an internationalisation strategy in contradistinction to straight “international recruitment”.

International educators were aware that overseas exchange experiences do not necessarily engender learning. A senior manager, Carolyn, said:

I think we need to help that process a bit more than we do at institutions. We can’t assume because you send someone somewhere that they really and truly understood the depth of the experience and how it can change their lives.

Angela also talked about the importance of helping students “make sense” of their experience:

I think we need to think about how exchanges fit into students’ academic programs. They need to make sense because students are not stupid! They are not going to invest in things that don’t link with what they come here to do, which is study. So, I think exchanges have to be built into academic programs—they have to make sense in terms of where students are going and for what reasons.

Here study abroad advisors circulate discourses that emphasize the social, cultural and academic rationales for study abroad which have the potential to disrupt economic rationales for internationalization prioritized by institutions. SAAs may first appear to be activating equity discourses, but such socio-cultural, academic rationales are articulated to Eurocentric values. It can also be seen in Angela’s comments that the value of study abroad experiences was interpreted in terms of individual rather than public goals. That is, the discourses circulated by study abroad advisors supported student’s individual development but not necessarily their civic development. This argument will be explored further in Chapter Seven when I discuss the activation and circulation of “global citizenship” discourses by international educators. Again, global citizenship discourse may, at first, appear to be knowledge and skills for social justice but there is a slippage
between education for social responsibility and education for employment purposes in the global economy.

As noted above for international students, there was a concern that not all domestic students had financial access to study abroad opportunities. Karen, for example, shared her concerns that not all students could afford this experience:

I have always had a problem with the fact that the students that can go on semester abroad or exchange have more money. So the students that go come from more privileged backgrounds. (I’m not saying everybody who goes on exchange or semester abroad is like that.) Another thing that bothers me a lot is students who have to go into debt to go; there’s not enough support for students who can’t afford to go on an exchange or semester abroad.

Matthew is similarly concerned that such experiences are only benefiting “upper-middle class” domestic students:

It’s a piece of the pie for students who want a successful career. [They might conclude] “Right, OK, well, something international is going to help me”. [And I would conclude] “Well then, everybody should have access to it”. Rather than simply accepting the fact that exchange is for the upper middle class, we need to work hard on bringing it to as wide a group of students as possible because of the obvious benefits of it. That’s not an easy thing to do, to make international education more accessible. ‘Cause it is definitely seen in a lot of ways as a luxury good. And for some students they can see that international experience is going to get them somewhere.

Kimberley saw shorter sojourns as a means to provide more options, especially if students could not afford a term abroad:

We have approximately 21,000 students and only 130 students get to go on exchange. The majority of our students can’t afford to go for four to five months, let alone eight months, to study abroad and live abroad. So, I really feel that if we need to get this international perspective into students, we should really concentrate on developing short-term study abroad programs for credit.

The recognition by study abroad advisors that student mobility schemes better fit young, full-time and affluent domestic students who can afford the costs of living and learning in
another country shows that international educators are conscious of inequities in this system. Their comments suggest that the commodification of study-abroad programs strengthens the already-powerful social selectivity of international student mobility. Here we can see that SAAs involved in deploying an equity discourse that spoke of providing low-income students with access to study abroad opportunities. However, the emphasis was on the situation of *domestic* rather than international students.

Part of the commodification of study abroad programs could be seen in the emphasis on incorporating more experiential opportunities (i.e. work abroad) into study abroad programs as a means to assist students to pay for an overseas experience that they could otherwise not afford. This was conceptualized as an alternative to conventional study abroad programs. Study abroad advisors said that they were keen to incorporate more experiential opportunities into study abroad, especially in so-called developing countries. For example, Matthew commented that:

> The big thing here is hands-on experiential learning. So sending groups of students though student life to different places around the world, volunteer work and things like that. We’re looking at developing different opportunities. I think exchange is always going to be there but again there’s always just a limited number of students who can afford to do it and want to do it.

The inequities in this system hinted at by international educators provide a starting point for a more radical critique of study abroad programs. For example, what has been called “the pursuit of exotica” (Woolf, 2006) could be seen as an example of what post-structuralists have called “Orientalism” (Said, 1978)\(^\text{10}\). Orientalism is relevant to this study as study abroad advisors also tended to represent non-Western societies as either “exotic” or, as I will elaborate in Chapter Six, even “dangerous”. Arguably, study

\(^\text{10}\) Said challenged what he termed “Orientalism”, a Euro-centric discourse which made generalizations about the “East” that become part of systemic “knowledge” of “Orientals”. 
at non-traditional destinations is the “new orthodoxy” of study abroad. This argument, that linking the global experience with volunteer or work activities in so-called developing countries perpetuates colonial relationships, couched as it is in the language of tourism. (This will be explored in Chapter Seven.) The idea that knowledge about the “Other” is a commodity to be purchased in order to build a “global skill set” to be used in the marketplace is clearly embedded in the talk of international educators. At the same time, there can be seen to be a disjuncture between international educators’ educational mission as student advocates and observers of equitable institutional practices and institutional processes which position study abroad as a means to equip students with skills for global labour market.

4.4.5 International Project Coordination: “Closing the Deal”

At the next level in the hierarchy of international education, coordinators of international projects were responsible for the administration of international development projects and/or interaction with faculty members to advise and provide support in terms of their international initiatives. International project coordinators (IPC) talked about how their role has changed over the years. In the past, IPCs were often responsible for government contracts overseas in so-called developing countries. Now that post-secondary institutions set up local campuses in these countries and offer off-shore degrees, international project coordinators are increasingly involved in the export of programs and services to international markets through trans-national education and corporate training. This pattern matches that of the local branch plant organization of multinational businesses.
IPCs stressed that such transnational education initiatives were beneficial for students and their institutions. For example, Kimberley, an IPC at a university, argued that such arrangements “empower people in developing countries”. As she put it,

The other side of my work is focusing on developing programs and agreements with so-called developing countries or emerging colonies to empower them. Now by empowering people in their own country, it’s actually going to do good because even if people decide to emigrate, it’s going to be a personal choice…. It’s not going to be because they have been forced to go somewhere else to get their education. I think to build capacity [and] empower people in developing countries—that would be great.

Kimberley’s use of the discourses of empowerment, rescue and personal choice is a dubious mixture. To be sure, some students do enrol in a branch campus of a Eurocentric post-secondary institution because they cannot gain entry into local universities. Genuine capacity building, however, would arguably entail the valuation of, not replacement of local universities. “Capacity building” in this transnational educational discourse can be seen from a critical perspective as a euphemism for market ventures. The fact that Kimberley, in an interesting slip of the tongue, talks about “emerging colonies”, perhaps inadvertently, hints that inequalities inherent in the old patterns of the internationalization of higher education remain part of the “new” practices of transnational education.

Christina, another international project coordinator, also positioned the development of transnational education, or what she referred to as “partnership projects”, as a “great opportunity”:

Partnership projects…or partnerships overseas where the students might study two years in a certain country and then go to a college or university in Canada-- I think it’s another great opportunity for students. I think it’s an opportunity for students who may not have the money to get an overseas experience to do a three or four year program. Or they would have the opportunity to do two years and pay lower fees in their own country and then do a final year and also get dual credentials, which is really interesting. Let me give you an example. We had a meeting, interestingly enough, with a private
institution in Syria who came to us wanting to collaborate with us in continuing education. We had similar meetings with people from China and people from India. We look at the curriculum that is offered at these institutions and work with them to either improve the curriculum to meet Western standards or to develop our curriculum that would be offered over there. That would be a good thing for my institution and industry. I think something like this would prevent the brain drain and the same time it would benefit higher education. There is money in these projects--it is lucrative, we’re not doing good only for the sake of doing good. I mean both parties will benefit from this.

It is of theoretical interest that Christina talks about such “win-win” projects as benefitting her institution and industry rather than the local community. In this formulation, the remaking of exotic curricula into Eurocentric curricula is promoted as even “preventing” the brain drain! This argument illustrates how discourses of corporatisation and commercialisation can be inserted into international educators’ work even if they are aware of critiques of traditional “development” thinking. Have these efforts been successful? One international project coordinator, Amanda, indicated that these arrangements by her institution were not up-and-running yet. As she commented,

There are barriers of trying to get students [enrolled] but I think eventually it will run. So, if they have the money, it will happen I guess, but still people just haven’t come to grips with its possibilities. But it will come. Right now it’s still new and there aren’t enough choices around the world. I have a business school in India and I have an animation school. So if you’re in engineering, I can’t help you. As we add more and more campuses and create more choice, they’ll start to get more flow back and forth.

Amanda anticipates that such arrangements will facilitate the flow of students from/to Canada from/to so-called developing countries, thereby suggesting that transnational institutions will facilitate so-called “brain-circulation”. However, her comments are speculative. Embedded as they are in Eurocentric educational activities, international project coordinators tended not to question the establishment of multinational higher education enterprises overseas to provide education in the most “cost-effective” way. But
as seen from a critical perspective, these projects, following a corporate model, appear neo-colonial in their organization. Certainly when listening to Amanda talk about the stressors in her work, I could see that her primary concern was in “closing the deal”. As she put it:

I think the stressor for me is that everything takes a long time to close-the-sale. It’s not instant gratification. Even, for example, the campuses in India, it took a good year, year-and-a half to gain momentum. I just wanted it to go a lot faster. When I do business deals, I mean I worked on one I closed last year that someone prior to me had already been working on for five years. And this one I’m working on that I sent out today is three years old and I’m in the serious proposal stage. The rest was just a whole lot of talk and somebody trying to move money from here to there. It’s a very, very, long, long process.

The discourse on “closing the deal” positions international education as a “business”, albeit non-profit. Here we can see how IPCs articulate to capitalist, competitive and consumerist discourses. It would seem that post-secondary educational institutions want “the best of both worlds” by using public money for private ends (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997).

4.4.6 Managers/Directors of International Offices:
Administratively Managed Professionals?

Managers and directors of international education offices whom I interviewed were struggling with managerial discourses of revenue generation, efficiency and commodification. Administrative staff--especially those engaged in management roles--are often seen as the instruments of corporatisation. But international educators in management positions talked about trying to balance business efficiency with effective outcomes for students while at the same time maintaining “educational values”. Carolyn, a manager with over 10 years of experience, talked about how she increasingly saw her role as an international educator as “helping the institution to understand
internationalization again”. That is, she saw herself as resisting the imposition by central administration of external regulation, such as the use of performance indicators, which she described as moving international educators away from their traditional emphasis on student cross-cultural development and towards market discourses. Carolyn says regarding this change in her work that:

It’s been a bit of a shift. So I see myself, I think, playing a stronger role in helping the institution to understand again the professional parameters of internationalization and to stop continually grasping at the counting of heads—counting the number of people we put on a plane last year as being internationalization. And instead saying “yes, that’s important, but maybe we should not simplify internationalization that much”. And when we bring international students to campus and sit them in a seat beside someone that they never speak to, does that “internationalize” anyone? Probably not! So counting bums in seats doesn’t necessarily mean that there’s been a qualitative activity there that we can say transferred some cross-cultural knowledge to someone else.

Carolyn critiques “counting the number of people we put on a plane” and the “counting of bums in seats” as opportunities to study abroad have increasingly become a performance indicator for institutions that can be used for intra-university and college comparisons and prestige. But managers and directors were the individuals involved in producing these performance indicators and the institutions in my study now routinely report on the number of students involved in study abroad, the number of exchange programs and the number of countries involved in their efforts. International educators are responsible for the reporting of their activities to demonstrate the institution's commitment to internationalization. Karen, another manager, also critiqued this “accounting logic”:

I guess basically because internationalization is such a huge goal now for every university, it looks like it’s a number. So exchange and semester abroad right now are a number. We can say this many students at our institution went abroad in this given year.
In addition to critiquing practices of accounting, international educators in administration also talked about their work-lives as increasingly administratively-managed as they tried to “absorb” the workload generated by these accounting practices. As noted above, the job of an “absorbing group” is to develop appropriate “absorbing” mechanisms to “manage” new public management practices so that core activities and values remain unaffected. “Absorbing” can invoke considerable anxiety and heavy administrative work-load (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2002). For example, Carolyn talks about how her work has changed over the years as more and more managerial technologies have been introduced into the workplace. She says:

My work has definitely intensified over the years and there are more pressures on us when you talk about being a profession. Over the years we’ve had to have better processes, fair processes, for [outgoing exchange] students; they need to apply and know they’ve been selected for a reason, not just because they know a professor who said, “Yeah you can go”. Then the whole legal liability issue comes up. Well, we need to get better at that. We need to be doing pre-departure orientations….Ok, that’s good. Oh, then “what about transfer credit?” and, “oh, ok, so now we have to have a system to clearly assess all these courses and were they good enough?” And, “oh, people are trying to get into medical school, so now they want the transcript and, oh, now we have to have that whole system?” Then “let’s have a new privacy of information act”. Well, now we have to know how we store our files and … blah, blah, blah…. There is bureaucratic layer upon layer and yet there’s a clear understanding of why a lot of this stuff is important. But…it’s a lot more complicated now and there’s a lot more to it. So I think the intensity comes with the expectations of being professional about it. It used to be a friendly [informal] business. Well, it’s not like that now!

Carolyn’s comments detail how international educators’ managerial work has been subject to bureaucratic expansion and rationalization. Her actions clearly involve exercise of professional discretion and detailed expertise. Her comments also suggest that she is both committed to the implementation of these practices and yet that they also evoke anxiety.
Strathern (2000:i) has remarked upon the coercive nature of such practices: “The challenge is that these new accountabilities are at once obstructive and enabling of good practice.” That is, it can be argued that the consequence of introducing new managerialism into higher education has not simply been to re-invent academic institutions as financial bodies. Along with the new practices come new expectations and professional behaviour from academic staff (Shore and Wright in Strathern, 2000). International educators, as part of their professional project (even if framed from extra-local sources) are thus encouraged to adopt new-managerialist practices despite the coercive and de-stabilizing nature of such practices. The destabilization involves international educators attempting to manage basic anxieties and concerns so that their core activities can continue unhindered, in the face of ever increasing accountability to institutional and external requirements. This form of resistance activity can be linked to heavy administrative workloads that participants describe as becoming harder and harder to cope with. While it appears that some changes have been welcomed (such as more “transparency” in student selection practices), in the main, the NPM changes described by front-line managers in international education are perceived as an unwelcome intrusion into the definition of their professional activities. The meaning and implementation of these changes, in a word, are contested. That is, international educators’ comments including managers, suggest that despite the pervasiveness of managerial discourse, there remain possibilities for resistance and change.

4.5 Conclusion

After a labelling of the various discourses appearing in my interviews with international educators, this chapter has explored the organization of international
educators’ everyday work-lives as revealed in their talk. To summarize, in this chapter I have documented how globalization, academic capitalism and entrepreneurialism is part and parcel of the everyday work of international educators. ISA work activities, especially their immigration functions, were clearly articulated to government audit processes. This frustrated ISAs who would rather spend their time advocating for international students in the academy. By emphasizing the need for global work experience (often disguised as “global citizenship”), SAAs are circulating human capital discourses. This “new” vocationalism can be seen as a form of neo-colonialism. Both IAOs and IROs adopt corporate business practices such as “one-stop shopping” to market their institutions for competitive advantage. This pronounced market orientation brings with it notions of students as “consumers” or “purchasers” to be recruited and serviced. IPCs, by carrying out trans-national institutional partnerships, are facilitating the so-called “brain drain”. Now that this chapter has highlighted the everyday work of each level of international education, how these activities are articulated with managerial staff and discourses will be explored in the following chapter. Of theoretical interest to me is the way in which NPM supports at the same time as it undercuts international educators discourse of professionalism.
Chapter Five: International Educators, Professionalism and the Professional Managerial Turn

5.0 Introduction

As I have emphasized above, during recent decades, post-secondary institutions have been affected by widespread neo-liberal reforms associated with the introduction of managerialism as a new mode of governance known as New Public Management (NPM). International education has also been affected by this governmental concern with efficiency. Specifically, international educators are now subject to managerial definitions of quality, efficiency and improved productivity. Under NPM, there has been a decentralization of management control towards what is often referred to as the doctrine of self-management. Arguably, what is “new” here is the intersection of technologies of domination and the technologies of self that individuals employ to implicate themselves in their own governance (Foucault, 1988; Fitzsimmons, 1999). As I will document in this chapter, international educators also implicate themselves in their own governance by “taking professional responsibility” and being “self-motivated” to provide service to international students and “improve” international education despite scarce educational resources.

At the same time as they feel pressured by institutional workload, I found that international educators I interviewed are very positive about the work that they do. They report an extraordinary level of commitment to the institutions where they work. I have theorized that international educators, consistent with their professionalism, are “absorbing groups” who absorb the negative effects of corporatisation through activating relational discourses and that educational institutions capitalize on the “professional” work of international educators. Here, I use a critical theoretical perspective to make the
point in this chapter that although international educators may be committed to “making the world a better place” as part of their professional philosophy, such a discourse obfuscates what can be seen as educational colonialism with a more critical lens.

To summarize, in this chapter I will document how NPM is part and parcel of the everyday work of international educators with or without their awareness. In the talk of front-line managers can be seen the activation of capitalist and neo-liberal discourses (consistent with and sometimes not consistent with their professional project) alongside the appropriation of professionalism using discourses of equity and activism. International educators’ participation in one or more of these discourses is evidence that NPM is not a totalizing discourse and that there are gaps and fissures which provide opportunities for change.

5.1 Corporatization of International Higher Education

In international educators’ comments, especially in the community colleges, I found an uncritical acceptance of education as a business as promoted in NPM. For example, Patricia, a dean at a community college, spoke about how her work was “driven by the market”. As she put it:

I have seen an increased responsiveness to the market which drives our business. Colleges are intended to be very responsive to the labour market and very responsive to the community. That’s our mandate so we probably have less emphasis on academic research and a lot more emphasis on employer needs. So our work is absolutely driven by the market.

It is not coincidental that Patricia was recruited into her administrative role. She worked in industry and business for many years, as did many of the international educators who were her community college counterparts. Patricia’s comments place great emphasis on training and workforce skills development that meet labour market needs. Christina,
another community college worker, also described international education as a “business”:

I think the other thing is (and I may be wrong about this, so you may have to edit this out), I think international education is a business and people have to understand that it’s a business.

It is not altogether surprising that international educators’ talk in the community colleges revealed acceptance of business practices and “market talk”, since CAATS were originally established as an economic development tool for the Province of Ontario. The talk of international educators in the community colleges reveals adoption of a business-like orientation that supports the vocationalization of education to meet the needs of business and industry.

What such comments hint at but do not label explicitly, is that international education is itself subject to cut-backs and an increase in fixed-term and temporary labour that is part of NPM. NPM components of cost-cutting and downsizing are impacting all aspects of college and university administration as commercial influences take hold. Consistent with cutbacks, the comments of international educators did reveal the precariousness of their position in the labour force. For example, Andrew talked about the pressure to expand his role even though he feels the need to “justify” it. In his words:

We need staff support, not necessarily support for me but support in the form of additional staff. I feel that we are all pretty stretched just maintaining our own profile and to expand it any further is a lot to ask and it’s almost impossible. I think that were constantly trying to justify our limited presence as it stands right now. We have very little room to expand.

And Kimberley remarked upon the down-sizing in the sector:

I have a feeling that international education has kind of been shifted towards the end in terms of priority. Also, there’s a lot of turnover; there’s a lot of
Downsizing, there’s a lot of things going on in other Canadian institutions that would kind of be an indicator that...people don’t see it as a profession. So what they tend to do is downsize the position or take the responsibilities of these positions and allocate it to maybe one person even a faculty or a school to add it to whatever they are doing.

Down-sizing practices in international education were also accompanied by a lack of collegiality as reported by informants. A sense of competition might also appear among international educators and local faculties or departments. A “them versus us” attitude prevailed in such situations. Kimberley, for example, described the relationship between international educators and faculty in her institution as a “war”. She commented:

There’s always this war between people in our profession and the faculty, the department, the schools…. Everybody wants to snag a piece of it. It’s very stressful. First of all we are service departments, ok? We’re not an academic department but in order to come up with a very good quality program, the service department should work side by side with the academic department. So this is an area that sometimes gives me little bit of stress…. We’re not trying to steal anything; we’re just trying to support you, right? No matter how much you emphasize this, it’s still not perceived as “our” idea....It’s always ‘their’ baby.

Rather than seek common ground, managerialist practices here appear to have engendered competition among academic and administrators for decreasing resources. Is this part of the claim that control and regulation of academic labour seem to have replaced collegiality, trust and professional discretion in the managerial university (Deem 1998:52)? An elitist notion of collegiality is not tenable, as many members of the academic community--such as women and visible minorities--were never really a part of it. But the comments of participants about competition are understandable against a background of cutbacks. In general, corporate management approaches to higher education have downloaded functions from the centre to departments and this has led to a perceived decline in collegiality as well as lay-offs and more contractual work.
5.1.1 Underappreciated, Undervalued and Underpaid

What is interesting is that international educators do not perceive corporate managerialism as the cause of the impermanency of positions but rather interpret their contingency to a lack of respect for their professional roles. For example, Michael says:

I think you do see people turn over and some people move on because it is a career-limiting move once you’re in a position of international education…. Again, partly because I think there’s an under-appreciation by senior administrators/university administrators where you find that. A lot of people have been working on contracts for a long time.

As their comments indicated, international educators felt underappreciated, underpaid and undervalued. They also pointed to a complete disregard by upper administrators for the work that international educators do. Michael commented that:

My former director, she’s passive aggressive; [she] said that anybody off the street could do this job. And after I left, she hired someone off the street!

In a context in which the work of these front-line administrators is not appreciated, it can be theorized that international educators will resort to discourses of professionalism to defend their work. It was common in my interviews with them for international educators to comment that they did not feel that international education was valued as a profession because of the lack of support from others in the institution for it. Kimberley, for example, said:

I see international education as a profession but I’m not sure if other people do. I do because I know that the value behind it is great. But I’m not sure if other people at the same institution would see the same thing, the same value.

This “under-appreciation” for administrative staff by senior administrators was revealed in the comments of a dean, who, in describing her own challenges with workload
demands, revealed that her response was to “over-extend” the staff who worked for her.

Anne said:

So, I always have to under-promise, over-deliver and discipline myself and you know, elongate the time to do something and cut down on the deliverables…and despite my effort to do that…. Despite even having that motto tattooed on my forehead, I really overextend the people that work for me and I work for somebody who doesn’t have that motto.

Throughout her career, Anne has adopted an “under-promise and over-deliver” approach which allows her to under-promise on a task, then over-deliver results to give the illusion that she has exceeded expectations. However, she expects her staff to over-promise and over-deliver even though she herself struggles to meet what she perceives as ever-increasing managerial expectations and demands on her time--just as senior management expects of her. That is, Anne is forced to collude with her organization as she urges other workers to be ever more productive and efficient. At the same time, she talks about having to “discipline” herself to be able to do her job. Such comments suggest how the discourse of professionalism operates as "a disciplinary mechanism" which allows "control from a distance through the construction of appropriate work identities and conducts" (Fournier, 1999; Evetts, 2003a). I theorize that in international higher education the discourse of professionalism is constructed and utilized more by senior management rather than by international educators lower in the hierarchy. In this sense, the discourse of professionalism becomes a mechanism of institutional or organizational control rather than a means of occupational control of work by international education practitioners. As can be seen in Table 2, all international educators activated NPM discourses. But as will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter, there are different kinds of NPM talk. Some international educators critiqued NPM practices when
they talked about the impact of discourses of “economy, efficiency and effectiveness” upon the “quality” of their work whereas other international educators circulated NPM discourses as they integrated ICTs into their work-lives even as these technologies created time pressures.

5.1.2 Top-Down Professionalization

In the international education professional literature, reviewed earlier, can be found the suggestion that international education is not appropriately professionalized. On the other hand, international educators such as Murray (2003:1), for example, point to a growing consciousness in the field that international education has a distinct identity, with a definable knowledge base, set of ethics and standards and a range of professional concerns and interests pertaining to professional learning, practice and the public policy arena.

These can be seen as indicators that international educators must consider “where we are heading as a profession” (Murray 2003:2).

In listening to the international educators in my research, I could hear them struggling with the question of whether they are professionals and what models and options would best support the international education field. When considering whether or not international education was a profession or not, Emma replied:

That’s a good question. We’ve kicked that around in the office a lot and if I equate it with a doctor or a teacher or a lawyer, profession means a standard that you have to meet and I wouldn’t like to see [international education] become that if that’s the definition. I think [international educators] should be engaged in a professional manner…. So depending on your definition, I don’t think it should be a profession but I think it should be professional.

But from my critical feminist theoretical perspective, what is more important to explore than whether or not international education meets the various characteristics of
“profession” is when and why international educators such as Emma have started to view themselves as professional, and what the phenomenon of professions-talk means for them and the organizations in which they work. I am concerned that the ideology of professionalism, which is so attractive and appealing to professional workers, is being used as a mechanism of occupational change and control to promote organizational and managerial objectives. That is, managerialist discourses may be being deployed by international education professional organizations to bring international educators into alignment with a neo-liberal higher education agenda.

5.2 Managerialism, Professionalism and Conditions of Work

Obvious in the accounts of participants of my research was the fact that although internationalization has become an institutional buzzword, few international educators felt they were receiving strong support from their institutions for their work. Yet, institutions relied upon international educators to be fundamentally involved with management, administration and bureaucratic functions. That is, international education is a “managed” culture, as I document in this section.

5.2.1 Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness

Despite an increasing workload and resource constraints, international educators emphasized again and again that they are expected to use their resources with economy, efficiency and effectiveness. At one institution, an international educator talked about how the unit was expected to engage in entrepreneurial activity to supplement its base operating budget. Karen, a front-line manager, explained:

It is part of all of our jobs to see what we can do to generate income. Our on-line pre-departure software is one of our income generators. We sell it
across Canada and we also sell these books...so that is another revenue generator.... Our budget has a deficit that we have to build up to by the end of the year or exceed.

Emma similarly talked about her considerable involvement in fundraising for programming. As she explained:

We’ve just started an alumni network for exchange students. I got wrapped up, unfortunately, in the fundraising side of it. It’s what I wanted because I think they will get money for it but I wasn’t as aware of the push from the [university advancement] side until I started working with them and they wanted to make it sound like this: “Join this dynamic group of growing... dut dut dut....” I went, “You know, it’s just me!” I had this vision of McDonald’s with this corporate identity...but it’s just me doing this. You can’t make this sound like there is a staff of 20! I mean I look at my job--I do all sorts of things. They just looked at me like, “what are you talking about!”

This comment critiques the process by which international educators are expected to engage in entrepreneurial activity to compensate for a lack of institutional funding while giving the appearance of institutional support for extra-locally promoted activities. But rather than express concern regarding the lack of sustained financial support for their efforts, international educators such as Tammy, an ISA, expressed gratitude for the limited resources being allocated. As she put it,

Yeah, well, convincing people--it’s always hard, you know. I appreciate the challenges of my supervisor or my senior administrators because they receive so many requests and universities are not the private sector; this is not a bank. So making the decision is always very difficult and I am just one person asking for money and support. So I understand it from both sides very well. I just balance two things: my needs and what I can get from my boss. Sometimes it means sacrifice. Maybe I need $50,000 but I can only get $5,000, so with limited resources how can I be creative and you know, make do with it? When you do that, you basically change the image you have of your boss and you convince them that this is how you made out through the years and the more you do, the better you do, the more they will support you. It takes time and also patience. If you don’t get what you want, you are going to have to live with it. Not everyone gets what they want and that’s just the reality. You need patience and perseverance. Always, always work towards that goal; don’t give up, remain positive and have some hope. You
will see a lot of people stressed out in this field and this is nothing new. In the last 10 years I’ve seen a lot of my colleagues really stressed out and I understand that…so you need to be very strong.

This heroic comment can be read in several ways. It is clearly a statement of resistance. But with respect to professionalism, it can be seen as an illustration of how international educators may take professional responsibility for their jurisdiction. They may be discouraged from lobbying for increased resources but when they are expected to be “creative” in their management of program resources, they talk of rising to the challenge even though the expectation to “make-do” with limited resources is a significant source of stress. Just as Davies (2005:8) found that external pressures are immediately transferred by academic workers into internal pressures for which one must accept responsibility, I suggest that international educators have internalized responsibility for themselves as professionals and for the success of international education in their workplace. That is, international educators are expected to support internationalization and their intrinsic reward is to advance that agenda.

For front-line managers and directors, there was a predictable concern about meeting increased institutional expectations in a resource-deprived culture. For example, Carolyn talked about how

[i]t’s just that huge gap in expectations and then the lack of resources and knowing what is actually possible. And then knowing that at the end of the year somebody wants to see all the wonderful fabulous things that you have done. And trying to live up to that when you know the cupboards are bare and everybody wants to see your latest gourmet dinner. And that’s pretty much it.

This comment also supports the interpretation that international educators are subject to a personalization of responsibility which conceals the impact of NPM on higher education.

Here, professionalism is a foil. That is, neo-liberalism with its emphasis on governing the
self and governing others, directs attention away from and obfuscates the consequences of NPM. That the comment above is from a senior manager is also important, as front-line managers were confronted in their daily work with contradictory NPM pressures to deliver more services but with fewer resources.

5.3. “The Personal Dilemma Is This Whole Thing Between Quantity and Quality”- Relational Professionalism and NPM

As noted above, international educators were concerned not just with the impact of increased expectations for productivity upon their working lives, but were also concerned about the impact of these pressures upon the quality and creativity of their work. Informants talked about how quickly their portfolios were expanding and the impact that such expansion had on the “quality” of the programs that they offered. Angela, an IPC with several years of experience, for example, identified “one of the biggest stresses” as trying to decide

[w]hen do you take on opportunities and move forward and when do you decide that you have enough on your plate and can’t? Because I think part of the issue with this whole area is that it is not defined. Which means you can create your own definition. But that also means that it’s a constantly growing area and you can’t just expand and expand and expand as much as you want. So I think part of the challenge is trying to contain a bit of that and yet be creative. And in a way…that’s very hard to manage.

Angela’s comments suggest that despite the dilemma she describes, she is resistant to managerial attempts to define international education. New managerialism in international education attempts to redefine the work of international educators, with an emphasis on formal procedures and rule-following, which Angela fears will curtail the creativity of international educators. She is also concerned that an increasing volume of
work will further hamper efforts to cultivate meaningful learning opportunities for students. As she expresses it:

The other challenge, for us, has been (especially if you want to add the education component), the learning component; you can’t have too much volume and there is a constant tension between increasing the volume of activity, while keeping the quality the same. And at some level you cannot have that kind of investment in student learning if your programs expand too large. You have, you know, hundreds of students going back and forth with one coordinator. As much as you try, it’s not going to be the same kind of learning experience for either the student or the coordinator as if it was 30 students. So, I think for me the personal dilemma is this whole thing between quantity and quality.

Contrary to critiques of academic capitalism that portray administrators as only interested in establishing more bureaucratic forms of managerial control, comments such as Angela’s reveal that front-line managers in international education are just as concerned with the erosion of pedagogical practices through the adoption of new managerialist practices as they are with managing. Carolyn is also worried about the impact of new managerialism upon the academy as a whole, such as its negative impact on relationships and collegiality. In her words:

I also think a lot of pressures are coming from external policies, governmental policies, about privacy of information and just a lot more sophistication in universities about dealing with students. We’ve grown up from when everybody knew you and you could go up to the Registrar’s Office and see the person you knew and they didn’t have to look up your student number. Ok, maybe it was never quite that way around here, but it was darn close at times.

Carolyn recognizes that not all institutional relations in the past were necessarily “collegial”, but she sees that NPM alone is ultimately incompatible with genuine concern for students and fellow colleagues. She is what I call a “relational manager” since she is concerned that business-led decisions will damage relations with students. She says:
And now with the “business-ification”—there’s a new word—of the university. We sort of walk that line. We have to play that but at the same time we’re still very much about people and individuals. We know these students and there’s all that fun stuff and there’s still that nice personal connection that makes work fun. But universities out of necessity have moved to be more like corporations. There’s a more corporate sense of how you deal with a customer and a client. So, we kind of end up trapped between those two things, I think.

Carolyn’s comments suggest that she is caught between establishing authentic professional relationships with students and a client discourse which positions students as consumers.

As noted above, comments such as Carolyn’s reveal that international educators are not only concerned about the impact of NPM practices upon their own working conditions. A discourse of professional responsibility also emerged in my interviews as international educators were portrayed as “caring” for “their” students. For example, Emma, a senior study abroad advisor, argued that “You have to give [students] what they want, so figure out what they want and offer it if you can”. Kimberley also asks, “in the end, all of what we do is for our students, right?” That is, international educators also express their professionalism using relational/caring discourses which characterise their work as “serving” students. My analysis of my interviews showed that international educators have internalized these discourses and now hold themselves “accountable” for the “quality of service” to students even in the face of ever increasing enrolments and declining budgets.

It has been argued that professional caring discourses may operate as a disciplinary mechanism which serves to promote powerful extra-local interests (Muzzin, 2001). Specifically, in this case, the caring orientation of international educators might be used to “soften” new managerial regimes. Given the gendered nature of university
organizations and the pivotal role of women in servicing the needs of student customers (Davies & Thomas 2002:9), it is important to consider how new managerialism is a gendered set of practices and values. Deem (1998:66) suggests that new managerialism, as a form of management and organisational practices, narratives, forms and values, is infused with notions of masculinities. She is suspicious that the “softer” management skills of women may be used by universities to provide a cover for the harder aspects of “new managerialism”. At the same time, studies indicate that women, and women of color, may also do more of the “dirty work” that is not easily measured or even noticed (Das Gupta, 1996; Jacobs, 2002). On balance, a strong argument can be made that international educators’ caring practices may be used by institutions to cover for the implementation of organizational practices and techniques associated with new managerialism in international education. In this case “professionalism” is consistent with NPM, but the NPM process itself devalues and colonializes the activities of the international educators.

5.3.1 Disjuncture: “I Guess I’m Interested In…Making the World a Better Place…”

As noted above, I was struck by how committed international educators are to the institutions where they work despite their perceptions of unhelpful, intrusive and potentially harmful organizational and managerial practices. As their interviews illustrated, international educators care a great deal about the work that they do. They want to help others and they believe that mutual understanding will make the world a better place. This discourse of what can be called “relational professionalism” can be found throughout the talk of international educators.
It can be argued that international educators are activating discourses of care and “global goodwill” to make meaning of their experiences and find value in their work. For example, Christina felt that her work was helping to make a better world. As well as it’s about learning about different cultures and being more tolerant to each other. Whether it’s a student who will eventually immigrate to Canada or go back to his or her home country, it is wonderful that we are sharing all these things that they’ve learned in their county and then passing it along to friends, colleagues and their children.

International educators repeatedly activated these socio-cultural rationales for internationalization, especially those of “intercultural understanding” and “intercultural relationships”. For example, Amanda talked about how international education helps students to understand how to work, sit beside and live with someone from another country. Understanding them, how they eat, their beliefs and being able to exchange and be tolerant of each other. And the more people are educated in that, I think, the more they will be peaceful. So, creating activities and projects and a venue where they can integrate more and learn more about each other are desirable even if it’s a potluck dinner. It’s just trying to foster more and more understanding of each other and all of their beliefs and creating open dialogue about it. Maybe you’re not a Hindu--you don’t pray in a temple, but it would be nice to know what’s inside a temple, what’s going on. And you can ask me the same thing about what I do when I pray or worship. But it’s getting it down to that level and creating forums to do it.

As I have outlined in the last chapter, Jennifer similarly talked about the importance of internationalization in promoting knowledge about other people and places:

I guess [international experiences promote] openness and a desire to learn new things, to learn about different places and inquisitiveness. I think that a lot of people feel like they have an interest in the people they’re meeting and really have a desire to hear what their experiences are. Like for example, I know you probably heard on the news what happened in Pakistan and Kenya and it turns out you know people in both of those places. Even if I hadn’t, it’s taken place and everybody comes into the office and says, “Oh my god did you hear about it?” And there's that sense of thinking about
how people are getting along in other places. It’s just encouraging those kinds of experiences. I think that’s a value.

This “optimistic” view of international education positions international education as a culture of compassion and altruism. Jennifer is suggesting that the kind of caring work that international educators do is akin to friendship. While this is laudable, such an approach is naïve of power relations. In naïve caring discourse, welcoming is an extension of caring. For example, as Michael, put it:

I think there’s a Swahili word, which is “Harumbe”; it is an important word to me. It’s the facilitation of welcome…. To me, welcoming is a very important word. I’ve lived in a community called L’Arche. Welcoming was a part of that and was very influential in my vocation; I call it a vocation…flipping between international education and community development…. So it’s creating a community of welcome for international students…. Accommodating and welcoming the international students, that to me is what international education is at its best.

Tammy also talked about the need to “take it to a personal level”. As she put it:

I always have my door open; anyone can walk into my office, and talk to me about their personal issues. Even though I am the manager in this office, I would be interested in knowing their father, mother [or] their cousin, because these things give you extremely valuable knowledge. So if I talk to a group of students, I know I can make them respond to me. I know they will understand me well. I keep talking to them. I remember at least 50 students’ names: I know who they are and when I met them…. So you have to take it to a personal level.

Karen also talked about how people with a “helper background” were drawn to the profession:

My beliefs and values have been guided by coming from a non-profit background as well as an idea that I’m trying to make things better….I would say that a helper background where you’re always trying to change things and make a difference attracts people to this profession. What I saw when I was in Ireland was a very different world for me…. I saw things that really shocked me in how people interacted with each other from the same country, from the same street. I think that this experience really opened my eyes to what’s going on. I mean this is a small part of the world but look what’s going on in the rest of the world…so it really changed how I perceived things. So to have that
opportunity to let other people travel and change their perceptions of what they see is important to me. I’ve always been someone who wants to volunteer and participate and do those types of things but when you come back from an experience like that, it kind of makes you think a bit more and I think you become more involved as well. So I think that’s where I was coming from--wanting an opportunity to let other people do the same thing that I did.

Discourses of professional caring such as these, despite their link with consciousness raising and community, do not question the political context within which these efforts are being undertaken. The sense of professionalism promoted here relies on some combination of “claims to uniquely good intentions and/or a special knowledge of the good and true” as Blaney (2002:273) has expressed it. But as critical scholars have pointed out, mutual international understanding is a naïve concept unless power relations are taken into account.

Discourses of equity where power relations are taken into account could be found in the talk of international educators. For example, Tammy identified with international education as a more political project. For her, it was a commitment to “equity” that motivated her work. She expressed it this way:

Well, I believe in equity because we are dealing with a group of students who are from other countries. A lot of people are challenging me saying that, “This is indeed a Canadian university so why is it that important we work so hard for people from other countries?” You know, in the past 10 years I’ve constantly heard this. Even my own staff sometimes ask: “Why is the international so important in this office?” A lot of people don’t appreciate the value of supporting international students. But I think this is really an equity issue. They are still university students, they are part of this community, and they need extra help. Despite their immigration status, despite the language they speak. They are part of the university and I feel [that] most of the time. A lot of the time they are not receiving the same level of support as other students and I think that it is my job to make a difference.

In this discourse, she sees that her lack of resources do not value the international students she counsels (not so much her position). Tammy saw that her work involved
combating prejudice and ensuring that international students receive the same level of support as domestic students. She went on to describe how international educators need to “have a very strong belief that everyone is equal”:

I would usually say that you should learn about these students. Profound understanding of international students is a fundamental; it’s the key, because if you don’t really understand them, you really can’t do anything… and some people think that international students are totally disabled… because they don’t even speak English very well…. [The public image is that] they can’t do anything, they can’t feel comfortable or [ever] share their opinions but I don’t think that’s true. I think that they are super-capable, they have full potential. It is [important] how you bring up their potential, by your unique way of helping them, and if you don’t understand these students, you don’t get to work with them and that’s the biggest challenge for this profession. And that’s number one, I think, but anyone could learn. Someone who has never worked with international services or in the international area, they could learn if they have the heart, if they are willing to open their mind. Don’t make assumptions. Don’t say that “I think they’re too weak” or “they can’t speak English, I will have to translate every single word” or just assume you know them. Don’t do that. So, you have to know them. Or, be willing to learn.

Tammy clearly saw herself as an advocate for international students and advocacy was something that many international educators felt passionate about. Jennifer also spoke passionately about her role as an advocate for international students:

So with international students, the issue is getting institutions to see them as an asset and not as a problem, right?

In general, international educators felt that a commitment to internationalization was what truly distinguished them as professionals. Michael talked about his involvement in international education as a “vocation”:

I talk about it as work but I talk about it as a vocation and it’s not just about salaries and pensions and all that. So I think that is the essence… and sometimes I get saddened by the fact that I think people catch a vision of it and then sometimes they just they don’t.
What is theoretically interesting here is that Michael suggests that differences among international educators can be epistemological. Kimberley is also concerned that not everyone in the profession has as critical equity-based approach. As she sees it, putting the professional project ahead of students’ interests compromises equity. In her words:

> It’s very important that people have the right attitude in terms of international education. Sometimes I find that the idea of being in the international education profession is more appealing that the actual value of it.

In equity-based professional discourses, passionate commitment to international students was linked to personal experience; thus there was some discomfort among international educators about who defined themselves as international educators. Carolyn explained that:

> There is a certain sense that if you’ve had your own personal experience in this, [it] does I think give you a certain dedication and partly the motivation. It changed my life so much—what a great thing to be able to help other people do the same thing. I think that’s probably pretty basic for a lot of people on the job. But then once you find out that there really isn’t enough money in the budget to actually have pizza for the students for when they come in or something {Laughter}, you’ve got to find some other reason to really hold on and say “yeah, this is good”.

I have argued here that, despite facing institutions that potentially devalue and underfund their work, international educators circulate both caring and equity discourses to make meaning of their work as well as to enhance the reputation of the profession to validate their professional project. In a few words, international educators occupy a subordinate role in universities, yet they do important work and many of them are deeply committed and highly-skilled at what they do. And so, international educators “care” because they want to be viewed as professionals whose work matters. Yet, the “caring” project of
international educators can be seen as also rooted in cultural superiority and a globalist “helping” regime, as I will argue below.

5.3.2 The Social Organization of International Educators’ Goodwill

As demonstrated above, international educators may present themselves as caring individuals who help others. At the same time, it can be argued, this caring competency is also used by international educators used as a demarcationary strategy of “occupational closure” to distinguish between those international educators who are deemed “professional” and those who are not (Witz, 1992). Like other female-dominated professions, international education defines a “distinctive moral core” (Chambliss 1996:88). International educators are in roles that entail a combination of care, professionalism and a subordinate position.

Studies on the professions have demonstrated how certain female-dominated professions have sought to stake a claim to professional experience by pursuing an “ethic of care” (Chambliss, 1996). Evetts (2003a:23) suggests that occupational changes--or what I have referred to as new managerial practices--are often viewed as bureaucratic and as a consequence, quality of service to clients is seen to decline. She suggests that one response is an “occupational identity crisis” which is expressed as discontent and a need to professionalize. Evetts (2003a:23) claims that caring work, in which women predominate, is the most affected but she warns that such discourses can also be used to facilitate managerial and organizational change.

Furthermore, Evetts suggests that this emphasis on dedicated service is especially problematic for a feminized work-force. She goes on to note that many of these occupations involve service or “caring work” and are staffed by women where a great
deal is being asked for very little financial or other reward. International educators’
commitment to their work is thus easily exploited by new managerial practices which can
leave international educators enacting caring practices that have a draining impact upon
their health and well-being. As well, such practices are not only gendered but are
implicated in colonial/imperial discourses. Post-colonial critiques have presented
fundamental challenges to the assumed altruism of the professional's role and expert,
professional authority (e.g. Escobar, 1995).

Although equity discourses were activated in my study, more persuasive was a
“good-will” discourse that remained unproblematised. Thus its relationship with earlier
forms of educational colonialism such as “civilizing” the “Other” is worth exploring.
Discourses of development related to professional projects have been critiqued for
invoking “a myth of an ideal, altruistic and ‘good’, professional subject” (e.g. McKinnion
2006:25). In such discourses, the professional subject takes shape around a sense of duty
towards the “needy” communities of the “Third World” (McKinnion 2006:25). The
“duty” of the development professional to intervene in order to do “good” is an ideology
identifiable in the talk of international educators. Insofar as the approach of international
educators is rooted in “helping other people”, images of the colonized as a perpetually
inferior people remain intact. That is, the act of helping the “other” creates a power
relationship that reinforces the “knowingness of the colonizer”. As I have noted,
international educators could also reject the idea of the inferior other and problematize
such “rescuing”. For example, as Angela remarked, while international educators assume
the best of intentions:

[a] lot of the western and perhaps even some of the other countries are
getting into this notion of internationalization and it seems very clean cut on
the surface. It seems to be all about, you know, building a nice future for
everyone. But there’s a real problematic underneath all of that kind of
jargon.

Her comments emphasize that while international educators’ motives may be rooted in an
ideology of “doing good”, in fact, they may be doing harm. Angela was troubled by this
notion of helping the “Other”. As she recalled:

When I came to Canada [after] I was in the US, [I noted that] there is this
double concept of the “Other” and to understand the “Other”. But there is a
problematic in that it is romanticized to some extent. It’s part of
development jargon. There is this helping the “Other” across the world to
some extent…. So to disentangle some of those issues even if they get to a
very personal level is very, very complicated. I think that’s one level of
discomfort I find particularly now with internationalization. … <Pause>…
My first discomfort is with what is it we’re trying to achieve? What are the
real goals behind this whole process? So, I think that’s one major issue I
have--[that] you can’t disentangle internationalization from the politics of
the world and the politics of the countries so that’s one issue.

Angela politicizes her personal experience as a woman of colour and former international
student to activate an equity/anti-racist discourse. From her anti-colonial perspective,
international educators--insofar that they assume that they can “do good” and help the
“Other”-- can be caught up in a process of “Othering” people that produces and re-
produces stereotypical representations and binary constructions of “Otherness” (Said,
1978). The dominant imaginary is still colonial and in embedded in racist narrative
oppositions such as superior/inferior. Focused as they are on their heavy workload and
the task at hand, international educators did not often question the values and goals that
are carried out through their work. However, a minority have the opportunity to
understand the broader socio-cultural and political context in which international
education has grown and are sensitive to its colonialist, imperialist history. The ability of
international educators to do equity/anti-racist work was very much linked to their
privileged personal/political experience. As will be argued in the remainder of this chapter, equity/anti-colonial and relational discourses are subverted in the context of NPM. However, the interest of international educators in equity shows some efforts to reconfigure the conceptual frameworks that underpin their professional knowledge and work.

5.4 “I Would Wish In The Ideal World To Slow Down A Little…”

The time shortage referred to in the title quote most often was the way in which international educators experienced the pressures of managerialism. This finding is not surprising, as it is consistent with other studies that have found that managerial practices in universities impose significant time-burdens upon faculty (e.g. Davies, 2005). Academics are able to carve out space and time in creative ways as a form of resistance to managerial practices to protect the time available for research (e.g. Anderson, 2006). However, general university and front-line administrative staff do not have the same autonomy and control over their time as senior faculty. Unlike the faculty in Anderson’s (2006) study, who are able to mobilise defensive or resistant strategies to clearly delineate their “real work”—research—from their administrative responsibilities, general university staff are subject to greater managerial control of their attendance and working hours.

As noted, international educators’ talk revealed that they too are experiencing work intensification and increased workloads which are creating pressures on their time and have negative implications for their health and well-being. Consistent with my own experience of being an international educator, the following comments from participants suggest that international educators were struggling with a conception of time that can
only be lived with some difficulty and distress (cf. Davies, 2005:4). For example, Karen, a manager, talks about how she cannot possibly accomplish everything that is expected of her in her job:

I think it usually has something to do with, you know, there’s a deadline that has to be met and it hasn’t been something that needs to be done or something that’s been put off or that type of thing or just trying to get things done and they don’t get to where you want them to be. I think it has a lot to do with the fact that these days there are so many things to do that you don’t expect. You can only schedule so much into your time.

The bottom line is that work-intensification has meant that international educators struggle daily to find time and space for their core activities. In this talk, “time” is construed as the problem rather than new managerialism itself. That is, there is an assumption that it is “time” that is depriving Karen of the chance to do the work that she feels as a professional that she needs to do rather than doing more in less time. Carolyn also felt that she simply did not have enough time:

Do I have any hair left? With my workload, it’s usually not the content; it’s just not being able to get to things that need to be done.

Carolyn’s comments also suggest that she has internalized the burden of responsibility. As Davies (2005:7) notes, rather than the gaze of “Big Brother” falling upon workplace practices, here stress is constructed as an individual problem for workers to solve through technologies of time-management and other work-efficiencies or technologies of self-management.

In my interviews, it was not simply a lack of time that concerned international educators but also a feeling that they did not have the time to do the job well. Tammy commented:

I would wish [for an] ideal world [where things would] slow down a little bit…. There are things we absolutely need to do about the job…. There are
things we sometimes don’t have to do but we do it…[if] it is between, you know, what you have to do and what you think is important to do, we are doing both. Which are very important to us but because of that sometimes I find this is a waste of energy, a waste of resources.

These comments also reflect a sense of dissonance between the work that international educators are required to do and the work they feel they need to do as professionals. Just as academics experience frustration when their time is taken up by “administration”, which limits the time available for teaching and research (Currie, 1996), I believe that international educators are concerned with the proliferation of administrative tasks and time-pressures these demands place on their "core" programming and services. Tammy’s comments also signal professional resistance and the critique that international educators have suspicions that engaging in these neo-liberal management practices may be unproductive work.

Research on faculty suggests that the absolute number of hours worked is, in itself, less problematic for academics than the implications that such workload pressure has for quality and productivity (McInnis 2000, Anderson 2006). I theorize that international educators similarly feel that the introduction of new tasks and responsibilities has resulted in more time being spent on “non-core” activities, thereby placing further time-related pressures upon the performance of “core” tasks. This is a problem that I predict will grow to the extent that the professional project of the international educators imports new managerialism. For example, in the next chapter that documents the incursion of the audit culture into international education, I will explore how international educators’ professional project incorporates new managerialist practices such as quality assurance mechanisms, performance indicators and increased
accountability measures. Here the point to be taken away is that professionalization can conflict in a basic way with NPM.

5.5 “More Fun and Less Nitty-Gritty”:
Work Intensification, Professional Specialization and Hierarchy

In the preceding chapter, work intensification was linked to the fact that professionals are increasingly subject to performance targets to justify their receipt of organizational resources. As part of this self-justification, professionals are measured and compared against one another (cf. Evetts 2003a: 408). For example, Adriane described how, at her institution, admissions officers were judged by the number of applications that they processed. Increasingly, she and her colleagues were under pressure to process more applications per week. Senior management apparently had expressed concern that domestic admissions officers were more productive than international admission officers. But Adriane felt that the simple “counting” of the number of applications processed did not take into account the follow-up e-mails and phone calls that were necessary to support the processing of international applicants. Adriane also explained that she needed an increasingly specialised knowledge of educational systems around the world to perform her work. She was frustrated that the time required to develop this specialised knowledge she was expected to acquire “on the job” was not taken into account when considering the time it took “to do the job right”. This on-the-job acquisition of specialised knowledge, by her account, made her work “harder” than that of a domestic admissions office and justified the longer time to outcome not taken into account by the measures.
Such arguments about professional knowledge are also part of a claim that practitioners require greater autonomy over their work. Kimberley, for example, argued that specialization and a division of labour might serve as a means to address the negative consequences of workload and time pressures. In her words,

I think I’m overworked…. I have to do things in three to four areas. Sometimes I’m worried about the quality of the output and I think the re-organization of what I do would probably be in investing more resources, so people get specialized in one area or two.

Just as Kimberley talked about having to do things in three or four different areas, Matthew talked about having to “wear a bunch of hats”. He wished that he could do more of “the fun stuff” and rid himself of the “nitty-gritty”; as he put it:

I think [stress] comes from being in a very small office; we all wear a bunch of different hats--probably like any small office. We are a bit limited in terms of struggling to get everything done. If I could have an extra person who would basically take this part of my job away and I could hold onto the rest of it, maybe expand in some areas--wow. That’s always something you kind of wish for, I think. So I guess in the ideal world…., a little bit of the “nitty gritty” that I still have to do [would disappear]…. I would love to be able to get rid of that and not worry about who’s coming when and are they on the list and are they on the database? But I kind of have to double check that to make sure everybody is where they’re supposed to be.

This is clearly an argument for professional jurisdiction, where an assistant would perform some of the “dirty work” of Matthew’s profession. Arguably, Mathew is responsible for protecting both the student and the institution from harm. Institutions fear that they could be open to legal action and strive to protect themselves from liability. One tool that is often used to limit liability is a waiver. The “nitty gritty” that Matthew is referring to above is the data entry associated with this database as well as the distribution and collection of the liability waivers. The waiver is signed by the student and supposedly relieves the institution from legal liability should the student encounter harm. Another
tool is a database which monitors and tracks the whereabouts of exchange students and provides access to emergency contact information. In his case, Matthew reveals that he is already handling the increased work-load associated with these tasks. He goes on to mention that, in reality, he really doesn’t do much of the dirty work anymore, as it has been devolved to departments. He explains that the dirty work is handled by general administrative staff in the departments, not “professional” staff in central units like him:

Most of that is handled by the departmental people, but the oversight of the grand scheme of things, to ensure that everybody who is meant to be there is where actually where they’re supposed to be, that everybody reported to us whether they are there or not and whether they are showing up and what they’re going to do,…I get enough of that kind of thing…. But it needs to be done. So having somebody else do that while I still get the fun stuff like giving the awards out to students and that kind of thing would be lovely!

NPM advocates such downloading of the responsibility for the delivery of services and responsibility from the “centre” to local units. In this case, the process coincides with the professional project of international educators. As many theorists of professions have pointed out (e.g. Abbott, 1988), the professional call for more specialized roles in response to increasing work-load demands and as a rationale to promote their professional project also serves to pass along the so-called “dirty work” to others. As part of this process, the dirty work that is defined out of the professional jobs of international educators is absorbed by the jobs of neighbouring occupations that lack professional status (Witz, 1992). In this case, I theorize that the professional project of international educators is consistent with NPM downloading practices.

5.6 The Effect of Using ICTs

Critics of managerialism in higher education have commented how the increased use of e-mail (Deem, 1998), acceptance of e-learning (Clegg, Hudson & Stelle, 2003) and
introduction of networked technology (Lewis, Marginson, & Snyder, 2005) are used as a managerial driver for increased productivity and efficiency. It is not surprising to discover, then, that as part of the new managerialism, international educators are increasingly encouraged to use ICTs (information and communication technologies) to accomplish their work.

An example was given by the front line manager, Karen, who described how her institution offered pre-departure sessions to prepare students for their overseas experience through an on-line module. Pre-departure sessions can be seen as an important element of a risk management strategy and institutions are in the process of making such sessions mandatory for students engaging in overseas experiences. Karen talked about the movement away from face-to-face workshops and towards on-line instruction to save time:

We used to deliver this program in three-hour segments to students going away on semester abroad or exchange or field trips. If a student is leaving for any reason internationally that is academic, we would have these pre-departure orientations. We usually had one or two a week and so it took a huge chunk of time for anyone in the office to do them. You had to do them--something to do with liability issues and things like that--so we covered things like health insurance, what do you do if your passport is lost, or how do you get a passport? Those types of things…so we’re basically looking at someone who has never traveled before and saying, “Here’s what you need to know, every single issue that might come up while you’re traveling”. We used to deliver the workshops in person and then it was designed to be online. What we’ve done is change it so it’s totally on-line, delivered through what is called Blackboard.

Such comments suggested that technology is being deployed as a means to offer more pre-departure sessions to more students. It is also interesting to note that the software that is being utilized is Blackboard. Blackboard is the largest commercial learning management system in North America and claims to have over 90 percent of the course
management system market (Student Voice On-line, April 2008). Last year, Blackboard earned more than $239 million in total revenue (Student Voice On-line, April 2008). The use of Blackboard by international educators is evidence of the creep of commercial products into the work-lives of international educators, justified as improving efficiency. Arguably, its use also replaces professional judgement.

It has also been suggested that Blackboard, like other commercial learning management systems, does not create a learning community but instead a system of dependence. In class environments, the course structure provides the primary means of navigation, and as the students navigate the material from topic to topic they are sent to a discussion area to answer predefined questions. Arguably, this process does not create a sense of “community”, but instead reinforces the notion that discussion is not central to the experience but subservient (Downes, 2004). Used as a learning tool in international education, Karen talks about similar challenges inherent in the “self-guided module”. As she puts it:

We are revamping [the on-line pre-departure module] because it is just text [to be read]. So we are trying to make it much more interactive as we always have students saying, “how do I know when I’m finished?” That type of thing…. When they see something [like that], they think it is a course [and] they say “why don’t I have to hand something into you? How do I know when I’m done?” It’s a self-guided module but that is a huge problem. I get emails every day from students asking me “how do you know I’m done, where are my grades, what am I going to do, can I still go?” It’s a liability issue so every student who goes away has to do it but it is difficult tracking students [due to increasing numbers of student participants]. We do have a way to track them but we have so many students on it at one time we can only say “ok, you’ve actually gone on it”. At this point we’re just trying [to ensure compliance by confirming participation]. I’m working right now on making it much more user friendly, much more interactive and much more interesting <laughter> to students.
It appears from her comments that not only has the student experience been diminished as a result of moving on-line but the new system has generated serious problems. Her comment suggests that the learning environment was not structured with a sense of pedagogical purpose or engagement. Another concern is the difficulty of “tracking” students who have completed an on-line module. Once again, it appears that it is not student safety that is of concern, but institutional liability. Karen also talked about how virtual rather than face-to-face pre-departure sessions actually generated more work in the form of e-mails as students were unsure how to navigate the on-line module:

There is a lot of emailing of course so I find that most of my correspondence is on email. So, I do a lot of that. A huge chunk of my day is taken up with emailing.

In a managerial culture using ICTs, international educators were expected to reduce their overall response time to student enquiries in an effort to improve service to students. This meant that front-line staff were forced to work on their own time to accomplish their project-oriented tasks such as planning new programs or activities for students. Given that neither the student experience nor the international educator’s work-life seems to be improved by this particular use of technology, what is theoretically interesting to interrogate is why there is a push to integrate ICTs into the processing of international student activities. Magnusson (2005) examines information and communications technology (ICT) in the context of changes to higher education and argues that the discourse is not about technological innovation per se. Rather; such a discourse legitimates neoliberal reforms to the post-secondary sector to lay the ground for participation in international markets. I similarly suggest that ICTs are being introduced into international higher education as a means of preparing students for the knowledge
economy which necessarily involves a neoliberal restructuring of higher education.

According to this interpretation, international educators are increasingly encouraged to adopt ICT tools in the interest of equipping students with digital skills to “plug-in” to the global economy even though such technologies may actually increase staff workload and, at times, compromise the student experience. Another consequence of this use of technology is also the devaluation of the professional educator, replaced by machines.

Only one international educator in my research was hopeful about the possibilities of ICTs in international education. The senior administrator, Carolyn, talked about the possibilities of international “teaming” that would allow students at one institution to participate virtually in team design projects or courses offered at another institution. By her account, the question is:

Can we get online? Can we get landscape architecture students here and landscape architecture students in Australia and I don’t know, Costa Rica, for example, to all get online and do a project together? Design something? What a wonderful learning experience even if they designed something awful! I don’t want technology to ever to be an excuse for people not to actually travel and meet face to face, but for those who are simply not going to be able to do this, can we use technology to bring people together online in a problem-solving situation? This is really what the world needs to be doing right now.

Despite her enthusiasm, Carolyn is aware that there is a danger in incorporating technology into the international student experience if the technology is deployed as “an excuse for people not to actually travel and meet face to face”. With an increasing emphasis on economy and efficiency in higher educational institutions, she sees a risk that the technology will function not as a means to build better learning communities but merely as a cost-savings measure. Carolyn goes on to emphasize this point:

How do you get people from different cultures to sit down and solve problems? We could be doing that in our classes. The technology is there,
it goes back to having a pen pal in elementary school. It’s almost like that except on a bigger, more intellectual scale. I think that could be something that were going to see and its interesting because lack of money almost goes hand in hand with focusing on, “well let’s do it at home, it’s cheaper”. But in fact, I also think that we need to be doing more of this at home. We can’t expect internationalization to happen out there. It suggests that it’s not something that happens here.

Carolyn viewed technology and virtual exchanges specifically, then, as a means of facilitating “internationalization at home.”11 Here we can see how ICTs are deployed in ways very consistent with the NPM market-oriented agenda and conflict with international educators’ activation of relational discourses.

5.7 Conclusion

My aim in this chapter was to explore the ways in which the interactions of professionalism, managerialism, corporatisation, audit and marketisation impact upon and are enacted through international educators’ work. A number of work-load issues were raised by international educators, including the trend towards greater sophistication and complexity in work undertaken. This chapter has also demonstrated how new managerialism has negatively impacted international educators. Along with the faculty in post-secondary institutions, my participants are experiencing stress meeting the instrumental requirements of neo-liberal regimes of university governance. To make sense of their experience, I argued that international educators engaged relational discourses of professionalism. This particular vision of professions invokes the myth of an ideal, altruistic and “good”, professional subject. However, this ethic of “doing good” has a long lineage that can be traced to colonialism. It bears a strong resemblance to

---

11 Internationalization at home is a discourse in international education that advocates engaging the entire university with the goal being to have international education pervade the university so that all students (as well as faculty and staff) are internationally engaged (NAFSA, IaH: Overview and Background).
classic development discourse, in which the professional subject is an expert who brings knowledge from developed nations to help underdeveloped subjects (McKinnon 2006: 25).

In institutional ethnography, it is important to understand what managerialism consists of and focus on actual individuals and actual practice unfolding in actual time (McCoy 1999:17). Thus, in the following chapter, I will explore the actual practices and technologies of NPM, namely those of audit, accountability and surveillance. I will also explore how the professional project of international educators is articulated to these audit technologies.
Chapter Six: New Accountabilities and Technologies of Audit: Top-Down Professionalism?

6.0 Introduction

I will argue in this chapter that accountability requirements and the accompanying reporting and audit functions, as well as greater institutional control is fundamentally altering the work of international educators. In Chapter 5, enactment of the neo-liberal reforms of the early 1980s, including various market mechanisms, were explored as they relate to the professionalism of international educators. This is accomplished, in part, through the emphasis on measured outputs such as audits, performance indicators and quality assurance measures. By adopting professional practices which are organized by the audit culture, the international education profession puts into practice auditing procedures. What happens when professionalism coincides with downsizing and budgetary restrictions? It can be argued that there is expansion and change of the occupational role and work practices but increased-- rather than reduced--autonomy results. I will point out here how enacting professionalism could actually involve the adoption of NPM practices. Ultimately the two come into conflict, experienced as stress and strain. This process would also help explain international educators’ ambivalence to professionalism, which I will explore later in this chapter.

6.1 The Importing of an Audit Culture in International Education

A major new aspect of university work is to make processes and structures “transparent”, or at least, “visible”. Thus university faculty and staff are now required to devote their time to producing auditable records. How have international educators been drawn into this audit culture? An examination of their work processes, undertaken here,
identifies the new kinds of practices associated with these audit discourses and areas of expertise that they bring into existence. In particular, (1) the increasing involvement of international student advisors in the monitoring and reporting of international students’ immigration status; (2) the introduction of “quality” measurements to compare institutions; and (3) the creation of strategies to “minimize risk” in study abroad will be examined in detail in this chapter. These practices are consistent with NPM educational practices which promote a competitive, market-based approach to public education. It will also be shown how these surveillance practices and “anti-terrorist” policies are entangled with colonialist discourses.

6.1.1 “I’m not an immigration lawyer you know!”

International Education and Immigration

As suggested in Chapter Four, international educators in Canada have been grappling with increased visa requirements and monitoring. There was a general concern expressed by informants about the time, energy and resources directed towards immigration advising, which was seen to detract from the provision of other services, programs and learning. As the title quote suggests, such tasks were even construed as not part of the professional work of international educators. Has a shift has occurred from coordinating programs that enhance the educational and social experience of international students towards immigration advising and in some instances, increased monitoring and tracking? This question will be addressed in the next section.
6.1.2 Data Tracking and Surveillance of Foreign Exchange and International Students

As pointed out in Chapter 4, much ISA work activity is articulated to the government’s accountability system as immigration advising has become a professional function of the job. In this section, I will explore the actual work processes. International educators I talked to were very much aware of and concerned about the increased monitoring and tracking of foreign students in the United States. The Student Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) is the government’s student tracking database which was created in response to the September 11th, 2001 events. SEVIS is a complex database controlled by the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services (BCIS) that collects information from schools, ports of entry, and even the U.S. State Department relating to foreign students and scholars. SEVIS tracks and monitors the movement of international students and scholars and their dependents. Institutions must report to SEVIS personal data, program of study, funding information and certification for travel abroad (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from http://www.ice.gov/sevis). In addition, SEVIS requires reporting when a student completes a program, is terminated or withdraws from a program; transfers in and out of the institution; receives a program extension, or address change; any off-campus employment permissions and any academic or disciplinary action (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from http://www.ice.gov/sevis).

This information is maintained through a Web-based application that enables schools to transmit electronic information and event notifications to the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State (ICE). The Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement audits institutional compliance every two years in the United States. Inadequate compliance potentially results in the loss of an institution’s
authorization to admit and enrol international students. These rules have a harsh impact when implemented, as the language of the policy literally suggests, for example, the possible deportation of a student who drops a course and inadvertently falls into “part time” student status without permission from the institution. Despite the fact that SEVIS has drawn criticism for curtailing the human rights of international students, the chief concern in the press seems to be the decline in the numbers of international students studying in the US, which has resulted in “enrolment losses” as “Competitors Take a Bite out of U.S. Market Share” (Hindrawan, 2003). The prominence of academic capitalism, and the accompanying concern with a loss of income generation as international students opt for other destinations with less ominous tracking systems, would seem to trump risk discourses compromising civil liberties, at least as reported in the media.

Another related US immigration policy involves special registration of non-immigrant “aliens” from Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Syria and Libya, among other countries. Students from these nations are subject to the use of biometric-measurement devices such as fingerprinting, photographing and iris scans upon arrival, and must report--to the INS--once a year for checkups. These practices invade the privacy of foreign students, as they require unnecessary information about their private lives. For example, the SEVIS program collects 230 different pieces of information for each student or exchange visitor (Anderson, 2004:7). As well, if a mistake is made, the ramifications for personal liberty and privacy may be enormous, as individuals may be mistakenly flagged for further surveillance.

---

12 Among the incidents reported at congressional hearings and by NAFSA, the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers and other agencies included: a student from Thailand attending Southeastern University in Washington, D.C., who was arrested by federal agents after SEVIS incorrectly listed her as having dropped out; a Belgian psychologist heading to Michigan State University on a postdoctoral fellowship who had his passport taken by the U.S. Consulate in Brussels when his records could not be found in the SEVIS database; and a student at the University of Colorado at Boulder who was jailed for 48 hours because he was taking less than a full course load, even though he had his advisor's permission (Hamilton, 2003).
and even interrogated or detained. To my knowledge, such practices have failed to identify a single person connected to organized efforts to commit violent political acts on U.S. soil. They also are clearly ethnic and religious profiling as individuals are thought to be Arab, Muslim, or nationals of Arab or Muslim countries are targeted.

Canadian international educators were very concerned about these U.S. measures, especially the potential misuse of data and undue surveillance. There was also a worry among my participants that similar tracking systems may be in development here in Canada. Jennifer, an ISA, spoke about the Canadian context:

Things have changed so much and so rapidly since Harper’s government has been in [office]. There has been a lot of changes in the way that things are done and the alignment of policies is very American…. Since 2001 certainly there have been a lot of security crackdowns on people from particular countries like the Middle East and South East Asia. Some of those policies have negatively impacted students. My colleague says [students from] Pakistan along with a number of other countries such as Bangladesh only get a one-year entering visa. This means that if they want to travel, every time they may have problems. This happened with a ton of our students from China and some of our students from African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and then Pakistan, India, Bangladesh. They would have to apply for an entry visa outside of Canada. Basically you can be in Canada but you just mail it to Buffalo or Detroit or whatever. So they would mail it and the government would say, “you have to come for an interview”. Well of course most of the kids from those countries have to apply for US visas and US visas take two months to get and you’re not guaranteed that you’re going to get it. So how are you going to get it within 30 days? There’s no way, so they set them up for failure.

Jennifer is understandably concerned that security checks are causing serious delays in the issuance of visas to students from certain countries. But as Michael noted, these restrictions are not arbitrary: “There is this Islamic-phobia out there now [which includes] who is in the classroom? What kind of attitudes do they bring, this kind of talk.” These comments suggest the “war on terrorism” has manufactured a set of policies designed to regulate and control the dangerous “Other”. Arguably, Islam has been fixed as the
Universal Other and it is Muslims who embody an array of negative stereotypes (Majid in Krishnaswamy 2006: 135).

6.1.3 “Valuable Work Experience”:
Off-campus and Post-Graduation Work Permits

International educators also talked a great deal about policies and procedures to facilitate the employment of international students and the accompanying audit processes. Citizenship and Immigration Canada launched the Off Campus Work Program for international students in 2006. Eligible international degree students may now apply to work off campus while they complete their studies. The administration of this program is shared by the institution and Immigration Canada. International students are required to submit three forms to the international office: a Student Information Form, Verification Form and Student Acknowledgement and Consent Form. Once the student’s eligibility is confirmed, the verification forms are signed and stamped by the Designated Institutional Representative (DIR) and then the documents are forwarded to the CIC. Institutions are also required to report each session on the registration status of their international students to ensure that the students maintain full-time status. Institutions must check students’ academic eligibility (students must maintain “satisfactory academic standing”) and submit reports to the Provincial Coordinator in cases where students have become academically ineligible. Students who fail to comply with the terms and conditions of their work or study permits are considered “non-compliant”. Non-compliance may result in enforcement action taken by the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), or invalidation of the work or study permit, which may negatively affect future applications made under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). Such a management
system is an example of the existence of an audit culture in international education. As described below, establishing this system has involved a great deal of work and the directing of activities towards auditing. This was noted by Michael:

I’ve seen now the change in work permits and visas and this is all packed into international education. So you know you have international offices... actually hiring of staff-- creating a new position-- just to deal with the logistics around work permits and legalities of that.

Jennifer also talked about the staffing challenges in implementing the new procedures:

Certainly the work permit has been a really positive thing for the students. The flip side for us for is [that] the additional work and the implementation of that program was an awesome task. We found out in April that it would be implemented in June and we had six weeks to decide how we were going to manage the procedures so that we give the government what they need as well as being able to certify people on our side. And we didn’t have the people to do the work.

International educators talked about a lack of support from the government. They complained about and how CIC was “pushing [work] back to the institution” (see Chapter 4). My personal reaction was surprise that international educators were not more concerned about their limited resources being used in the production of Canada’s labour market needs. Overall, international educators were very supportive of these changes which allow international students to work off-campus and receive an open work permit under the Post-Graduation Work Permit Program. Such changes were perceived to be of benefit to international students despite their cost.

In fact, most international educators felt that these policy changes did not go far enough. For example, “bureaucratic barriers” were identified as preventing international students from truly taking advantage of these policies. Jennifer talked about the challenges with the Post-Graduate Work Permit Program:
There’s been a lot of talk about the post graduate work permit in the last couple of years. It’s a permit where you can work for one year after graduation if you’re an international student which is a great opportunity because you get experience in your field. The only thing is you have to find a job within 90 days so there’s no flexibility in terms of switching jobs. It’s difficult and you have to wait for a new permit. There are a lot of challenges around the process. There’s actually a report done by Sheryl Bond [but] I’ve been so busy in the fall that I haven’t actually had a chance to read it. But I know people who have participated and shared their experiences. It’s a great program but the process and challenges have prevented a lot of people from taking advantage of it. The process has created a lot of difficulties for students.

The report that Jennifer mentions is titled “Northern Lights: International Graduates of Canadian Institutions and the National Workforce” (CBIE, 2007a), which is concerned with post-graduation work permit policy. This study released by the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) suggests that Canada needs to work harder to successfully retain international students in the country’s workforce:

As potential immigrants, international graduates comprise a substantial pool (about 30,000 graduates annually) of the kind of talent and experience that Canada is trying to attract globally (2007a:5).

The authors of the report signal as “troubling” that only a third of international students graduating from Canadian post-secondary institutions plan to stay in Canada to live and work, as they anticipate difficulties in getting employment. The fact that a growing number of students leaving their home country for education are keen to return there following study is presented as a “problem” rather than a healthy situation for so-called “developing” countries. This report supposedly provided the views of university and college student service professionals. Among the “problems” discussed were impediments to working in Canada including the facts that (1) students find policies and practices--not to mention application forms--inconsistent and confusing; and (2) that employers are often unaware that they can hire international students and graduates.
Those who are aware may be reluctant (CBIE, 2007:1). The report proposes a sweeping overhaul of immigration policies, including a streamlining of the student-visa process. It also recommends allowing foreign graduates to remain in Canada longer to give them a better chance of finding work.

As I noted in Chapter 4, during the course of my research, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announced the changes to work permits for international students who graduate from eligible programs at certain Canadian post-secondary institutions. Effective as of May 2008, and for the first time, international students are able to obtain an open work permit under the Post-Graduation Work Permit Program, with no restrictions on their type of employment and no requirement for a job offer. In addition, the duration of the work permit has been extended to three years across the country. Previously, the program only allowed international students to work for one or two years, depending on location. Clearly this has made it easier for foreign students to work in Canada. It has also streamlined the work permit process and extended the duration of post-graduate employment from one to two years. Diane Finley, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (CIC), when announcing these changes, commented on the benefits to Canada:

Open and longer work permits provide international students with more opportunities for Canadian work experience and skills development. This will, in turn, help make Canada a destination of choice, and help us keep international students already studying in Canada. As we move toward the implementation of the Canadian Experience Class, these changes will help create a pool of individuals who, with work experience, will find it easier to apply to immigrate to Canada,” added Minister Finley. “Our ability to retain international graduates with Canadian qualifications, work experience and familiarity with Canadian society, will help increase our competitiveness and benefit Canada as a whole. (CIC Press Release April 21, 2008)
These comments suggest that Canada’s international student recruitment efforts are linked to immigration policy. That is, international student programs at Canadian post-secondary institutions are being articulated with Canada’s immigration program, with international students regarded merely as a pool of future workers. As I argued in Chapter 4, the fact that ISAs deal with this process is a specific example of how the work of international educators articulates with and is in alignment with ruling relations.

From an anti-colonial perspective, such an approach is problematic for so-called developing countries that are losing the very people needed most for economic, social, scientific and technological progress. (In the next chapter, the link between such “train and retain” policies and practices and neo-colonialism will be further explored.) What is important to note here is that what are seemingly benign work permit audit procedures are “hooked-up” into trans-local economic and colonial discourses.

A disjuncture can be identified between international educators’ critique of the development of management systems to track and monitor international student status and their support for off-campus and post-graduation work permits. I suggest that this is because “neo-liberalization is a process that is in constant flux and riddled with contradictory rationalizations based on power relations at different scales” (Basu, 2004). Using theory critical of neo-liberal economic globalization, Basu (2004) suggests that policies formulated at one spatial level operate quite differently at another and that the spatial disjunctions that arise as a result of this process lead to the continued success of neo-liberal ideologies and inequalities in education. International educators rationalize that some management systems are necessary to ensure international students’ access to employment opportunities. There is a real danger, however, that such systems will be used to monitor international students in addition to their obvious “brain drain” intent.
While a system like SEVIS has not yet been implemented in Canada, the development of these systems to track students could easily be used for such monitoring purposes.

In the accounts of the international educators, the attention given to the management systems and audit procedures themselves obscures the declared intention of the provincial and federal governments not only to retain international students for our knowledge economy but also the possible ongoing monitoring of students’ programs of study for security purposes. Technologies of surveillance are, of course, powerful strategies of imperial dominance. The introduction of such regulations is an extension of the neo-colonial gaze and implies the power to process, understand and control what is seen. As we will see in the following section, international quality assurance is another example of the imposition of Eurocentric higher education “standards” and management processes.

6.1.4 “The Prestige Meter”: International Education and Quality Assurance

Again as indicated in Chapter 4, increasingly, institutional opportunities to participate in international activities are being viewed as a “quality” indicator. Opportunities to study abroad are linked to the “student experience” and the provision of overseas experiences is positioned as enriching the learning experience by providing students with engagement outside the classroom. In the Rae Review, “experience aboard” was listed as one of the means to “pursue quality and innovation to make the student experience rewarding and successful” (Rae, 2005:28). An institution’s internationalization activity is viewed as one of the measurable “quality” indicators.
What is theoretically important is that the “prestige value” associated with internationalization simultaneously emerges as a recruitment tool as it “enhances an institution’s reputation”. Kimberley shared the following insight:

In discussion with a couple of schools, they mentioned that students were actually dropping out from their programs. They have this issue of not having enough students to enrol in programs because students can’t see the benefits of the program. So I suggested that internationalizing the curriculum would actually attract students to the institution. So that’s a good thing for the institution in terms of student enrolment. It also enhances a student’s and institution’s reputation and that’s something that every institution is looking for.

Kimberley’s comments underline the point that internationalization has become a commodity in and of itself. An emerging rationale is the desire to achieve a strong worldwide reputation or “brand” name as an international high-quality institution. When I asked Tammy why her institution was heavily invested in internationalization, Tammy talked about the benefits of “raising her institution’s profile”:

[Internationalization is] a huge, huge benefit for the institution…. It’s about profiling and impact; it’s raising our institution’s profile among other universities.

As Knight has pointed out, international educators are now operating and functioning in a global environment in which internationalization is linked to the creation of an international “profile” or “brand” (2007:7). International educators, such as Christina, talked about how the importance of a Canadian “brand”:

We have a really good brand. The Canadian brand is the most important thing that is in our favour because people see us as a tolerant diverse multicultural, decent society, so that opens up a lot of doors. So we have to build and increase it if we can. Just having more interaction than we have, international interaction, I think the brand just continues to increase and then we have more linkages in education, business, cultural, [or] whatever they may be.
Christina suggests that Canada should “leverage” its reputation as a benevolent nation to essentially attract more international students to the institution. This talk is also shared by AUCC which claims that what is required is “a national strategy to brand and market Canada’s post-secondary education (PSE) system that will attract international talent to our country” (AUCC, 2007b). Recently, education ministers revealed a national brand, with a slogan “Imagine Education in Canada”, intended to attract international students to study and eventually stay in Canada (“Education Ministers Unveil National Brand”, 2008). These texts, linked with institutional priorities, suggest that international education is now subjected to a commodifying and quality improvement discourse driven by national competitiveness and commercialization.

For international educators who are responsible for institutional agreements, institutional ranking and reputation has also emerged as an important consideration in the establishment of such agreements. Matthew spoke about the importance of “upping” one’s reputation, as indicators may also be used to make inter-institutional comparisons:

I would say to some extent over the last few years it’s also been a question of “upping” our reputation by the partners we host. So it’s about very strategically placing ourselves in partnership with other institutions that are usually much higher ranked than ours to be able to get our profile up.

He goes on to talk about the importance of the “prestige” when negotiating a partnership:

Who we partner with says a lot about us. So if a partner comes to you and wants to be potential partner, one of the things we look at is, who are you already partnered with? So, if we look on the list and they’re partnered with you know, U of T, Waterloo, Oxford or MIT and they’re coming to us, we’ll probably be pretty chuffed and willing to make accommodations. Whereas if we see a list of unheard-of community colleges in the United States which of course there are thousands practically unknown and of questionable quality institutions…. And that’s what we see, well, then we judge that institution a little bit differently and that is something that we look at. I would imagine other institutions do the same with us. So, we are starting to see partnerships as a strategic indicator of where we fit in the world. It’s
definitely something that’s coming into thinking here. So looking specifically for partners that would enhance our reputation is something that we’re considering.

Recent years have seen the expansion of higher education rankings and “league tables” which are another example of an audit process. Institutions are ranked and compared to each other on a range of factors and the result, in some instances, is even used by research agencies to distribute funding. These operations are widely criticized for questionable or flawed methods as well as for the concept of ranking itself (e.g. Altbach, 2006b).

Matthew’s comments suggest that it is not affordability, accessibility, or even teaching and learning which are necessarily important factors driving this process but rather, the quest for institutional reputation and prestige. He goes on to describe how he feels about this shift:

It has had its good points and its bad points I suppose….A big part of me still thinks, “well, let’s find the best place for our students to learn from [that] rather than worrying about what’s going to look good on the university prestige metre. But at the same time, if you know we are able to secure a partnership with excellent institutions, well then that’s great for the students as well… as long as there is a fit there.

The last comments of this international educator show that he is somewhat uncomfortable with the “university prestige metre”. He instead suggests that perhaps it is best to partner with institutions that support student learning rather than with those that simply “look good”, though it is not clear how this would be determined.

A related worry among international educators is that, without global rankings, “degree mills” will flourish. It is often claimed that the rationale for university rankings is the provision of information for student “consumers” (Marginson 2007: 140). Certainly Amanda’s comments suggest that profit is a strong motivator for many trans-national initiatives and that students have reason to be wary. As she put it:
I look for partners who have worked on other projects before maybe—with some reputable institutions like the World Bank, as they usually are the types of people who are familiar with the process, rank them and know what's required. I look for integrity. I get a lot of calls from people who say I want to open up a school because I got a few bucks--give me your curriculum—that kind of fly-by-night stuff. I look for the business-sense people, I look for people who actually have either opened up a school before or have been through it because it's not easy. It's like starting a business. You know, you can set up a business and then you need customers and it could take one or two years to build up several classrooms, cause no matter what country you go into there’s always competition and even our schools in India took two years to ramp up. Now we’ve got several hundred students but just because you open your doors doesn’t mean they line up and sign up. So, you need someone who understands the education business, the industry, and has patience in all of this. But I get a lot of people who just think if they throw a few bucks behind a building, I can fill it up with classrooms and teachers. And that usually doesn’t work well.

In this excerpt, the international educator is concerned about the “fly-by-night stuff”, but she is also undeniably seeking business opportunities. I suggest that it is the very positioning of education as a private rather than public good which is responsible for the creation of such dubious institutions.

It is also no surprise that Amanda mentions the involvement of the World Bank which has been instrumental in the production of benchmarking, ranking and other kinds of league tables. The World Bank is undergoing a transition from a “development bank” to a "knowledge bank" as it attempts to produce a knowledge-based economy. The World Bank, like other multi-national organizations such as OECD, are using rankings as tools for promoting particular kinds of learning among institutions, nations and regions.

Universities in the so-called developing countries have little choice but to aspire to so-called world-class level (Yang, 2002:90). Questions need to be asked about just whose “standards” will be adopted and whether these countries will actually benefit from such standards, as the developed Western economies are more likely to be advantaged by this
kind of economy. In the next section, another audit technology will be explored, which, like global higher education rankings, creates an environment where attention to international higher education is defined almost exclusively by a single set of standards. Once again, the critique of this process is that the development of such standards is dominated by so-called developed countries at the expense of low-income post-colonial countries.

6.1.5 Dangerous “Others” and “Foreign” Locales: Study Abroad and Risk Management

As I have detailed above, the risk and responsibility discourse is an example of how audit technologies are being introduced to higher education. International educators talked about the specifics of how, with an increase in the number of students travelling overseas, their institutions have developed risk management policies for study/work abroad programs. Carolyn talks about how her involvement in risk and responsibility evolved at her institution:

We had a bunch of professors who have been haphazardly exchanging students and it was kind of, you know, hit and miss. Some of them did it well; some of them didn’t… It was all being done for nice reasons but there was no system, no policy. So I was given the task to corral all those people into one spot and say, how can we do this so that it’s fair to students so that we’re covering ourselves liability-wise and so that the students are having the best experience they can? So I spent three years doing a review trying to go over all that stuff. I ended up focusing on policies and procedures and a job developed that was the education abroad advisor. There had to be a process for going on exchange and consistency. As this became more popular, professors were complaining about the administrative burden on them. They are professors and they shouldn’t have to know about passport regulations and so we played nice with them and we said, “Look, you know all about the academic side: where these students are going, what they should be doing. Let us worry about immigration regulations, picking people up at airports and all that kind of stuff”. So we sort of drew those lines and said, “here we go”. Well, of course exchange took off. We were very happy then that we had a centralized process and people understanding
Students could apply in one place to go on all the different exchanges that might apply to them. Things unfolded as they have at most universities with the expansion of things over time and an increasing awareness of liability issues and risk management and all of those sort of sophistications that came out of running more and more exchanges with more and more people, partners and that kind of thing.

It is theoretically important to note that risk and responsibility protocols are described in Carolyn’s account as part of the rise of managerial and institutional control. Power (2004) has suggested that the “risk management of everything” promises to control and managerialise “the future”. He goes on to say that risks themselves may not be amenable to auditing, but the organisational control systems through which such risks are represented can be (2004:27). From his point of view, “the risk management of everything seems little different in principle from the audit explosion” (Power 2004:27). International educators deployment of risk management strategies in study abroad can be seen as another example of the operation of audit technologies in higher education. As international educators pointed out, institutions are now encouraged to determine which of their programs appear to place students “at risk”. This requires constant monitoring of events in those areas. Site visits are recommended to evaluate local conditions and report on any areas of concern. Processes are designed to handle the emergency evacuation of students should the need arise. Databases are being built to register all students for off-site activity, with waivers signed by student prior to their departure. Pre-departure sessions are recommended to cover such topics as culture shock, health insurance, visas, and local customs and laws. In sum, a “legal audit” of all risks that may be associated with a program in a particular country is recommended as “best practise”. New models of operational and reputational risk management are presented as rational and natural. However, what policy direction is indicated by the apparently neutral invocation of good
practices? Has “reputation” become a new management objective for international higher education, just as brands are built up and marketed?

All institutions in my study had developed risk and responsibility protocols. All of the institutions had developed waivers for their study abroad participants. I detected an overriding institutional concern with legal risk. It can be argued that a legal approach seems to dominate risk management, and that post-secondary institutions rely on release forms to absolve themselves of legal obligations to their students in international settings. Indeed, international educators in my study critiqued this aspect of risk discourses, expressing concern that institutions appeared more interested in absolving themselves from responsibility should an emergency arise than with adequately preparing students for their experiences overseas. For example,Karen, whose account challenged institutional priorities, was less concerned about ensuring that “the policies of the institution are covered” and much more concerned about students. As she expressed it:

When you get to know students so well, you worry about what's going to happen. I don’t really worry so much on the end of the University--ha ha! I should because that’s a huge part of my job, but I think mostly about the students.

As indicated above, the talk of international educators in my study revealed the prioritization of the well-being of their students. In this case, this was prioritized above the “well-being” of the institution. Participants talked about, for example, the need to do a better job supporting students with mental health issues overseas or assisting students with disabilities. Support for gay and lesbian students going overseas was another area that one international educator felt was not adequately supported. Andrew advocated the following:
At my institution we have really good support for students with disabilities. So the year before we had a student from Australia come who had multiple sclerosis and she had a great time; she had enough services here because when I went back to Australia, she came to my presentation and just was so happy about the experience she had here. So I feel like we can definitely accommodate those students here but sometimes [this is not true for] students with other needs that are maybe more underneath the surface such as LGBTQ students. I don’t think there is any support or a lot of literature on students in those situations. So how do you figure out if we’re sending students who are gay or lesbian to a University that can receive them properly or even a city or country that will be safe for them? And then how do we also deal with a student who comes here and goes through a lot of transformations that they wouldn’t be able to go through in their home county? How do we properly prepare them to go back?

Rather than be captured by the dominant managerial discourse which emphasized institutional risk, international educators such as Andrew worked to create alternate equity-based discourses.

It should be emphasized that although many international educators deploy the risk and responsibility discourse with an ethic of concern for their students, this discourse is primarily concerned with the care of students registered in their institutions rather than with care for those in the communities being visited. For example, Patricia remarked:

Well, risk management for the students themselves is very important. We’re dealing with young people here and things that could affect the rest of their lives. Now while I realize it could happen to them anywhere, right now I’m in charge of that risk management so I’m very careful about making sure that they have the proper insurance [such as] evacuation insurance. I often say to my staff, you need to know that the health insurance is more important to me than the tuition. And not taking that lightly, that’s extremely important. And then the political issues, making decisions on when to pull students out. Ah, you know—students who are there and can’t get home. So all of the political, global issues around that I’m always conscious of, try to be conscious of, what’s going on so that we can make decisions based on that. I usually base decisions on their security and their health. Also staff, I would say staff would come second in the sense of, they are adults and hopefully we’re sending people who are prepared to handle those situations as compared to students, who, this may be their first experience abroad. But definitely we care about our staff as well being able to make sure they are also secure and safe [with] all of the political things that can go wrong.
Patricia is appropriately concerned with her students’ well-being, but “safety” is conceptualized only in terms of risks to Canadian students. That is, while students are given resources to ensure their personal well-being overseas, they aren’t given the tools to deal with their own impact on the communities that they are studying and interacting with. In the accounts of the international educators I interviewed, there was little consideration of impact on the “Other” or the needs of local communities. Rather, the concern was with managing institutional risk. As Carolyn suggests:

I think a lot of [risk and responsibility in study abroad] is the awareness of legal responsibilities. We are very, very close to a very litigious society. Canadians hear that you can end up having to paying someone four billion dollars for a hot cup of coffee that they should have known was hot and spilled in their lap. Although legal awards in Canada almost never reach that amount, because we have a health care system and we’re not paying health care bills and legal allotments [individually], it still looms large that you could sue anybody for anything. So…I think we do see these trends in the US in terms of sending lots of students on these big group trips and it’s like, “well we should be doing that too”.

Carolyn goes on to distinguish study abroad (whereby a group of students study in an international location and are taught primary by non-local professors from their home institution) from exchange abroad (whereby individual students study at an exchange institution for a semester or more) and indicates that the former has become a popular way to send students overseas in the US. Such “enclave” study abroad programs which do not incorporate students into the local community or institution are favoured by some institutions because there is assumed to be less risk involved. Presumably, there is more institutional control over the setting. Or, in some instances, third-party providers are used in the US so that institutional risk is displaced onto the provider. Carolyn’s comments
point to how the legal ramifications of students participating in study abroad opportunities are prioritized over pedagogical considerations.

As I have hinted at above, partly hidden within technologies of risk management is also a sense that the international “periphery” is a dangerous place. It is theoretically interesting to note that “off-site activity” is conceptualized as an activity that occurs overseas rather than “at home”. An issue of *University Affairs* focusing on study abroad and risk management clearly positions “foreign countries” as “dangerous” places:

The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States have made security a huge concern in Western society. The fact that terrorists infiltrated society through everyday civil infrastructures disturbs people in many walks of life, and higher education is no exception. Centres for international studies are the true pioneers when it comes to security, and that’s where most young Canadians hoping to study abroad head first. It’s also in foreign countries where most politically motivated incidents that jeopardize students’ safety have occurred (Trudeau-Reeves, 2002:16).

Here can be seen a construction of the security of “Western society” as requiring expanded forms of surveillance and control specifically in higher education. Risk management in study abroad can thus be understood as a technology of surveillance and control. As Ritchie (2003:53) notes, “with terrorism, natural disasters, disease and other incidents reported daily in the media, the world “out there” seems to be an increasingly dangerous place”. Such accounts are, of course, steeped in coloniality and racism, as the so-called “Third World” destinations and members of these communities can be assumed in the quote above as particularly dangerous and threatening. In anti-colonial terms, risk management strategies reinforce the white gaze as the only or dominant way to observe and make sense of the world.

From the perspective of the critical literature on the professions, it can be theorized that risk management in study abroad has emerged as a special area of expertise
for international educators and has also evolved as a new expert knowledge. This risk management discourse in study abroad can be understood as an opportunity for the appropriation of risk and its management by international educators wishing to advance their own interests through a professional project. According to Power (2004: 39), a new risk management is promoted via professional networks, among others, which may be “in part to inflate their [aspiring professionals] own status within organisations and to expand the markets for their service”. In the process, “the professions [may] create the impression of much greater threat [than there is evidence for]”. I argue instead that professional knowledge is being made over in the interests of the audit culture; that is, that there is a link between the rise of audit technologies in higher education and the professional project of international educators. Another way of saying this is that the international educator’s professional curriculum is “hooking-up” or articulating with institutional priorities and neo-colonial adventures. Neo-liberalism here is consistent with the adoption of “accounting logic” as a form of managerial control (Broadbent and Laughlin, 1997).

As the discussion in the previous chapter documented, international educators are caught up in the orthodoxies of new managerialism and the audit culture and are looking to professionalization as a means to cope with these new pressures; hence the proliferation of programs, services and products designed by international education professional associations to assist international educators interested in developing a new knowledge base in foreign credential evaluation, visa issues, inter-university linkages and the like. However, as I have suggested in the last chapter and as I will argue in the next section, the professional project of international educators can be critiqued as actually
promoting coercive NMP managerial and institutional practices. These practices stress competitiveness, accountability and audit rather than engaging and involving international educators in the articulation of a professional identity which supports advocacy for the social and cultural benefits of international education.

6.2 Competency Discourse of International Educators

In previous chapters, I have been discussing professional activities as they are defined by international educators in my study. Here I examine extra-local pressures on international educators towards professionalization and then reconsider how professional educators define their work in the light of my analysis. Since 2003, Queen’s University has offered the International Educators Training Program (IETP). With the announcement from the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU) that colleges and universities in Ontario are eligible for up to $2000 per institution reimbursement of IETP registration fees, the IETP program is positioned to become the training standard for international educators in Ontario.

The IETP Program aims to “provide training for individuals working in institutions, businesses and organizations aiming at successful internationalization” (Retrieved on July 26, 2009 from http://quic.queensu.ca/training/ietphome.asp). IETP was founded on the belief that “individuals working in the field of international education…had no opportunity to gain practical skills-based training here in Canada” (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from http://www.queens.ca/quic/ietp/history.php).

Consistent with promoting the professional project of international educators, the goal is to offer “competency-based training” to assist international educators “to perform day-to-day tasks more effectively” (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from
http://www.queens.ca/quic/ietp/competency.php). A new professional association, the International Educators Association of Canada (IEAC) has recently been formed and one of its objectives is to “utilize competency-based criteria for setting standards for the training of professionals in the field of international education” (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from http://www.ieac.ca/page.cfm?id=9). Part of all these approaches to professional development is the utilization of competency-based criteria for setting standards for the training of managerial professionals in international education.

In international education professional discourse, professional knowledge has been reduced to “competencies” – a series of discrete skills, knowledge and attitudes that international educators must possess to engage effectively. Take, for example, a set of questions and issues that Knight (2004) suggests need to be addressed by those with an interest in the international education field:

The complexity involved in working in the field of internationalization requires an additional set of knowledge, attitudes, skills and understandings about the international/intercultural/global dimension of higher education. How are these competencies developed and recognized for those academics, administrators and policy makers working in the field of internationalization of higher education?

This statement does not refer to the professional autonomy in the traditional literature on the professions upon which so much importance is placed. Instead, the discourse suggests that international education competencies can be objectively and mechanistically measured as if the expertise were merely a set of technical skills.

This scientific management discourse promotes a narrow conception of professional competence. Competency is seen as the ability to do a particular activity or to perform to a prescribed standard. In essence, the work of international educators is reduced to the ability to undertake specific tasks and is thus largely stripped of its social, moral and
intellectual qualities (Smith, 2007). Similar trends can be seen in other feminized professions, such as nursing (see Gregor, 2001). The allocations of power are unmistakable in this system: the employer’s institutional needs are paramount and individual employees are engaged in so far as their interests are useful to the employer (Davies and Durkin 1991:7). The move from competence as a “virtue” or “calling” to a discrete skill-set that is possessed is part of the devaluation of what international educators do. It involves adopting a way of viewing the world that undermines the very qualities that many of us would argue make for liberatory education (Smith, 2007). Angela makes this point when she shares her discomfort with the focus on the development of “global competencies” in international education:

I think that global competencies are a horrible term to use. What do you mean “if you’re globally competent?” Have you really given it much thought? And how can a person be globally competent by sitting in the US and going to Europe [or] whatever and coming back or even going to Africa and working for a year? Does that make you globally competent? I think we’re too simplistic in how we define both our profession as well as the objectives.

Such an approach creates a technocratic system of professional formation that may also serve to undermine the attempts of international educators, such as Angela, who seek to reconceptualise international education programs and practise as equity-based.

6.2.1 Certification and Credentialism

A consequence of the standardization of professional knowledge is that it provides the basis upon which a professional “commodity” can be made distinct and recognisable through the acquisition of a “credential” that implies that the professional has access to “expert knowledge”. For an emerging profession such as international education, such considerations need to be examined.
International educators such as Carolyn felt that “credentials” might help international educators gain credibility for their work, especially in an academic environment. She mused:

Certification, I think, may be viewed by many people as a way to gain credibility. From what I know of the people in the field, they are competent; they don’t need certification. But from what I know of the context in which they work, for credibility they might need certification. Because when you’re in an academic environment, credentials mean an awful lot.

The professional project of international educators can be viewed, in part then, as a response to how international educators are viewed by their academic colleagues.

International educators, such as Carolyn, are seeking credibility. Professionalism, in international education, just as with other feminized professions, is perceived to be a way of improving status collectively and individually. However, power relations are involved in establishing a professional jurisdiction (Johnson, 1972).

Expertise, autonomy and control over work practices are undeniably part of the appeal of professionalism to international educators. Karen links international educators’ professional project with a desire for recognition. As she expresses it:

I think there has been [a movement towards professionalization] since the beginning of the International Educators Association of Canada (IEAC) movement in the past couple of years. I think that’s really because people that do this type of work want recognition. Because you don’t want to be someone who just works at a university but someone who does something specific. And it should be recognized across the board. Then people might respect us more for what we do and leave us alone to do what we think we need to do.

This professionalization or quest for autonomy is traditionally pursued through a process of credentialism-occupational training and certification. IETP and the Faculty of Education at Queen’s University are developing a certificate program that credentials participation in and completion of competency-based training offered through the IETP
and the completion of on-line courses developed specifically for international educators through the Faculty of Education there. In describing the need for such a program, the Director of the program states:

[O]ne of the key philosophies of the IETP is the recognition of international education as a profession. Certification programs such as this one, as well as the UBC Certificate in Intercultural Studies, are key to ensuring that this recognition spreads throughout our institutions and organizations. (IETP Newsletter, 2006)

Such a statement suggests that certification and professional recognition are the end goal of professional development. Traditional conceptualizations of professionalism, such as a taxonomic or “trait” theory approach, link the attainment of professionalism with these certified skills and knowledge. By introducing the requirement of formal technical training, it is assumed in the statement above that professionalization will be achieved through codification and certification of work. But in a competency-based approach, “the technologies of management dominate over substantive ethical and educational issues” (Blackmore, 1999). Rather than explore ethical issues related to policy and practise, there is a construction of international educators as technicians. As well, who has the authority to define the criteria for certification and what knowledge will count? As Tammy remarked,

Who certifies these people to certify you? I mean how do you assess that, how do you assess those people assessing you? ...I am just puzzled about that but it is definitely helpful especially for newcomers who are new to this field. So I don’t deny that but there is also a cost factor. This is pretty pricy when I look at the cost of this training. I wonder if it is possible for every university to support their international educators to be certified with this much cost? That is questionable. For bigger universities, maybe it’s not difficult. But for smaller institutions, that’s going to be a big cost and if they don’t have the budget, you will think they are not certified and not professionals. So I would question that as well.
The critique in Tammy’s comments suggests that the certification of international educators, at least from an administrative perspective, may also be driven by a need to generate income. This raises questions about who can afford the professional training and development and who cannot. In this kind of institutional talk, the notion of professional learning has shifted from an emphasis on cooperation among autonomous practitioners and shared development to a discourse of competition and individualism as given.

### 6.2.2 IETP as a Technocratic Professional Curriculum

Wayne Myles and Sherri Corrie’s research paper, entitled *Training for International Educators in Canada: A Competency-Based Approach* (2004), provides the foundation for the curriculum of the IETP courses. As seen in Table 3, about half of the international educators in my study have participated in the IETP training program. This is more than the number of those who participate in any professional association except NAFSA, the Association of International Educators. In this document, Myles and Corrie (2004) suggest that “a competency based methodology” should be employed in training programs “to extend the profession and to raise the level of competencies of those engaged in the field of international education” (p.6). They suggest that international educators are motivated to become more committed to their profession by adopting such an approach. Individuals are encouraged to use competencies to assess their own backgrounds so that they can develop and progress within the institution. Competencies, the authors go on to say, can provide a sense of where the individual belongs in the *institution*. Perhaps what is most problematic to me as a professional is the emphasis on tailoring one’s own professional training and development to meet the needs of the institution. This is clearly evident in the following statement:
Competencies provide focus when used for hiring, training, and evaluating employees by providing what capabilities are to be sought or to be developed and what is to be evaluated. In other words, it focuses on the capabilities, work performances or behaviours it would take to produce work outcomes rather than on the outcomes or responsibilities themselves that are typical of a traditional job description. In summary, competencies supply a common language, and benchmarks, for an institution’s human resource processes. (Myles and Corrie 2004:7)

In fact, in this top-down approach, they suggest that strategic human resource management should align professional development with an institution’s goals and objectives.

The IETP thus adopts a technical, instrumental approach to professional training and development. The promotional literature for the IETP program also talks about the need for “practical skills-based training” in order “to perform day-to-day tasks more effectively” (Retrieved on March 18, 2009 from http://www.queensu.ca/quic/ietp/history/php). Courses on offer include risk management, budgeting, ethics in international education, project management, networking and team-building as well as cross-cultural communication. Each course is accompanied by a list of competencies that international educators are expected to acquire. This curriculum clearly supports the tenets of new managerialism and signals how the work activities of international educators can be articulated with neo-liberalism by circulating discourses of audit, quality assurance and marketisation.

Queen’s effort to develop and deliver a professional training program for international education professionals ostensibly meets the needs of a professional project for expert knowledge. However, consistent with the notion of “institutional capture”, the emphasis on competency-based curricula makes the “professional” an agent of the institution who is expected to maintain an uncritical acceptance of internationalization.
For example, one of the aims of the competency-based curriculum is: “enabling behaviours that employees must demonstrate to achieve the work targets” (Myles and Corrie 2004). Such a statement supports Rhoades and Slaughter's contention that there is a tendency toward managerialist approaches in professional development of front-line managers in post-secondary education. Here the professional becomes a mere technician responsible for a stable, fixed body of knowledge and an increased focus on “practical matters” in order to satisfy requirements for greater accountability (Parr, 2004:23).

As Chapter Five documents, internationalization strategies are increasing emphasizing “human resource development” rationales over equity-based rationales. If international educators do not query the rationales underpinning internationalization and professionalism, they problematize their contributions to a project that emphasises economic rationales over academic or social good. Angela was concerned by what she saw:

I feel like a lot of the professionals are into the quick-fix mode. Or it’s all solution-driven. It is very “how do you implement”? But where I come from what’s important is an understanding of the broader frameworks within which you work, questioning of your practice. I think that is the disconnect…. I think that’s exactly the disconnect because as I mentioned, the questioning of your own practice is a bit of a foreign concept for most people--because there’s already an assumption made of the underlying value of what they’re doing. So, I think that’s the biggest disconnect that I would say from my perspective.

In the absence of reflective dialogue, it is easy to see how international educators could be accepting of dominant discourses and business models and unknowingly support and legitimate dominant interests. Angela suggests that rather than focus on so-called cross-cultural competencies, it should be advocated that an understanding of difference is required. As she argues:
I have real problems within “cross-cultural training”; you cannot fix dealing with other people. You cannot have simple ways of dealing with people who are different than you culturally. There seems to be this easy formulaic approach of working through these issues of dealing with the difference or dealing with how you understand the world.

What is required, Angela suggests, is a movement away from the rhetoric of the intrinsic value of international education towards an interrogation of difference itself.

6.2.3 Professionalism as a Mechanism of Occupational Change and Control

As I have emphasized, Evetts (2003a) draws attention to the extensive use of the concept of professionalism in an increasingly wide range of service/caring occupations and work-places in which women constitute the bulk of service workers. Of theoretical interest to my own research, she notes that the concept of professionalism has entered the managerial literature and has even been used in training manuals. In her view, as organizational budgets become leaner and customers/clients/governments become more demanding, and as service work becomes more closely regulated and achievement targets are specified, measured and assessed, so the changes may be characterised as the need to “professionalize” the service and knowledge of workers concerned. The discourse of professionalism in such cases is clearly being constructed and used by the institutional managers, supervisors and employers of workers, in order to bring about occupational change and rationalization as well as to (self) discipline workers in the conduct of their work. Drawing upon Fournier’s (1999) interpretation of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism, Evetts (2003b:31) warns:

It seems as though professionalism is being used as an ideology and a discourse to convince, cajole, and persuade employees, practitioners and other workers to perform and behave in ways which the organization deems to be appropriate, effective and efficient.
The significance of this top-down discourse of professionalism is that it can be seen as operating both as an ideology for promoting adaptation and change and as a control mechanism of individual practitioners where control is exercised “at a distance”.

In the case of international educators, it can be theorized that the ideology of professionalism, which may be so attractive and appealing to professional workers, is being used as a mechanism of occupational change and control to promote organizational and managerial objectives. For example, Tammy’s comments suggest that certification is necessary “to protect the institution, protect this office, protect myself and protect my students”. She continues:

I think that for many international educators, especially in the service sector, a counsellor’s certification program would be very helpful and I think logically they should have it before they go on the job…because they are talking to students on a regular basis…Are you ready? Do you know what you are saying? Do you know what kind of impact you have on students’ lives? There are no training standards; they are hired and they basically learn by everyday life. I learned for 10 years and I am still learning, but how do you know who is qualified? Who is not qualified? This is missing. If Queens is doing this, creating this degree, providing this training, short term, long term, certified or diploma…. I would send my staff to get the training. Because I think this is a liability issue; this is the institution's liability--anything I say represents the institution. I might have a student suicide,…I don’t know….So far I [have been] lucky,…but I’ve learned how to protect the institution, protect this office, protect myself [and] protect my students…. But as a newcomer, if you work here for two years, you really don’t know much: you are just doing one [thing] at a time and everything is new…. When you are new, it is high risk.

In this way, a professional is understood to be someone who not only carries out the mandate of the institution but who also has the responsibility to protect the institution. Tammy’s comments also suggest how the discourse of professionalism serves to inculcate “appropriate” work identities, conduct and practices. As Fournier (1999 in Evetts 2003:406) suggests, the appeal to professionalism can be seen as a powerful
motivating force of control ‘at a distance’. This appeal to professionalism involves the substitution of organizational for professional values. Yet, Evetts (2003a:411) also notes that the meaning of professionalism is not fixed and that the highly contestable nature of the meaning of professionalism leaves space for professions and professionalism to act as a countervailing force against organizational control. As I will argue below, international educators can be ambivalent towards the professional project expressed technocratically. Thus, I believe that there is an opportunity for international educators to construct professionalism “from within” rather than “from above”.

6.3  Professionalism “From Within”

My research was very much motivated by a sense as an international educator that international education was “professionalizing”. International educators in my study are aware of new training programs such as IETP and the new professional association, International Educators Association of Canada (IEAC). In fact, as can be seen in Table 3, most participants had participated in IETP and were members of IEAC. This led me to theorize about how so many of my informants were rather ambivalent about professionalization. In their accounts, I heard that rejecting a technocratic professional project makes possible a professional project that acts as a countervailing force against organizational control.

A starting point for identifying resistance was the fact that the movement towards certification received a mixed response from my participants--even from new international educators who were themselves pursuing more formal qualifications. Emma, for example, was concerned about what knowledge would be included and what would be excluded. As she put it:
I’m afraid when you standardize something that you force [it] into things that don’t fit and then what are you losing when it doesn’t fit? And I guess if there’s a legal requirement, you probably need something. If you’re talking about quality, that’s all…subjective. So I think it would be damaging to make a standard. I think water finds its own level and when people are doing things that work and are good, other people will pick them up and it will happen.

Emma articulates a local practice-based philosophy for international educators. Jennifer shares a similar understanding of her role as based in “personal knowledge”, gained through “on-the-job-training”. She says:

I think there are certain values that you want people to have but a lot of it is soft skills and a lot of it is personal knowledge. It’s trainable but it’s not the same…. There’s not the same need to memorize five text books that are this big or a procedure of “how to do this” because it’s changing…. So you can’t make it so rigid that you have to learn it this one particular way because, immigration, for example, especially since 2001, has changed so much…. So can’t you can’t train for that ‘cause it’s always changing; it’s really on the job training.

Matthew’s comments also reflect a sense of international education knowledge as not “something you can credential”. In his words:

I would be pretty wary of it quite honestly. I think a lot of the skills and tendencies and knowledge that make you do this kind of job come not from necessarily sitting in a classroom. If somebody is otherwise inclined to think internationally anyways, [that] is probably the most important thing…and probably somebody who has some international experience of some sort or international work here in Canada. I don’t think you necessarily have to have traveled the world to be an effective international educator, but it doesn’t hurt…. But I don’t think it should be seen as “you have to have a certain number of years of educational service out of Canada and have visited minimum number of countries”. That would be pretty foolish I think.

He goes on to parody a job advertisement to reinforce his point that it is not simply credentialed technical skills that are required to be an international educator but a “personal interest”. He quips:
People who have interest in an administrative job that requires 40 minutes of 40 words a minute of typing speed and x number of years experience at this institution and that can use Excel and Word. So, ok, you’re hired…. [No] I think you have to have a little bit more personal interest…. A personal stake in internationalization is needed to really be effective in some ways and that’s not something you can credential.

Overall, in my interviews, while international educators were generally supportive of professional development and training, they were wary of claims to expert knowledge generalizable to other settings. That is, the meaning of “profession” emerged as contested territory or a jurisdiction to be earned. Specifically, both Emma and Matthew suggested that there is “something that you just can’t credential” in their work. They placed a high value on experiential learning as well as professional work as a “calling”.

6.3.1 The Importance of Experiential Knowledge:
“I was an International Student too”

Where does this leave professional training and development? Tammy had this to say about the formal training offered through IETP:

I don’t think anybody would say these things are wrong. Everyone would recognize that these are really a great contribution to this field, to this profession, but then everybody would have some concerns. Is this all? Is there anything we have missed? How can we frame this whole picture so that people can recognize all these elements putting towards this professional experience? Experiential learning is absolutely the key in this job.

Tammy is careful not to criticize her colleagues who participate in the IETP professional development and training program but she emphasizes the importance of experiential learning which is not included in the curriculum. She goes on to describe the interview for her current position and how her experiential knowledge (which was connected to her own personal experience as an international student) guided her responses to interview questions:
When I started, my predecessor in this job said “Here is a student immigration question: you are about to come [to Canada]. Can you tell me what can we can tell the student?...So, I e-mailed back [my response]…and then they e-mailed me back and, this is the funny part…they said, “Without hesitating for even five minutes, without providing any background reference about immigration policy, you shared five suggestions about student legal status, based upon what?” and I said, “Just because I know: just because I did it before”…OK…so, how can you certify that kind of experience…?

As I listened to informants’ share how they came to be involved in international education, I was indeed struck that they were profoundly influenced by their own experiences of international mobility. When international educators talked about how they came to be involved in international activities, they often drew upon their experiences as international/exchange students, travelers or newcomers to Canada. This illustrates how important the experiential aspect of the work is, as well as identification with and passion for it.

Over half of the international educators in my study had been international or exchange students themselves. Tammy talked about how her experience led her to pursue a career in international education:

I was an international student myself. Yes, that’s how I started. I was an international student myself 10 years ago…. I was a graduate student at Carleton, a typical international student. So I have personally been through all the stages that an international student goes through: culture shock, language challenges, etc. I even wrote TOEFL! So when I was doing my second year of my MA, I went to the international office. I was inspired by this lady who is originally from Ghana. She’s a visible minority and a person with a disability. She’s really a person who inspired my future career. So she started asking me to help out as a volunteer in the international office, helping my own peers. And I did so well that they ended up keeping me there as an international student advisor. So, I started my full-time career as an international student advisor at [a Canadian institution], doing my MA part-time, until I completed.
Tammy went on to describe how she “never stopped being an international student in all these years” and went on to talk about how her experience enabled her to develop rapport with international students:

You know, when you personally experience the struggles [and] the challenges, you feel for them and can easily relate to them. Whenever I have a student coming to see me in the office, I start with: “I was an international student too”. You can just see the change in their face and they are so happy. They start trusting you…. So, I think that’s helpful.

Angela similarly described how her experience as an international student led her to become an international educator:

I was an international student in the US, so my second job in India after going back was with an American international education foundation which is when I was first exposed to the concept of international education. I had no idea I was an international educator. Why was I attracted to that? Very simply because I felt very lost going back home. By going back to this foundation, I was going back and connecting with my roots to the US. It was a subject knowledge I knew about just having been to the US as a foreign student. I could empathize with the student group that was coming in. It paid well compared to most other jobs, so a combination of all of that brought me to the foundation. That’s where I first found out that there was such a thing as international education. I think it was in the ‘80s that that phrase came into the world. And since then I’ve started defining myself as an international educator. So I think in coming to Canada, the most natural thing for me to do was to look for international education offices to work with.

In the story above, Angela describes a sense of uncertainty upon returning to her home country. It was this sense of displacement, rather than connection, which drew her back into international education. At the same time, Angela went on to problematize the very notion of “international experience” as a foundation for constructing a professional identity:

Going through an international student experience myself has guided my work. However, even though there’s inherent value in understanding culture and difference, I don’t think that there is enough questioning about what we mean by that… So what’s also guided me in this profession is to constantly
understand and question what we mean by this “difference”, what we mean by “cross-cultural” and what we mean by “international understanding”. And exactly what are we trying to achieve through all of that? ‘Cause I don’t think we’re quite clear about it ourselves.

For Angela, it was important that international educators interrogate their experience starting with the tensions and contradictions in their professional lives. As I will suggest below, I believe that a conception of professional education that encourages international educators to “story” their experiences would be useful. It could lead to questioning a competency-based approach to international education.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has documented how audit practices are recognizable in specific activities undertaken in international education. These include international jobplacements for domestic students; brokering institutional partnerships; and risk management in study abroad. I have suggested here how international educators’ work practices are implicated in what Power (1997) calls “rituals of verification”. In particular, the work lives of international educators have been affected by increasing demands for quality assurance and accountability in higher education. For example, Lynne Hanson and Wayne Myles, the authors of “Risk and Responsibility in Study Abroad,” (1997) suggest that international educators have a “duty of care” and an obligation to protect students from certain risks. They say:

Practically speaking, this means that the administrator [of a study abroad program] should carefully consider all possible risks in every aspect of their program, and consider how best to guard against them (in Trudeau-Reeves 2002:18).

Certainly, such procedures and protocols seem to “make sense” and appear to be “good practice”. Strathern and Shore (1999:557) have argued that such audit processes “are
indicative of a peculiarly coercive and disabling model of accountability in higher education which is elided with policing (Power 1994; 1997); reduces professional relations to crude, quantifiable and, above all, “inspectable” templates (Strathern 1997); and, introduces disciplinary mechanisms that mark a new form of coercive neo-liberal governmentality (Foucault 1991; Rose and Miller 1992)”. International educators are now holding themselves responsible for student’s safety. In response to these demands, I theorize that international educators are actively constructing as well as deconstructing technocratic professional discourses as a means of coping with pressures which threaten to subvert their efforts to “make the world a better place”.

Being a “professional” for international educators in my study meant doing a job that requires special competence that therefore deserves special status. Given their subordinate role in the university/college setting, it is not surprising that international educators might seek professional status as a way of securing more status and better treatment. What is problematic here is that international educators may be pursing professionalism as defined by institutions and relations of ruling consistent with neo-colonialism. These problems were raised by international educators who were ambivalent about top-down professionalization. Therefore, although the specialized body of international educators’ knowledge and the process of specialization can be used as a means of establishing hierarchies of power and prestige, a few informants were wary of this process and argued that there is also the potential for defining professionalism as experience and equity-based.

In describing the articulation of the work of international educators with professional and governmental discourses, what is of most theoretical interest is the
everyday/everynight way in which audit technologies attempt to re-fashion the way people perceive themselves in relation to their work, to one another and to themselves. I have argued here that a discourse of professionalism imposed from above facilitates this extra-local control. That is, the recent technocratic turn towards a “competency based” curricula in international education requires international educators remake themselves to meet institutional needs and internalize the institution’s priorities. For Blackmore (2002), loyalty to organizational aims has serious implications for those whose identities are tied up with a sense of responsibility and social justice in higher education. As the next chapter will document, this technical, instrumental approach may get in the way of international educators interrogating their professional knowledge and recognizing the colonial/imperial practices embedded in international education.
Chapter Seven: International Education and Neo-Colonialism

7.0  Introduction

It is not simply the substantial revenues for post-secondary institutions generated through foreign student fees that make international students attractive. They are also positioned as potential workers for Canada’s knowledge economy. The federal government’s 2002 innovation strategy papers, *Knowledge Matters* and *Achieving Excellence*, repeatedly emphasize Canada’s need to attract skilled immigrants through international student recruitment. And as discussed above, recent changes to the Off-Campus and Post-Graduation Work Permit Program also clearly link the development of an international student recruitment strategy with the goal of increasing Canada’s supply of new graduates. Articulated with these discourses, as I have shown in the previous chapter, the talk of international educators reveals how their work assists international students to integrate into the broader community through employment opportunities as a means for Ontario to retain knowledge and skill potential. Simply put, international education is a mechanism by which global forces affect the lives of others. As this chapter will emphasize, these relations of ruling support a Euro-centric, individualistic and entrepreneurial model which, to be fully understood, should be contextualized within a critical post-colonial conceptual framework.

Study abroad, with its emphasis on the production of global economic actors, is only one of the ways in which international education is part of the processes of globalization. Informed by human capital discourse, which suggests that international education must provide human resources to meet the country’s imperative for an educated and skilled workforce, international educators are encouraged to educate
students in a way that would prepare them to function in this “new” interdependent world. Education is viewed as an industry, producing graduates and potential employees as needed for professional occupations, business and industry. For Andrzejjewski and Alessio (1999), the question becomes: Are we educating students for competitive employment in the global marketplace or are we educating global citizens who can respond creatively to the enormous and pressing issues facing humankind in the twenty-first century? I will assemble evidence in this chapter showing that the emphasis is on the pragmatic in international education; that is, that the acquisition of knowledge and skills for employability in a global context constrains rather than enables the construction of a more critical concept of citizenship. The arguments are similar for domestic students, international students, and new Canadians, which I will describe in turn.

7.1 Internationalization as “New-Vocationalism”: International Education as Global Competencies

As I have been arguing, international educators are involved in initiatives that equip the international student with workplace skills that promise to better position him or her in the Ontario labour market upon graduation. At the same time, study abroad is also positioned as a means to enhance the student’s future employability so that performance indicators linked to student’s employability are also met. When Emma talked about what new trends in international education were affecting her work, the shift towards a discourse of “new vocationalism” was evident. As she put it:

Oh, I think probably more internships and co-op stuff is happening because students want it, I think. Aren’t we also getting funding based on how many students get jobs after something? Isn’t that part of the funding in Ontario?
The funding that Emma describes is an envelope of funding from the provincial government which is distributed according to institutions’ relative rating on Key Performance Indicators (KPI) such as performance rates\(^\text{13}\). Based upon my experience and observations, I would argue that it is important for institutions to demonstrate how they are connecting students with the international in some way to prepare international and domestic students for employment in a global economy. Consistent with this, institutions, including those in my study, have adopted mission statements which emphasize international and global competencies.

Specifically, among international educators, there is an emphasis on study abroad as a means of enhancing the international and intercultural skills of domestic students for participation in the global knowledge economy. Student mobility schemes such as study abroad programs, internships or international service learning placements are understood to be especially well-suited to help students develop competencies to succeed as “citizens” in today’s global society. This is reflected in the opening comments of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada *Statement on Internationalization and Canadian Universities* (1995a, para 1):

> The 21st century will be like no other. It will be distinguished by an unprecedented level and depth of global interaction in all domains -- economic, political, and cultural. Globalization has not only altered the way we do business and the way we produce and trade in goods and services, it is rapidly changing the very fabric of our society. Canada must continue building its capacity to operate effectively in this new global context. Our success will depend, in large measure, on the manner in which we educate our citizens.

---

\(^{13}\) The Performance Fund allocations are based on achievement against three key performance indicators: degree completion rate, and employment rates six months and 24 months after graduation. A benchmark is established for each of the three indicators. Institutions at or above their benchmark are allocated funding in proportion to their performance against the benchmark and their size.
From this statement it is also understood that one of the key rationales underlying internationalization is the importance of developing human capital. Although the statement also later addresses the importance of providing a forum for ideas, fostering international cooperation, enhancing international student mobility and contributing to international development assistance, internationalization as a means of adapting Canada’s students to meet the competitive demands of globalization is the central justification.

An emphasis on human resource development can also be seen in a more recent AUCC (2002) background paper which emphasizes the importance of studying abroad to ensure that Canadians bring “an in-depth knowledge of the world, cross-cultural skills and a global perspective to their leadership of Canada’s increasingly knowledge-based economy”. The document goes on to state:

For a trading nation, mobilizing a critical mass of students to participate in study abroad builds connections with different regions of the world necessary to enhance the scope of Canada’s other commercial partnerships. Students going abroad are also ambassadors for Canada, building knowledge among those they meet of Canadian capabilities, strengths and opportunities. In fact, a recent Conference Board of Canada study clearly demonstrated the link between international student mobility and key indicators of economic competitiveness such as trade and foreign direct investment. (AUCC, 2002)

Such statements illustrate that the AUCC promotes international education primarily for economic benefits and that international education is viewed as a means to foster economic competitiveness by preparing graduates who are “internationally knowledgeable and inter-culturally competent” rather than seeing internationalization as a means to enable social transformation. There is no debate about the consequences of this brain drain for nations recruited from, and no acknowledgement of longstanding critiques of “development” as exploitation.
Policy documents also reveal a new emphasis on the importance of developing “global citizens”. Student mobility schemes such as study abroad programs, internships or international service learning placements are understood to be especially well-suited to help Canadian students develop competencies to succeed as “citizens” in today’s global society. A joint ACCC, AUCC, CBIE and CME statement titled *International Education Opportunities* (AUCC, 2007c) was issued to the federal government and all political parties. It urged vastly increased commitment to international scholarships to enable students to prepare for work in a globalized environment. The emphasis on human resource development can clearly be seen in this excerpt from the report:

We believe that one of the best ways to prepare Canada for the future is to prepare our college and university graduates for participation in the international community and global knowledge-based economy. Research shows that Canadian college and university students who spend a semester or academic year abroad are better equipped than others to participate in the workforce in a range of fields. They possess second and third language skills, in-depth knowledge of how other societies perform research and conduct business, flexibility and adaptability – qualities that are not only desirable in our skilled professionals but, increasingly, essential. Canada’s private sector and education sector agree that more needs to be done to provide our post-secondary students with access to cross-border educational experiences (AUCC, 2007c).

This economic discourse is also clearly apparent in AUCC’s publication *Building Global Citizens* (n.d.):

Students who go abroad gain valuable skills for succeeding in a global economy – which is a real asset for our own economy. Canadian business executives rate “a cosmopolitan world view” as one of the top three skills needed by future corporate leaders. Recent Ekos Research data show that 85 percent of Canadians agree that knowledge of other cultures and an understanding of the world are increasingly important qualities in today’s labour market. Studying in a foreign country builds familiarity and connections with different world regions, necessary skills to diversify Canada’s exports and expand other commercial partnerships.
The development of workers for the global economy becomes, in euphemistic neo-liberal language, the production of global citizens.

The mission and structure of post-secondary educational institutions are articulated with globalization discourses circulated by the federal government and international education organizations as they too are “training students for a global workplace”. The adoption and implementation of the core civic competency-based approach is in line with neo-liberal discourse which emphasizes the importance of preparing globally-competent workers for the new information economy discussed above. Critical higher education scholars have suggested that globalization has forced governments to focus their attention on the educational areas which have the most relevance to the market. This has, in turn, pressed higher education institutions to adopt internationalization strategies that will provide students with skills and training that can serve the country’s need to become economically competitive in a global market. While the discourse has shifted from “preparing students for living and working abroad” to less risky “building global citizens” the emphasis is still on serving the global economy.

As part of the system, the talk of international educators activates market economy discourse on education that emerges from these international organizations. Just as Canadian business and government agencies have shifted rationales for international education from the academic and the socio-cultural to the economic, this shift can be found in the talk of my participants. For example, it is evident in Carolyn’s description of how her work as an international educator has changed over the years. Carolyn, now a manager, recalled how, when she first became involved in international education, her
work was motivated by a need to develop “a better understanding of what goes on in the rest of the world”. As she explained it:

I started as a part-time student. I had a 10-hour a week job doing international development education. It was funded through the CIDA Public Participation Program. The idea was that Canadians should really have a better understanding of what goes on in the rest of the world and university students should have a broader understanding of world issues. And so, for 10 hours a week, I planned all kinds of activities. For example, we showed films on the flour industry and why people, when they go to buy flour, should think about where it came from, who is using pesticides, who is benefiting from this [and]…what’s going on in the world. How are the things we see here related to the politics and the power or lack of power that people have in other countries? CIDA promptly two years later cut those funds and I was told [that they were] not in the job of making people aware of what's all wrong with the world. That’s not what we have to do [they said], we need to create workers, we need to create professionals in their fields and so we would like you to focus on exchange programs. It’s about sending the business student to the business school in France. It’s not about sending someone to a developing country to see what the issues are and what can be done about them. So it became much more a focus on preparing people for graduation and preparing people for jobs. So my job got eliminated and I was asked to take on this new emerging area of exchange programs.

What is theoretically interesting here is that Carolyn talks about a disjuncture in international education between “making people aware of what’s all wrong with the world” and a movement to create workers and professionals. She describes this discontinuity as occurring in her own career as it occurred more widely in the approach to international education. Carolyn also deploys “development talk”. She believed that through “development” work, she was “helping” people and countries in need. Such interventions, like other so-called “development” processes, have been subject to anti-colonial critique. Much critical literature focuses on the “development” enterprise as creating and perpetuating underdevelopment and dependency within low-income, post-colonial countries. This critique might have been used to reconceptualise the role of
international education. Instead, it can be argued, disenchantment with “development” discourse has been accompanied by a move away from international education as “development” altogether and a move to remake it into a vehicle to prepare workers for the global economy.

An emphasis on internationalization as a means of enhancing the international and intercultural understanding and skills of domestic students and staff for participation in the global knowledge economy can also be detected. Modernization and human capital theories have always underpinned international education. That is, early literature argued that without a qualified workforce, nations of the South could not develop and achieve economic growth (e.g. the theory of human capital elaborated by Becker, 1964 and Schultz, 1978). More recently, the formation of international human capital has been re-emphasized in neo-liberal discourse. In this discourse and for Canadian international education practitioners and institutions, the function of international education is mainly instrumental. Patricia, another manager, talks about this disjuncture which involves lowering the priority of development projects “for the sake of goodness” and raising the priority of international recruitment and corporate training that must pay for itself or generate income. She says:

Well, certainly in Ontario at least, the funding of the college system has been quite a hot topic for a few years and so [have] international recruitment [and] international projects.... We have to pay for them, so they can no longer be a burden to the institution. That kind of ties our hands when it comes to doing projects for the sake of goodness. While we think there is role for education in that, there just isn’t the support financially to do those things unfortunately. Because I think we should be doing that. I think the universities still have some a little opportunity the way they’re funded to do some of those things. [But] for example, straight exchanges or professor exchanges become very difficult because it’s a burden on the institution. So I think that part of the shift comes from just recognizing that it is something we can sell and there is a reason to do it for revenue. We still try, even
within that, to make sure we’re including some of those other values and making sure that people have the opportunity that would not normally have such an opportunity. We do that. I think that there is still a role for projects in developing countries and we are still working with ACCC and CIDA and World Bank projects. We are often working directly with governments now rather than going through CIDA who has very limited possibilities and a lot of red tape to get to the money. We don’t have the operating budget to go through that process and to work with them and there are rarely results and it’s slow and cumbersome. So if there’s a shift, it’s that.

Patricia’s comments provide an explanation for a shift in international education rationales from social good previously encouraged by CIDA to profit. In the brave new world, there is the continued presence of elements of modernization and human capital theory, such as the need to create a technically proficient workforce.

In view of the discontinuity marked by a shift in priorities described here, it is not surprising that international educators spoke a great deal about the need to prepare domestic students for a “global world” and to equip them with the necessary skills to “adapt to globalization”. One international educator, for example, quoted his VP for Research and Innovation as labelling internationalization as a key ingredient in “talent forming”. Christina also spoke about how:

> [o]ur mission is to prepare…workplace-ready graduates. It is a global world today so it’s really important that students do get international experience.

A third participant in my research, Carolyn, the manager cited above whose original job was replaced by a managerial position, talked about how preparing “work-place ready graduates” is a competitive advantage for recruiting students:

> I have this sort of little trite statement that I make to parents when we have an open house at the beginning of the year. Sometimes there are parents involved when the student is trying to select their university in March…. The parents turn up with them and I do a little speech for them: “Why do an overseas program? Why do part of your degree overseas?” “Well, you’re going to have something different on your resume than the 200 other people graduating in your class. You might be more employable because companies
often have offices in other countries and they want to see someone who can show that they’ll travel and that they can handle that”.

What she is referring to is the fact that international experience is ranked high among many employers as a critical asset for prospective employees and facilitating overseas opportunities. That is, making students more “internationally minded” has become part of the “new” vocationalism used to market higher education institutions. Study abroad is thus reduced to an economically-centred experience that students can use to leverage a job. While the tone of Carolyn’s comments suggests that she is somewhat resistant to such a discourse, still, she describes promoting the process as part of her everyday work articulated to relations of ruling. In the examples to follow, international educators also activated discourses which emphasized “working knowledge”--the use-value and application of knowledge.

A way of describing this process sociologically is that study abroad acts a means for students to accrue cultural capital which they can then convert into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Kimberley was a fourth participant who talked about the importance of the international education experience as a vehicle for preparing students for future work roles. As she put it:

So besides the courses and other credits that would be taken, study abroad would be a huge asset to them when they graduate and actually go into the work force and say, “change? I did it a hundred times when I was on exchange!”

For Kimberley, international experience has positive “career advantages” and has become a means for students to differentiate themselves from other job seekers in the job market. Patricia, the college manager cited above who described the shift in the field, also talked about how international experience makes a student “more employable”:
I say to them, “this will help you whether you leave the county or not. It’s a global economy and you need to know how to work within that economy even if you never leave the country. And for some of you who like to travel, you will leave. So learning another language is really important. So if you’re traveling and you take a language course and then you go and immerse yourself in that language and in that culture, you get to apply it. If you are in business or health, there are huge global issues in both of those areas and so you need to have an international experience. It will make you more employable. It will give you skills that will help you be successful”. And…I think every student should have an international experience and preferably abroad. You know, the rubber hits the pavement. I know even as an employer, I’m much more comfortable sending someone abroad for work or an employment situation if I know they can survive in another country. So there are some survival skills that also come with having an international experience.

Overall, what is emphasized in these statements is the notion that international education is an important avenue for students to gain employment competencies for an international labour market. The outcomes of international education are thus tightly tied to the needs of multi-national employers.

How can students articulate and document their competencies so that they can be of interest to future employers? Emma, a study abroad advisor, talked about how at her institution, a system was developed which would award students points for certain activities leading to a recognition of their “global competence”. Emma describes this program as follows:

We’ve just started this new letter of recognition program where students get a letter; we can’t call it a certificate because that has academic qualifications attached to it, but they gather points based on what international activity they do. And you have to collect 60 points through the various activities. The biggest chunk [is that] you get 50 points if you’ve been on an exchange or study abroad, an internship or if you’re an international student. They’re all equally 50 points…. You can get 10 points if you’ve taken 12 credits of a language or 12 credits in a subject of international significance and then you can gain 10 more points if you participated in an international program [e.g.] you worked on our radio show or if you went on a volunteer internship program.
In this description of the program, consistent with the audit culture, the focus is on documenting participation rather than the actual experiences and learning outcomes of participants. Here again it can be seen how the audit culture has impacted international education by shifting international educators work activities towards measurable outcomes.

Study abroad coordinators elaborated on ensuring that students who returned from study abroad understand how to position their experience for prospective employers. For example, Emma ran a “re-entry conference” for students returning from exchange. Her comments reveal that the primary purpose of the conference was to assist students in the marketing of their international experience. She explained:

Scotia Bank sent us a speaker; we had somebody from grad school come to talk about how to move on internationally in grad school; and somebody talked about how to find an internship internationally. Then we had a student who now works for the federal government who went on exchange who talked about the skills she learned. We had a communications consultant come and talk about the vocabulary and the skills learned. So many students [just] put on their resume “I went on exchange” -- that’s it and you’re done -- so we talked about skill sets and competencies ….. They need to know that vocabulary. So we had a communications consultant come and talk about all of that. And the most animated part of the day was her talking about how to handle an interview.

Consistent with new vocational talk, the conference did not focus on how students could transform their international experience into social change or even personal development but rather on how their international experience could be positioned as an individual competitive advantage in the job market.

The conference described by Emma was only one example of how the work activities of international student advisors were directed towards making students more attractive to employers. For example, Tammy, the international student advisor who
talked about advocating for international students, also talked about the support workshops she offers to help international students “build skills” for the labour market:

I organized a series of support workshops to teach them about the Canadian job market, the process of how to apply for a job, how to work on Canadian acceptable résumés, how to answer questions in the Canadian cultural environment, and I actually developed a special work study program for international students….We’ve identified that international students can do equally as well as Canadians in terms of being leaders so we’ve developed a special International Students Engaged in Leadership program of about 20 to 25 students interested in developing more skills through co-curricular activities, developing their management skills, time management, organizational skills, communicating [and] being a leader.

Tammy went on to talk about how international students, perhaps not initiated into this discourse of “new” vocationalism, may have difficulty “translating” their experiences into competencies that are valued by employers. She sees her role as supporting international students’ entry into the Canadian work-force by developing their “leadership skills”. But from a critical perspective, this neo-liberal version of leadership is not used to equip students with skills necessary to work effectively with others on behalf of their communities. Rather, the focus is on the development of cultural capital and specific individual skills.

At another institution in my study, international educators were involved in organizing a “leadership retreat” which aimed, in the words of the participant, to attract the “most eminent international, exchange and domestic students”. Such a conceptualization of leadership emphasizes individualism and hierarchical relationships. According to the program literature, the focus is not on fostering civic leadership but on “skill building”. As the brochure explained:

This retreat is an opportunity to explore key concepts and skills in successful leadership in Canadian and international contexts, with a special focus on cross-cultural communication and team building. It helps students gain an
understanding of the most important concepts in goal setting and success and reflect on their strengths and areas for growth. Facilitation will be provided by professional experts in business, academia, private sector and government guidance fields.

International educators thus carry out vocational programs and services that are designed to make it easier for both domestic and foreign students to work in Canada during and after their studies. As I have noted above, international educators, already familiar with development discourses, generally took for granted in the descriptions of this work specific paradigms and assumptions rooted in modernization and human capital theory. Political, social and ethical issues associated with equity discourses were present but subjugated. Their “new” vocational work processes and knowledge are thus more often articulated with neo-liberal and globalization talk, which emphasize the importance of preparing globally-competent workers for the new knowledge economy, rather than cultivating global social justice.

7.2 International Education and Immigration: A Win-Win Situation?

In Chapter Six, it was argued that international educators, in performing immigration advising and audit procedures, were re-allocating much needed resources from student support programs and services towards management systems. While the international educators were critical of the workload and resource implications involved in this shift, at the same time, they expressed support for the government’s immigration plan. This plan enables international students with Canadian degrees and Canadian work experience to more easily apply for permanent resident status from within Canada. I observed that international educators tended not to problematize how the integration of international education within the global economy is being accomplished. For example,
the incorporation of more vocational services into their work activities clearly assists with immigration purposes. Host countries such as Canada, involved in academic capitalism, see international education as an export activity that yields economic returns.

Off-campus and post-graduation work permits were positioned by international educators as positive opportunities for off-setting high tuition costs and gaining “valuable work experience”, making it easier for students to enter the Canadian labour market after they graduate. For example, Tammy’s comments reveal how the Off-Campus Work Permit Program is “just about getting permanent residency”:

The most recent new immigration policy about off campus work permits… is really a milestone of Canadian immigration policy for international students. As I’ve told you, I’ve worked in this field for 10 years and this is the very first time we had something like this in Canada. This really benefits international students in this country. Before, students were only able to work on campus [and] they thought that their job was to just to study hard and go back home. But now things are changed because almost half of students after graduation are interested in staying in Canada. With this off-campus job opportunity, they are getting more experience and that is really, really helpful for them obtaining their landed immigrant papers. So, I am interested in this because I know this is not the end. Working off campus is just about getting permanent residency.

Kimberley also talked about the shift towards integrating international students into the Canadian labour market as a “win-win’ situation. She asks:

Why don’t we…try to actually loosen up a little bit our laws to allow international students to integrate and learn more? So you’ll end up having international students who live in Canada, work in Canada, got adjusted to the whole thing. Then actually they can apply to be immigrants here, a win-win situation, really.

Kimberly’s comments are articulated to what I have referred to as “knowledge economy discourse”. In 2002, the Government of Canada released its twin innovation strategy: 

*Achieving Excellence: Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity* and *Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians*. These documents repeatedly emphasize
Canada’s need to attract skilled immigrants through international student recruitment. Here we can see how the federal government is part of ruling relations. The federal government points to the potential benefit of international students as a source of highly qualified people for Canada’s labor market, linking the development of an international student recruitment strategy with the need to increase Canada’s supply of new graduates.

One of the priorities put forward in the final report to address the “skills challenge” is to support and facilitate a coordinated international student recruitment strategy led by Canadian universities; and implement changes to immigration policies and procedures to facilitate the retention of international students. (Government of Canada, 2002b:86)

What is interesting is the emphasis not just on attracting international students but on retaining international students. It is not simply the substantial revenues generated through tuition and living expenses that make international students attractive. International students, especially international graduate students, are positioned in this discourse as potential “workers” for Canada’s knowledge economy.

In a more recent economic plan, Advantage Canada: Building a Strong Economy for Canadians (2006), the federal government states that international graduates of our own institutions are positioned to integrate successfully to our labour force and society and have much to contribute as eventual citizens. Once again the emphasis on integrating international students into the Canadian labour market upon graduation is clear. One of the stated policy objectives was to “examine ways to make it easier for Canadian-educated foreign students and temporary foreign workers to stay in Canada and become Canadian citizens” (Advantage Canada, 2006:50). CBIE, in its submission to Advantage Canada, urged the government: “to assist international graduates to settle in Canada” (2006). AUCC also argues for increased support for international students “in order to
attract the best and brightest from abroad, keep the best and brightest in Canada”. In all of
these texts, education is viewed as an industry, producing graduates and potential
employees as needed for professional occupations, business and industry. According to
this discourse, in a knowledge-based economy, higher education is important in a nation's
ability to participate in the global economy and thus the internationalization of higher
education is viewed as fundamental to Canada’s economic and strategic engagement with
other countries (Conference Board of Canada, 1999) rather that an opportunity to foster
social engagement.

Kimberley went on to identify linking immigration to international education as
“a good thing”. As she put it:

I can see the link with immigration….You see it with all the agreements the
Canadian government is signing with other countries in terms of work
abroad relationships. The Canadian government is working very closely
with the Canada Education Centre for Citizenship and Immigration. You
can see that the country wants immigrants but at the same time wants
immigrants that have been educated in Canada so they can go right away to
the work force. The system now is not really supportive for immigrants.
You know you see people coming with all of these qualifications but they
can’t work here because of accreditation issues. So, I think that this
[development] is a good thing.

The link between international student recruitment and augmenting Canada’s “human
resource capacity” is clear. International students represent an opportunity for the country
to retain knowledge and skill to assimilate into the broader community through
“employment opportunities”. In my interviews, the intent of the program was not
described necessarily as aiding students, but as benefitting the Canadian economy. From
an anti-colonial perspective, what such a discourse does not acknowledge is that
international students may view immigration as an economic necessity, not a choice.
Assimilation with “our” system has always been a mainstay of colonial and neocolonial policy (see Fanon, 1963, 1967, 1969). International educators in my study were keen to develop programs that would assist students in applying for their landed immigrant status and they talked about how, with Canadian work experience, international students will be assimilated into the labor force more quickly. Even Tammy, who took a critical perspective to her work, said:

Career focus is number one now because now that [international students] are able to work off-campus legally, they are more interested in sessions like career workshops, job postings, all these kinds of things…. They are more interested in developing career-related skills than previous students who were more interested in developing academic skills. So, because of that, when we design services and programs, not only do we need to hire staff to assist their process with immigration but also we need to have all the supporting programs, career workshops, job links, job postings, create new positions…and bring awareness and educate faculty and staff about how to hire international students [and] educate the community, our employers, about this policy. So, I think that this has played such a big role in my program design this year. I am just in the process of developing more services about helping [students] apply for landed immigrant status.

In this comment, Tammy assumes that her university was simply providing much needed services that international students themselves wanted.

One international educator with more than a decade of experience expressed concern that international students were sought for the purpose of integration into the Canadian labour market. Michael, using critical discourse, worried about the “brain drain”—the transfer of the skill and expertise of international students to Canada at the expense of their home counties, primarily in the South. Michael argued that international educators are holding out the promise of permanent residency to recruit international students. As he put it:

Well, part of my job is marketing… so it is income generation in terms of bringing in students….The international student fees will be $60,000 for the
two years. It’s gone up a lot this year and we don’t have any scholarships per se to really offer international students. Nor do we have any international loans. What we are saying to these students is that if you come in as an international student, most likely if you come to Canada, you will be able to get permanent residency. I have some real issues with that in terms of brain drain.

In the past, Canadian immigration legislation insisted that international students return home after their studies. Now, as explained earlier, the new Canada Experience Class (CEC) policy inaugurated in May 2008, will allow international post-graduate students in Canada to apply for permanent residency without having to come back to their home countries after their courses. The CEC can be seen as a key element of the Canadian government’s long term immigration plan. This intention is clearly stated in the Executive Summary to the regulations: “The CEC aims to facilitate the transition from temporary to permanent residence for certain temporary foreign workers and foreign students, thus helping to attract and retain qualified workers”. Anne, a dean in a community college with significant experience in business but less than five years experience in international education, talks about this convergence of international education and immigration policies. As she recalled:

It became clearer and clearer to me that we were going to see a convergence of policy in that area. I mean the government [has] awareness of the need of immigrants to be more effectively integrated….The international folks have been agitating for some time to allow more work experience to occur in Canada for international students, which leads to more job opportunities for those folks and it’s a natural evolution. I don’t think they, the bureaucrats, figured it out. I think they looked abroad and saw what was happening in other countries and said, “Oh gee, that’s a really good way to go in terms of bringing immigrants to the country that have a higher probability of successful integration faster at a higher position”. So, somebody’s got a Canadian degree, you know, that takes down one of the barriers if somebody’s got Canadian work experience, even if it’s only short term. That takes down some more barriers…., so there were signals that there was going to be a convergence of policy to me.
Migration and immigration are important elements in this discourse of neo-liberalism as it promotes the globalization of the labour market. Just as colonialization introduced western systems of education historically to create the human capital to manage their colonial interests, international education aims to build human capital to meet the demands of globalization (Guri, 2007). By facilitating the entry of international students into the labour force, international educators are participating in an economic system that privileges highly developed regions in the “West” over the “non-West”.

As will be discussed in the next section, there is now an increasing emphasis on not just equipping students with skills and competencies for the Canadian labour market but potential immigrants as well. In such a “new” vocationalist discourse, both international students and immigrants are framed by market discourse and treated as market actors. And most important for my analysis, this is another example of how international educators assist in the accomplishment of the neo-liberal, neo-colonial production of workers for the knowledge economy.

7.3 Participation of Adult Immigrants in International Education

Within today’s “global economy”, skilled immigrants are described as a sought-after resource in the heightened competition to improve economic performance and strength (e.g. Alboim and the Maytree Foundation 2002:2). Skilled labour shortages in Canada are identified as a serious deterrent to industry growth and global competitiveness and the need to attract and retain skilled immigrant is named in key Canadian government priorities and policies. Internationalization strategies in Ontario community colleges and universities, I am arguing here, are also being linked to the development of programs and services to be sold to internationally-trained individuals.
Community colleges have long been involved in immigrant training and settlement-work, as administrators emphasized. For example, Anne talked about her college’s longstanding involvement in “immigrant work”:

We have been doing increasing amounts of immigrant-related work. Something like over 46% of our student body identify as born outside of Canada and about a third have an ESL background...so we’ve been serving immigrants for 40 years since the college has been founded by virtue of location. As the demographics of the immigrant population have shifted, the college responded. Now it’s a critical part of our college population, a critical part of the city’s success, and so immigrant work has become increasingly important.

Anne’s institution, like most community colleges and universities in my study, offered academic bridging programs; English language training programs relevant to the workplace; opportunities for skilled immigrants to upgrade their technical skills; and co-op placements and mentorship relationships to provide opportunities for skilled immigrants to gain knowledge of Canadian workplace practices. Normally such programs and services were offered through adult or continuing education units. Rather than address barriers for internationally-trained immigrants, programs and services targeting internationally-trained professionals appear to be seen as revenue generators.

At one community college, responsibility for immigrant education was moved to the international portfolio. International educators at this institution suddenly found themselves responsible for immigrant education and were involved in the development of programs for internationally trained newcomers to “upgrade” their education acquired outside of Canada. From an anti-colonial perspective, this is building hierarchies of knowledge, but Christina talked positively about this shift towards linking training for foreign-trained professionals with international education. As she put it:
What’s interesting at this college is that we’ve linked immigrant and international stuff and we know the future of employment or skilled training in this country and birth rates… [so] it’s going to be for the immigrant. So putting wonderful monies into immigrant training and skills, which we all agree is a good thing, this is innovative…. This is forward thinking.

This is the same language that is used by the Canadian government in talking about its new Canadian Immigration Integration Project (CIIP), which is managed by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC). In commenting on why the CIIP is needed, a field worker for the program commented:

Canada has an aging population, a declining birth rate and is facing increasing global competition. Therefore, the country is looking for skilled immigrants in a big way. Hence initiatives such as CIIP are very important to increase Canada’s economic competitiveness. (Economic Times, May 1, 2008)

According to program literature, CIIP was created to improve employment prospects for new immigrants to Canada by offering orientation to soon-to-be Canadian immigrants in their home countries to better prepare them for settlement in Canada (Retrieved October 25, 2008 from http://ciip.accc.ca/). CIIP field officers will provide clients with group sessions and one-on-one counselling leading to their Individual Integration Plan (IIP) which links immigrants to training and education institutions in Canada (Retrieved on October 25, 2008 from http://ciip.accc.ca/).

By linking immigrant education to international education, post-secondary institutions are using their already-developed international recruitment infrastructure to ensure that immigrants are targeted before they even arrive in Canada. Anne elaborated on her institution’s involvement in CIIP, which included offering on-line advising to potential immigrants in China. As she explained:
The ACCC was funded by the Federal Government to do a little overseas delivery project. The intent of that project is to deliver services overseas starting with advising services for immigrants before they come here. So, for me, that is an example of what I think we need to do…which is build the capacity to deliver overseas.

Not only are community colleges receiving funding to offer such training overseas, but through such programs, the colleges are marketing their own services and training to immigrants. The linking of international and immigrant education would appear from Amanda’s comments to be strongly motivated by the expectation of profit. She pointed out that

- [t]he original focus was recruiting students and then we realized we were out and about doing that and there were a lot of other business opportunities with government, industry and other institutions whereby we could get more revenue – like immigrant training. The international group was a tiny small group of half a dozen people and now it’s over 50. And we’ve got full-time recruiters and the list just goes on and on. It’s just it’s a huge source of revenue for the college right now.

International education, as can be seen in such commentary, is now part of a deliberate immigration strategy. I found it interesting to observe that cash-strapped university departments were also implementing training programs for international-trained professionals, now that community colleges have demonstrated the profitability of such revenue-generating activities. In the context of increasing internationalization of education, the international educator ensures a flow of qualified workers to Canada, whether as international students or as immigrants. At the same time, at an individual level, the value of the strategy of providing educational services to newcomers cannot be understated, since immigrants with professional training and credentials earned in other countries frequently encounter obstacles to having their qualifications recognized in order to work in their professions in Canada. Yet, most studies highlight that it is the non-
recognition of credentials rather than a lack of education or training that is the problem

Participants also spoke about a trend towards international corporate training, especially in the community colleges. Again, this is not surprising, as Canadian international education has historically exhibited a definite focus on skill training (Hurabielle, 1998). What is new is the increasing numbers of partnerships between business, industry, and education. Amanda describes her institution's involvement in training workers with knowledge and skills to meet the challenges of the “new economic order”:

I’m starting to see more groups in the corporate training side right now. I see more groups come here to take advantage of a short term program like a month or two months or two weeks where they can get an experience being in Canada and then learn something. I’ve seen more professional groups come and I’m also seeing us being asked to bring our curriculum into different governments or businesses because sometimes it’s just too expensive to get a group of people coming over and staying for a period of time. But bringing our programs customized over to that industry or that area in that country [is feasible]. People are looking for exposure to something other than what they’re used to in their country. They are looking for that and sometimes it’s North American practices. Because the more global you get, the more you’re talking to someone from another part of the world and you need to communicate with them and the only way you can do that is to understand how they operate. For example, last summer we entertained a group of 25 bankers from Beijing. The reason they were coming was to understand how banking is done in the Western world in preparation for the Olympics.

Here the emphasis is on short-term, practical workforce training which is purely instrumental and consists of simply imparting skills immediately required by industry. The training is not truly “global”, since it is unilaterally oriented towards how it is done in the “Western World”. From an anti-colonial perspective, this reinforces an economic agenda that seeks to preserve Western dominance in the global economy. It is also no
surprise that the training is in international business. These partnerships appeared first and such partnerships are still most popular in business, computer science, engineering, IT or other areas deemed “profitable”. Not only does this “specialization” in professional and technical programs by “Western” providers limit diversity in the provision of higher education, but it leaves the more costly and less commercial courses to local higher education institutions, often in the so-called “developing” world. The college manager Patricia also described how her institution is becoming more “business minded” in its operations:

[In the future] I think you’re going to see a bigger partnership between industry and educational institutions doing work abroad where we actually have people investing in projects abroad. Which would involve us doing the education piece and then perhaps promoting their equipment or their industry or whatever. I think that will be a big trend where you will see venture money. Not just from Canadians but from other people. You’ll see those partnerships. We’re approached often by people with venture money who say, “I want to open this industry and will you do the educational piece?” So with that comes a lot of things we’ve talked about already, management and business development. So I think there’s a real demand for us to become more business-minded in our operations abroad.

Patricia’s comments emphasize that international education is being used as a platform to promote business interests here in Canada and abroad. Almost invariably, international educators viewed such partnerships as beneficial and as a natural and positive outcome of globalization. Amanda, cited above, went so far as to predict that partnerships with business and industry would trump recruiting students in the future of international education. She predicted:

So… I think that’s the future: where it’s not only students anymore in the institution. It is adults [working] in businesses and industry and governments saying, “You know what? We have to upgrade our employees and make them more global because we’ve opened up subsidiaries around the world. And we have to figure out how we’re going to train our employees to interact with other people around the world but
the only way to do that is to understand how they operate”. So I’m seeing it moving to the industry side more and more and very practical stuff. This isn’t just coming to [our institution] to learn “Marketing 101”. This is not just theory but applied learning. That’s what the colleges are good at. So they come to us more so than universities to do that because we’re [into] vocational training and we seem to have a reputation for that. So I’m starting to see [us] moving away from just students coming to take a program or diploma or degree to industries upgrading employees.

These comments suggest that the link between post-secondary institutions and the workforce has become stronger and broader. Amanda’s comments also suggest that international educators can be easily drawn into “lifelong learning” discourse or what Amanda calls “upgrading employees”. The discourses of lifelong learning and the learning society are dominant in the new educational order envisaged by international educators, as evidenced by the comments above. This new vocational pedagogy is highly individualized and often oriented to employer interests. Just as human capital theory provided impetus for local educational development assistance in the past, then, neoliberal strategies such as the adoption of market behaviours, entrepreneurship and business models are evidence of the continued presence of modernization and human capital ideas in international education.


The focus of the discussion thus far has been on the development of students’ global competencies, the assimilation of international students and immigrants into the Canadian economy and emergent new partnerships between Canadian institutions and businesses: all evidence of the “new” vocationalism in international education. But international educators are also encouraging students to incorporate international work experiences into their international education. This is not simply to prepare domestic
graduates to work in a more global business environment, but also to cultivate what is
touted as “global citizenship”. Some international educators felt that volunteering or
working overseas, especially in so-called developing counties, provides social benefits
for those countries. Rather than focus on international education as “talent forming”, their
goal was to develop “global citizens”. This discourse called for developing study and
work opportunities in so-called developing countries to assist students in developing an
understanding of “injustice”, “prejudice” and “privilege”. While this conceptualization of
mobility may appear altruistic, my analysis of the talk of international educators in the
next section will suggest that ultimately, the focus on global citizenship is on the
individual student’s personal and self-development rather than on sustainable community
development. At the same time, using relational discourses, international educators
indicated that they are open to pedagogical strategies that allow students to interrogate
not just the “other” but the self in relation to others and thereby the process of learning
from each other, leaving some hope for consciousness-raising.

Relevant to their focus on the so-called “developing” countries was my observation
that more than one international educator expressed concern with a lack of study abroad
destinations beyond the traditional Western European sites. As Andrew, for example, put
it:

Definitely what I’m interested in and where I see the most potential for
international education is not just sending students to Australia but sending
students somewhere where they can really understand injustice.

International educators also worried about an increase in students studying abroad for a
semester or less. Matthew, for example, critiqued this phenomenon as having the
potential to be merely “academic tourism”. In his words:
I would hope that there’s a combination of really giving students as much opportunity to experience as many different things as possible. A four month long academic exchange—it’s kind of the gold seal of mobility experiences. But also continuing to encourage students to work overseas, to volunteer overseas to do something beyond just a brief study period is important too. We do a little bit along these lines. But most of what we do is “academic tourism” so to speak, where you have a course that happens to be taught in Milan during the summer over three weeks and you get course credit with one of our professors who’s teaching the course. It’s somewhere else which is all well and good and it’s a good experience for the students. But, it’s a course that’s given on a pass/fail basis. So as long as you can scrape by, then our students don’t worry all that much about what kind of work they actually accomplish there. It is more about having fun and meeting people and making connections and that kind of thing. Getting them to look beyond that, to look beyond the counting [of] credits, to see it as a broader kind of developmental process—to socialize them to view the world rather than simply downtown Toronto—it’s a challenge.

Matthew suggests that working or volunteering overseas offers more of an opportunity for immersion and facilitates more meaningful learning outcomes. And, as I have explained in previous chapters, international educators also believed that experiential international education offered an opportunity to transform traditional classroom and study abroad activities.

Few participants described their programs as academic tourism. Instead, working overseas was positioned as a way for students to gain practical experience and understand the application of the knowledge they were acquiring in classrooms. Michael, for example, commented:

So a study trip, that’s one level. Then the next level might be a study abroad experience and that’s when you go into another country where you may or may not have a language so you don’t get the cultural nuances. The next level is work abroad, which I think is sort of almost… the pinnacle of an international experience.

Matthew talked about how institutions are offering more financial support for students to become involved in such international work experiences. He linked such support to the
traditional role of universities in graduating students with “knowledge of the world around them” combined with what he terms “intercultural sensitivity”. As he put it:

Another thing that we are working on right now that has been a big part of my job is what we’re calling the International Work Experience Fund. It’s specifically geared to internships, co-ops, placements, etc. and it offers financial support to get students to consider going overseas…. So the students who are serious about their discipline will have a chance to see that there are other approaches and will actually be able to meet, shake hands with and speak to people from outside of Canada as a way to encourage them again to think internationally…. You know, it’s a globalizing world…like I wrote on the home page for our website…. It kind of moves a modern university to instil international sensitivity within students. That’s part of our job, in a sense, to make sure that they’re graduating with more than just knowledge of their discipline but to have a knowledge of the world around them and how it works and you know where they fit in…. So to add that kind of inter-cultural sensitivity—that international awareness—that’s part of what universities are meant to do for their students…and I think with these kinds of programs you can lead a horse to water but you can’t make them drink….But you know, we can make it really attractive by offering funding for students.

I discovered that international educators in universities, like Matthew, activated discourses which showcased the importance of “intercultural sensitivity” whereas international educators in colleges tended to activate discourses which prioritized “skill development”. Matthew promotes international internships in so-called developing countries as a way to “instil international sensitivity within students,” unlike study abroad programs which represent a more passive approach to learning. He deploys an equity discourse as he talks about how such an approach also helps students to develop an understanding of privilege. In his words:

I think it’s important to develop awareness in some way of how lucky we are. I think it’s something (not to put down the average undergraduate) that the average undergraduate doesn’t grasp, just how privileged the society we live in is and how privileged we are. You don’t necessarily get big picture issues like that by going to your marketing class. At [this institution] we make students take what we call liberal study credits but they’re not necessarily taken seriously. So a lot of students graduate without much real
knowledge of the world beyond as it pertains to their particular area of study. There is kind of a growing vocational outlook on higher education.

To assist students with developing knowledge of the world that goes beyond their particular area of study, Matthew goes on to talk about the importance of access to an “overseas development assistance eligible country”. He explains:

The idea is that students are meant to go—we don’t like using the word “developing” countries, so we use the term identified by CIDA as an “overseas development assistance eligible country”—which gives us a nice solid list. Students go for at least four weeks to volunteer or intern or work unpaid in one of those countries…. So it’s meant to be related to one of the development goals and also related to their academic program. This is what we are encouraging students to do: to find a link not only between themselves and a career here in [city] but also look into other stuff further…I mean that’s the kind of thing that we’re excited about, experiential learning rather than just classroom learning. Going beyond the comfort zone so to speak. So rather than travel to France or Italy or the UK or somewhere nice where you know that you are not really going to get shaken up too much, instead students should go somewhere that’s really going to change the students’ perspective on the world.

In this discourse, it is assumed that by sending students to destinations beyond “the comfort zone” that they will develop a more critical understanding of the world.

Kimberley talks about the importance of involving students in international development rather than sending them to “fancy places”. In her words:

Involvement in international development would also be an area I would like to see to see grow here. I can see the value of students participating in international development initiatives. Exchanges are great, going to another institution, studying there and going to Europe and all those fancy places, is great. But actually, when you compare it with the students who have been involved in international development, the value of that experience is sometimes greater. What we say normally when we ask students to submit a proposal for funding programs is that, “we want you to write a proposal where you can highlight the three main development areas: what is it going to do for you in the academic area, in the professional area and in the personal development area?” I would say that exchange programs probably would have a bit of everything, but it’s the students who are involved in international development that are getting the benefit equally from the three areas.
Kimberley’s comments about “fancy places” show recognition that study abroad experiences become cultural capital that students use to differentiate themselves on the job market. But what about “new” vocational discourses of study abroad that she and Matthew espouse? Is this “new” vocational discourse really different than the talk of international educators in the previous chapters about facilitating student employment outcomes through international degree and study abroad programs? Or does it represent just another form of neo-colonialism?

Seen from an anti-colonial perspective, a reference to visiting “developing countries” potentially promotes a new “civilising mission”. Awareness that this situation is problematic is expressed by a few international educators. For example, critiquing AUCC’s Students for Development program (which brings together Canadian university students and partners in countries of the south to contribute to governance capacity-building), Carolyn, a university manager, remarks that she worries when you see programs called Students for Development, where we are giving $10,000 to a graduate student to go somewhere and they are supposed to come back and show how they contributed to good governance. That is just the most pompous thing I have ever heard of. I think it shows no respect for anybody in another country.... I think we need to be very careful about [whether] we are really creating an intellectual colonization. We are not going there and taking over the land [this time], we are going over there and saying here’s a way of thinking and we are the colonizers. You need to be governing this way--you need us to tell you how to do things…and it’s all sort of very well intentioned. And they’re there to help, but it implies a certain superiority.

Carolyn is concerned that there is no notion of reciprocity or partnership underpinning such programs. As another critic of the program has asked: Is this students for development or development for students? (Lehr, 2008). The program does not cover any of the host organization’s administrative costs, nor does it allow for reciprocal internships
by which the host organization would send employees to the Canadian education
institution for training. By participating in such endeavours, the work of international
educators is articulated to a set of relations that positions Canadian students as the direct
beneficiaries of the experience at the expense of the host.

Carolyn’s comments also draw attention to the potential reproduction of power
relations and violence(s) similar to those in colonial times, this time accomplished
through by international education; she even uses the term “intellectual colonization”. As
noted above, the promotion of study broad to non-traditional destinations has been
referred to as the “pursuit of exotica” (Woolf, 2006) or the production of “intellectual
tourists, voyeurs, and vagabonds” (Roman, 2003). This “intellectual tourism” is premised
on a conception of deploying boundaries that render some people, cultures, and countries
strange and unfamiliar but subject to tourist exchanges and interchanges.

Relevant to this critique is my observation that a number of colleges and
universities in my study were engaged in international service learning. International
service learning integrates academic learning with volunteer work. It is justified by a
discourse that international service learning makes the international/intercultural
experience of students more meaningful. Carolyn, who was worried about intellectual
colonization, was also sceptical of the claim that international service learning fosters
relationships of reciprocity. As she commented:

Service Learning [has] started to come into fashion. Having heard a speech
by Colin Powell at the last NAFSA convention, I think there was no hiding
the fact that Service Learning and being of service to people around the
world is basically an attempt to spread American (you don’t want to say)
propaganda, but an image of helping the world and also to proliferate
American values in a well-meaning way for the individuals involved. The
idea was to go out and help people and show them that Americans really
aren’t all that bad. It also unfortunately, I think, has overtones of
Caroline critiques international service learning as part of a globalist helping regime that is rooted in a colonial past. Andrew also shared his concern about those who presume to understand global problems and present solutions. He agreed with Caroline that:

Service Learning has a lot of problems. Development was tried in the ‘60s and the ‘70s and we were sending people over that were completely unqualified to do any volunteering or helping out thinking that they were going to change the world, save the community and then come home and then that was it! That has re-emerged and we’re just a bit baffled by the support and the recognition that it’s getting here. A new position was created a month ago, a permanent position in [service learning], yet all of our jobs are on temporary contract. We all expire in April. Yet, a permanent job was created in [service learning] even though there has been research which has studied the detriments of service learning! There is a lot of proof that while it sounds good, it’s not the best way to do things.

While Andrew, with Caroline, is sceptical that students “for Development” are engaged in a mutually beneficial mission, it is also theoretically interesting to note his comments about how international service learning at his institution has competed successfully against other programs for resources. At his institution, his work coordinating study abroad has been upstaged by international service learning. His critique of service learning is that “there’s very little reciprocity. Those students in those communities won’t get a chance to come here”. But this critique could also be made of his study abroad programs which are unilateral. That is, although international educators are sending students abroad, the foreign host university sometimes cannot afford to send its students abroad (Gillespie 2002:274). From an anti-colonial perspective, international educators
should be sceptical of international service learning and its claim to be a mechanism to promote global citizenry. But other programs are subject to the same critique. All international educators, whether engaged in traditional study abroad, internship/work abroad or international service learning, have a responsibility to work collaboratively with the local community and develop non-exploitative relationships.

7.5 Disjuncture: Global Citizenship versus “This Whole Jargon of Knowledge, Economy and Research”

In summary, international educators, as part of their everyday work, are caught up in an educational process that is promoted as preparing students for a “competitive and globalized world”. As the above excerpts from my interviews illustrate, this approach did not go unchallenged by international educators. Angela, as a senior international educator, was well aware of the discourse of human capital theory that is part of the justification of international education in Canada. She critiqued:

[t]his whole jargon about knowledge, economy and research…connected to producing “human resources” that have the skill sets to work…that kind of jargon. It is not a cultural activity at all. It has nothing to do with educational culture at all and that’s very problematic.

Other international educators were clearly concerned about initiatives that prioritize economic interests over the pedagogical process. To counter the vocational trend in international education which focuses on the production of global tourists, international educators chose instead to circulate a discourse of what they term global citizenship. Carolyn, for example, objected that “we might be very good at creating travelers, but we’re not very good at creating global citizens”. She elaborated:

I think it’s quite possible to have students come back with some stereotypes. Yes, they do things different there, but why? If we are not helping students answer the why, if we’re just saying “Oh look, they do things different there”,

then we’re not doing the deep critical thinking that universities should be responsible for. What I keep saying around here is that we might be very good at creating travelers, but we’re not very good at creating global citizens and there’s a very big difference. And global citizens, I think, have to do with how you take what you see when you’re away, what you encounter when you’re talking to people from other cultures here and [how you] incorporate that into your daily life with an awareness of how your activities in Canada impact people in other countries, or how things you’ve seen in other countries could help make Canada better.

Carolyn went on to express a concern that only a small minority of students are "globally competent", as she puts it:

Even if we throw money at students, which we don’t, but if we did, probably we’d get about 20 percent of our student body saying “I want to go somewhere”. That means that 80 percent of our students are never going anywhere really. So what do we do for them? If our goal as an institution is to create global citizens, does that mean we’re only creating 20 percent global citizens?

In their resistance to mainstream justifications of international education, international educators might reframe international education as “global citizenship” but they had to admit that enrolment trends do not support the proposition that post-secondary institutions are doing a good job of educating “global citizens”. Here Carolyn was concerned with ensuring equal access to these global citizenship opportunities. But it might also be asked which conceptualization of citizenship is embedded in her institution's international education programs?

One critique of global citizenship discourse is its assumption that global citizens will require specific knowledge, skills and attitudes in order to compete in a global economy. Virginia’s comments reveal this instrumental approach to global citizenship. She said:

I think that you need to believe in global citizenship first of all. I think education is one of the tools that we can use to promote cultural understanding and good global citizenship. So I think that that has to be sort
What is the “global citizenship” being referred to here? In Virginia’s version, it functions to prepare students for the workforce. But what about broader citizenship and social responsibility? The emphasis on servicing the global economy is also evident when Amanda talks about how her institution’s agenda is to create “global citizens”. In her words:

This college anyways had an extremely strong international vision of being a global school. So we’re trying to create these global citizens: that’s our agenda…. We have a new global citizenship course. Every student who graduates from this school has to take the course…. They have developed a curriculum; basically it’s teaching students how to interact and talk to each other to learn about each other.

In this discourse global education is a “skill set” to be acquired in a course. There is a sense here that students simply need to understand the way the world works and learn the nuances of other countries and ways of life, or develop what can be called “multicultural literacy”. This instrumental or competency-based approach to international or global citizenship education works against a pedagogy that seeks to understand power and privilege.

Pedagogy mattered to the international educators in my study. They agreed that global realities will shape the world of the early 21st century. However, again, what constitutes “global citizenship?” What conceptions of “good” global citizenship do international education programs aim to develop? Despite the claim that international education is a means to provide an education for global citizenship, I would argue, with some of my informants, that the field lacks a more equity-based sense of what constitutes
global citizenship. Understandably, this fuzziness may well arise from the institutional push to justify and advance international programs. What should be part of the field is a critical understanding of the different conceptions of global citizenship embedded in our international education programs and how these facilitate or interrupt neo-colonial power relations.

7.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore how international education programs, namely traditional study abroad programs as well as academic bridging programs for foreign trained professionals and international service learning programs, are articulated to neo-colonial power relations. The appeal of developing a “world-class knowledge base” is that these skills are supposed to lead to Canada’s social and “economic advancement”. International education programs are thus being used to develop “global competencies” in students (which are described as highly valued by Canadian employers) to target “the best and the brightest” international students as potential workers for our economy and to recruit skilled immigrants in their country of origin in order to attract skilled labour to Canada. International education is thus linked to a larger “knowledge advantage” discourse and becomes a means by which to service the interest of global capital. In order to resist this capitalist-talk, international educators must not only critique the vocational focus of this approach but also how international education is furthering global inequities. Colonial schools were historically “directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture” (Kelly and Altbach, 1984:4). But arguably, international education today still attempts to “strip colonized people away from their indigenous learning
structures and draw them toward the structures of the colonizers” (Kelly and Altbach, 1984:3). Although the context of the situation is different, the intent of the "colonizers" towards assimilation into “civilization” is the same.
Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.0 Introduction

Why has international education become such a major focus for post-secondary education in Canada? Why has it become an imperative to have a certain percentage of our student population be “international”? Why do proponents of international education argue that the acquisition of an international literacy is a necessity for a globalized world? As my study has documented, economic power relations coordinate the work activities of international educators and stress the importance of developing human capital and income generation. International educators are doing much to prepare students from other countries to be active participants in the Canadian labour market and are also preparing Canadian students for participation in a global economy. In the process, they develop their expertise and professionalism.

But a more critical perspective shows that the professionalism of international educators is partly top-down. That is, it is mediated by trans-local discourses of neo-liberal globalization and neo-colonialism. International educators are especially vulnerable to the market effect as they are directly involved in revenue generating activities such as international student recruitment and educational export. My use of institutional ethnography in this study has revealed that to the extent that international educators “buy into” what I have called top-down professionalism, they relinquish their professional autonomy and prioritize organizational interests (e.g. market-like behaviours) over their own everyday/night experiences. At the same time, international educators circulated a relational discourse that emphasized the value of caring relations and some refused to be administratively managed. That is, international educators see
themselves as professionals and support a professional project not only to strengthen their own professional identities—by activating academic, social and cultural rationales, they also aim to “make the world a better place”. A tension was identified between managerial discourses and international educators’ experiential knowledge. These international educators articulated a discomfort with professionalism as it did not fit with their everyday/everynight experiences, which was where my analysis began.

In this concluding chapter, I aim to provide a summary of how things work in international education and the possibilities suggested by my interpretations. Institutional ethnographies explore ruling relations to show how these forms of domination are put together in order to make resistance and progressive change possible. So, I also want to talk about the possibilities inherent in the reformulation of international education and the re-conceptualization of the professional project of international educators. Finally, I will point out some theoretical implications of my study as well as future directions and some reflections on the research process itself.

8.1 Summary and Theoretical Implications

What is important about my institutional ethnography is the discovery and analysis of relations of power within which international educators live and work. My problematic for this study is, in part, a strategy of making the work of international educators more visible. By focusing on the work of international educators, my institutional ethnography made visible the activities of a specific group of neglected general administrative staff and more importantly, explicated the power relations that coordinate their work and professional knowledge. What my institutional ethnography explores is how the work activities of international educators are organized as neo-liberal
practices that accomplish market-oriented/new managerial international activities of audit and accountability (as well as how these are resisted).

Institutional ethnography is not a theory-generating method *per se* as it provides an analytic description or “map” of specific institutional relations (McCoy 1999:245). Though there is much more to be learned about the power relations that structure international higher education, by utilizing aspects of institutional ethnography, I was able to use international educators’ experiences as an entry point to understand how institutional power pervades international educators’ work-lives.

For example, their talk reveals shifts brought about by managerial discourses which, I argue, are fundamentally altering international higher education. International educators talk about experiencing stress trying to meet the instrumental requirements of neo-liberal regimes of university governance. My aim was to provide a unique view of the restructuring of the modern university in an era of globalization. This has been theorized by other scholars in higher education—what my research identifies are the ways in which the interactions of managerialism, corporatisation, audit and marketisation impact upon and are enacted through international educators’ work.

The professional lives of general university administrators who work in the so-called “ivory basement” (Eveline and Booth, 2004) is an underexplored area. By focusing on the everyday/night activities of international educators and the ways in which institutional power relations are experienced by international educators, I have contributed to the small but significant literature on general staff in higher education which aims to address this invisibility.
As well, my analysis suggests that some international educators are struggling with technologies of managerialism, audit and accountability. My findings resonate with the literature in higher education that suggests that the institutional form of post-secondary institutions is fundamentally changing under the hegemony of neo-liberalism (Scott, 1998). As Schugurensky (2006:307) argues, the concepts of a “service university” or the “entrepreneurial university” are central to understanding current changes in higher education but by focusing on the relationship between the universities and the market, we should not overlook the changing relationship between the university and the state. The heteronomous university includes a “commercial university” and a “controlled” university. The "controlled university", in turn, is justified on a discourse of effectiveness, efficiency and accountability. My study contributes to a better understanding of how this discourse is enacted and resisted in a specific institutional setting - international higher education.

While many theorists have commented on the growing commercialization of higher education, scholars have called for a more detailed investigation of the role that members of the academic community play in the adoption of market-like behaviour (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). My study thus contributes to the academic capitalism literature by documenting how international education practices are articulated to ruling relations of academic globalization and how such discourses are produced, used and taken up by international educators themselves. My understanding of managerialism as a form of governmentality suggests that international educators also implicate themselves in their own governance.
My study also contributes to the critical literature on the professions. My analysis takes up Evetts’ (2003a: 396) suggestion that we need to explore the appeal of the ideal of the profession and professionalism and its increased use in professional work contexts. I provide an example of how the discourse of professionalism is used to secure managerial objectives in international education. However, the professional project cannot be seen as a finished project. There are gaps and fissures as some international educators reject professional expertise in favor of their experiential knowledge. While international educators are eager to obtain the status and recognition that comes with being “professional”, they are wary of totalizing professional knowledge(s). Instead, they question what counts as professional knowledge. Their experience or “embodied knowing”, much of it strained by the conditions of NPM, makes them wary of what I have called top-down professionalism which is being transmitted through international education professional associations such as IEAC and international education training programs like IETP. There is a tension between the “bottom-up” professional project of international educators rooted in grass-roots experience and the “top-down” professional project articulated by ruling institutions. Hence, I hope my research project will make visible the tensions and contradictions in the professional project of international educators and the consequences for their work. The challenge remains for international educators to reconsider the everyday details of how their experiential knowledge base relates to political, moral and ethical issues.

Perhaps of most value is my attempt to explicate how the complex practices of internationalization, globalization and professionalization are coordinated within a neo-colonial framework. Loomba (1998 in Dei 2006:7) has observed that European
colonialism is a complex rather than monolithic phenomena which calls upon anti-colonial scholars to “be attentive to these nuances and at the same time find shared attributes and features of power and resistance.” The introduction of managerial and audit technologies which displace international educators’ experience are hooked into other technologies, those of economic neo-liberal globalization and intellectual educational neo-colonialism. These discourses represent processes at the level of international finance and governance. My analysis and interpretation has demonstrated how international education contributes to neo-colonial expansion and has problematized the discursive intersectionalities of such global inequality.

Three conclusions are discussed in the sections that follow. First, is the theory that discourses of managerialism are subjugating international educators’ work-lives to increasing demands for productivity, resulting in work-intensification. This occurs because as an absorbing group, international educators are also enacting a discourse of “good-will” to find meaning in their work. However, such a discourse is firmly situated within educational colonialism. It is also not surprising that women and racialized workers have borne the brunt of this restructuring. This is consistent with other studies which have found women to be taking the strain in order to fulfil the broader aims of the academy (see Deem, 1998; Eveline and Booth, 2004). Second, is the evidence for the rise of an “audit culture” and how an “accounting logic” is transforming international educators work as demands for “accountability” and “quality assurance”. These activities, I found, create a host of auditable structures. Although international educators resist some of the new practices associated with these audit discourses, their technocratic professional project activates and circulates audit technologies of risk management, competitive inter-
institutional comparisons and surveillance. Finally, using anti-colonial theory, I identified neo-colonial discourses that are organizing international educators’ work and professional experiences. International educators were aware of the critique of “development discourse,” but the challenge is to address these critiques in their everyday work. I will now explore each of these findings in more detail.

8.1.1 Managed and Managerial Professionals

Just as Rhoades (1998) argues that faculty are “managed professionals”, my investigation revealed that “new managerialism” is exerting significant pressure upon the working lives of international educators. Inadequate funding from provincial governments have forced universities to look in new directions for the fiscal resources that they need to preserve the quality and viability of their programs and resources. Rather than focus attention on declining government funds to universities and the marketization of higher education, international educators are instead expected to cut costs and improve the value for money of services being offered.

Studies on managerialism in higher education have identified the ways in which managerial practices have placed increased demands upon the time of academics resulting in work intensification (Anderson, 2006:580) as individual performances are shifted towards higher levels of productivity (Davies, 2005:4). But virtually no studies have documented the impact of impossible workloads and expectations upon general university staff. My conversations with international educators revealed that new managerial practices of work intensification are impacting upon their working lives, resulting in increased levels of stress and a feeling of being overworked and overburdened. International educators talked about the intensification of their work,
reduced resources and increased expectations and revealed that a neo-liberal discourse of new managerialism was organizing their experiences. Furthermore, the fact that most international educators are women and women of color suggested that the re-structuring experienced in the workplace was gendered and racialized. The racialized gendering of the international education profession is the specific, local consequences of globalization and neo-liberalism.

But I also found in the comments of international educators evidence of resistance of this “top-down” professionalism. Specifically, relationships of collegiality, collaboration and collectivity can be seen as localised strategies that some commentators have suggested could resist the imperatives of individualization, competition and responsibilization of workers (Davis, 2005: 16). This insight in my research suggests that a simple faculty-versus-administrative view of how post-secondary education works is too facile. In my experience, as both an administrator and international educator, some faculty hold a negative view towards “administrators”. Front-line managers, confused with senior administrators, are viewed as the instruments of managerialism and corporatization and their institutional power is overestimated. But from my analysis of the comments of international educators, it is clear that the conditions of NPM have created the same strains for front-line managers as for faculty. At the same time, as Angela notes, international educators also mistakenly assume that faculty are unresponsive to the conditions of their work. She suggests that:

You have to engage both sides [administrators and faculty] in dialogue together…. I think there’s a [false] separation there. I would be happy the day that international educators don’t consider academics totally crazy, you know, like out of their sphere and they stop talking about teaching faculty how to be international…. I think the day we change that mode [of thinking] we have gone six steps ahead.
In Angela’s opinion, what is needed is more dialogue between international education, administrators and faculty since they are all in the same boat. As she says:

So I think, for me, a training program would involve getting international educators educated about what their profession is all about: questioning themselves as educationalists and engaging in conversation and discussions alongside policymakers and academics--that’s what I would say is really needed.

A common theme in higher education management literature is the tension associated with interaction between academics and administrators (Conway, 1998). As Conway, a university administrator herself, notes, a competitive approach will not help institutions survive in the current political and economic environment and effective collaboration between the two groups is now of paramount importance (2008:4). However, the opposite is, in fact, occurring as administration is becoming a separate and specialised occupation. These processes are assessed to be well-advanced in US universities (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and so it is not surprising to find them in a Canadian setting.

At the same time, I was struck by how committed international educators are to the institutions where they work despite that many of the organizational and managerial effects were perceived as unhelpful, intrusive and potentially harmful. As noted above, international educators activate discourses of “global good-will” to find meaning and value in their work. However, this discourse of humanism and benevolence is rooted in an imperialist and neo-colonialist past. Such a narrative of helping the “Other” is embedded in colonial thinking as international educators are expected to take on roles within a centre/periphery model with the “West” helping “the Rest”, which serves to reinforce colonial stereotypes of the “knowing colonizer”. One of my recommendations is that international educators must also become aware of how their discourse of “good-
will” produce and sustain unequal power dynamics between professionals and so-called “beneficiaries”.

8.1.2 The Technocratic Professional Project of International Educators

International education has been particularly affected by the rapid and relentless spread of coercive technologies of “accountability”, “quality assurance” and “accreditation”. My research shows how the international education profession has adopted these auditing procedures and has been instrumental in the growth of an audit culture. For example, the development of management systems to track international students study/work permits have contributed to a culture of surveillance and monitoring. The increase in immigration accountability requirements through reporting and audit has also shifted international educators work activities from coordinating programs that enhance the educational and social experience of international students towards immigration advising. International educators also increasingly use international rankings to ensure “prestige” partnerships with “quality” institutions. In the education market-place, international rankings are an assumed indicator of the quality of educational provision in their institution. Unfortunately, ranking says very little about the ‘quality’ of such institutions – rather than protect students from the market, rankings may actually divert attention from some of the central purpose of higher education (Marginson, 2007). As well, institutions are adopting risk and responsibility protocols in study abroad, largely to minimize institutional risk to reduce the chances of any legal action be taken against them with respect to study abroad activities (LeBlanc, 2003). International educators’ professionalism also emerged as a set of values that could be mobilized by institutions as a form of self-discipline in my research.
Specifically, I theorized that international educators are absorbing groups which operate to absorb the management tasks involved in an “audit culture” and that educational institutions capitalize on the “professional” work of international educators. At the same time, international educators’ were wary of expert knowledge and used their own personal knowledge(s) and experiences to resist some of these so-called “reforms”. Unfortunately, international educators’ professional curriculum (e.g. IETP Program) revealed that international educators’ professional curriculum is furthering managerialism in higher education rather than encouraging critical reflection.

8.1.3 International Educators as Neo-Colonialists?

International students are increasingly regarded as future workers of their host countries, and over the last few years, immigration policies have adapted to this new environment by facilitating the settlement of foreign students (Tremblay, 2004:15). My study shows how the work activities of international educators are increasing directed towards an immigration advising function and are articulated to specific government agencies like the CIC. Furthermore, colleges and universities are now offering academic bridging programs to assist newly arrived immigrants to enter the job market as quickly as possible. Many of these programs are costly and are in danger of becoming directed by the requirements of the labour market.

Participants in my research gave ample evidence that not only are international students and immigrants recruited in the service of global capital but there seems to be renewed emphasis on study abroad as a means of enhancing the international and inter-cultural skills of domestic students for participation in the global knowledge economy. Institutions of higher education and provincial governments see student exchange
programs as a vital way of completing in the global market place and maintaining economic strength. Student mobility schemes are understood to be especially well-suited to “equip our domestic talent pool with the knowledge, skills and experience necessary to reinforce Canada’s leadership in a global knowledge economy” (CBIE, 2007).

Internships or international service learning placements in so-called developing countries are viewed by international educators as an alternative to forms of “academic tourism”, short-term study abroad experiences mainly in Western Europe. International educators talk revealed that they felt that international service learning activities enhanced global civic participation skills and were an alternative to more vocationally-oriented international activities. Unfortunately, such conceptions of global participation are narrowly construed and tend to embody an individualistic vision of global citizenship to the advantage of the “North” and the degradation of the “South”. Furthermore, such experiences are too often a continuation of exploitative and demeaning colonial relationships rather than partnerships based upon mutuality and reciprocity. As Lutterman-Aguilar and Gingerich (2002) remind us:

Given study abroad’s goal of educating for responsible global citizenship, international experiential educators must grapple with these ethical questions regarding their relationship to the communities in which students are placed and ensure that their programs are not undermining their goal of increasing global understanding by instead engaging in acts of cultural invasion.

Given that international service learning programs often seek to place students in so-called developing countries, how do we ensure that these communities benefit as well? A challenge for international education is that educators must be careful not to reinforce the polarity between “us” and “them”. But concern for social aspects of “development” have taken a back seat to entrepreneurship and the implementation of business models
congruent with neo-liberalism (Hurabielle, 1998:150). As Federici and Caffestzis (2004) note, this “recolonialization” is at the core of globalization and this neo-liberal agenda will undermine the production and distribution of knowledge in so-called developing nations.

8.2 My Recommendations

One of the goals of institutional ethnography is to explicate ruling relations with the purpose of social transformation. By showing how international educators participate in or are hooked up into institutional relations, I hope to provide international educators with a “map” of how things work so that these “ruling relations” may be subverted and an alternative professionalization strategy may be pursued.

My research revealed moments of disjuncture or disquiet providing a place for international educators to begin to engage in oppositional work. According to Tobias (2003), sites of continuing professional learning and education may usefully be conceptualized as sites of struggle, and the areas of tension and contradiction must inform debates about the aims, purposes and structure of continuing education, about who should gain access to what forms of knowledge, and about which forms of knowledge should be seen as most valuable. Some international educators engaged in “oppositional talk” and circulated equity/anti-colonial discourses, suggesting that international educators’ professional project has the potential to challenge power differentials.

Implicit in my approach is the assumption that international educators are poorly served by the lack of adequate social theory to reflect on power relations. More training and development opportunities which call upon international educators to better examine and interact with the politics of education should be facilitated for professionals in the
field. Alternative critical social theory rather than technicist and instrumentalist theories of professionalization should inform international educators thinking about professionalization and professional education. Rhoades (1991) similarly suggests that the study of professional programs should encompass more than the study of professional education and that we should incorporate power and politics into our research especially during a time when the professional workforce and workplace itself are undergoing considerable change.

For as Altbach (2004:18) notes, the challenge for those involved in international education:

“is to recognize the complexities and nuances of the modern context and then seek to create a global academic environment that recognizes the need to ensure that academic relationships are as equal as possible…. The second step is to create a world that ameliorates these inequalities. These tasks, given the marketization and massification of higher education, are not easy. But globalization must not turn into the neo-colonialism of the 21st century”.

We must ask ourselves about the ways in which globalization might be affecting international education and how we as international educators are positioned/implicated in this neo-colonial project. Who are we becoming, and what do we encourage our students to be and become (Beck et al. 2007:4)? In particular, as detailed below, I would recommend that international educators explore Beck’s (2001) concept of an “ethic of inclusion” as a means to consider how we might engage with “Otherness” in international education. I would also encourage international educators to consider Blaney’s (2002) strategy of disempowerment as a way to challenge student’s sense of interpretive privilege and cultural superiority. Finally, I will explore how these interventions might be taken up by international educators pursuing a professional project that does not
reproduce the coloniality of power. To begin, I suggest that international educators need to first work on de-colonizing themselves first before (dis)empowering their students.

8.2.1 Towards An “Ethic of Inclusion”?

During my research, I came across the work of a Canadian international educator, Kumari Beck, who has written extensively on international education, postcolonial theory and the “ethic of care”. In the following excerpt, she explains how her background in international development and teaching as well as her own experience as an immigrant has influenced her work and research interests in Canada. She shares:

I entered the field of international teacher education from a direct engagement with international development ‘out there’, and teaching English as an additional language to an immigrant population ‘over here’. These experiences and being schooled in a colonial educational system have attuned me to become sensitive to systemic inequities and an awareness of being caught up in forces that are outside of our influence. I tend to frequently ask the question, ‘what else is going on?’ (Beck et al. 2007:2).

Beck’s ability to approach scholarship on internationalization with this “suspicious curiosity” represents a way forward for international educators to interrogate international education from their own standpoint using their location as a means to (re) consider their vision for international education. As noted in Chapter Four, international educators often drew upon their own personal experiences of mobility to inform their beliefs and practices. International educators are thus encouraged to engage in critical praxis by interrogating their own identities as a way to think pedagogically, philosophically and ethically about international education. International education then could become an experience for students and for those who participate in these endeavours as faculty, staff and administrators.
The task then for international educators, I would recommend, is to align internationalization to ethical practice. In her master’s thesis, “An Ethic of Inclusion”, Beck (2001) proposes that international education needs to be guided by ethical principles and values that will align it to “educational purposes” rather than the globalized marketplace. In her opinion, the biggest challenge is to re-define and re-configure an institutional identity that is aligned to the purposes of education rather than a national or economic agenda. Her suggestion that an “ethic of inclusion” should help educators and administrators align their international educational programming to the well-being of those who participate and the communities they belong to rather than with the economic benefits that emerge from international programs is definitely worth consideration.

In her most recent formulation, she argues for a “care-ethical agency” suggesting that caring, being present, self-knowing, and human agency are central (Beck, Cohen & Falkenburg, 2007). She is quick to clarify that enacting care relations is not as simple as it might appear and that the commodification of care itself has led to a devaluation of the possibilities it offers. In her philosophy, it is caring in a deep way that seeks to address relationships of exclusion, domination and inequity. Her suggestion of an “ethic of inclusion” encourages educators and administrators align their international educational programming to the well-being of those who participate and the communities they belong to rather than with the economic benefits that emerge from international programs is definitely worth consideration and would appeal to participants in my study.

Given that relational/caring discourses tend to focus on interpersonal relationships, how might this “ethic of inclusion” make visible the power relations of
which it is a part? In a later paper titled, “Locating Gold Mountain: Cultural capital and the internationalization of teacher education”, Beck (2007) and three other teacher-educators reflect upon and critique their role as educators in an international program (Beck et al, 2007). They aspire to recognize and participate in the development of a third hybrid, pedagogical space which they call “eduscape”. Their vision is described as a consequence of, and is the process of, their experience in international education. Using postcolonial scholarship, they explore how globalization is both reflected in and shapes their programs, and examine whether and how neo-colonial conditions are implicated. This is an excellent example of how international educators can interrogate the conceptual basis and educational practices that underpin their programs to align it better to ethical practice.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, there are few examples in the international education literature of scholars critiquing the neo-colonial underpinnings of international education. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be much collaboration between international education and other fields such as anti-racism and anti-colonialism which seek educational transformation. International educators should therefore be encouraged to explore the anti-racism and anti-colonialism literature which encourages us to think and reflect collectively on the colonial and neo-colonial relations produced through our work activities. In the edited collection by Dei and Kempf (2006), *Anti-Colonialism and the Politics of Resistance*, Moffatt, for example, critically interrogates the international development enterprise. She is a university administrator who coordinates oversees internships. As Dei and Kempf (2006:314) note, analysis of the ways in which people experience the social and political context of their work is an important place to start.
International educators should be encouraged to look at their programs historically, theoretically and experientially in an effort to locate their practices. This is not simply “reflection-in-action”. Rather, it is a fundamental shift in knowing and being. By “researching/writing/talking back” our own knowledge, international educators have the opportunity to see ourselves as “others” see us (Schofield 2006:35).

8.2.2 (Dis) Empowering International Education

Some international educators, like the participants in my study who activated equity/anti-racism discourses, are calling for a “redefinition of international education to take account of its political implications in the contemporary era” (Gillespie, 2002). It is argued that international educators need to rethink international higher education not in terms of skills and effectiveness but in terms of “values”. However, if we are to address globalization as a movement that exacerbates inequality then, according to Gillespie, we must understand that accepted goals of international education such as “global competence” are incoherent and, more important, morally, philosophically, and politically inadequate. She says:

This is admittedly an awkward formulation, which is generally understood to describe a kind of market basket of language skills and general knowledge. But even if it were possible to imagine more coherently the content of such a competence, there remains the problem of “competence,” which fails egregiously to address the moral, philosophical, and political issues that are at the heart of the matter today (p.263).

What is needed, then, is not simply a “global curriculum for the 21st century”, but a re-conceptualization of the role of international education in the context of globalization that helps our students develop values and practices that run counter to hegemonic globalization (Gillespie, 2002). I suggest that international educators need to better
understand the different conceptions of global citizenship that are embedded in their international education programs and how the norms and values of the higher education institutions in which they work shape their global citizenship initiatives. The fact that the idea of what a good citizen does is narrowly construed leads me to conclude that we need to influence students in the direction of becoming critical global citizens.

Blaney (2002) similarly argues that that the project of global education is too often premised on an idea about the inexorability of globalization, an idea that acts to depoliticize much of contemporary global life and disempower students. Although it is important to retrieve a sense of the human agency behind “globalization”, Blaney (2002) warns:

To the extent that we simply empower our students as participants in the interpretation and production of a “global age,” we risk largely reinforcing the institutional and discursive inequalities of this age, between those of us in the “developed” North who assume our role is to know and act for the rest of the world and those from the global South that we perpetually treat as objects of study and action (p.269).

He proposes that we strike a balance between “creating a sense of the possibilities for change and a recognition of the limits of agency” by disrupting a sense of cultural superiority or institutional and interpretive privilege (Blaney, 2002:269). Blaney’s deployment of disempowerment as a pedagogical strategy is an important intervention. He actually proposes two strategies; first, that we should take aim at the assumption that there are global issues or global problems. Rather than assuming the existence of such issues or problems as the basis for the curriculum, he thinks we should organize the curriculum around that claim itself to focus attention on our own role in the process of constructing global problems. Second, global education, he suggests, is too focused on understanding that which is distant and beyond our borders, and not enough on our roles
as (global) interpreters and actors. In so doing, we recognize that we are an object of knowledge for others and that we might have something to learn from their views of us (Blaney 2002:277). I agree that international educators should work to teach students to interrogate their privilege and to cultivate a more responsible sense of agency. By challenging students’ interpretive privilege and disempowering them relative to the rest of the world, arguably their capacity and willingness to engage in dialogue with the rest of the world changes (Blaney, 2002:269).

International educators must also unpack the contested meanings of “global citizenship” from “above and below” (Roman, 2003) Far from building democratic transnational communities, Roman argues that dominant discourses of global citizenship may actually reinforce notions of Canadian gendered and racialized nation-building. Our task then, as international educators, is to demonstrate the existence of alternative knowledge and standpoints by decolonializing the curricula. According to Roman, we must propose alternatives to the neo-liberal version of global citizenship “from below” by fostering a critical “global intelligence” that pays attention to the uneven, contradictory, and often conflicting interests of power that materially benefits some groups and nations more than others.

My own recommendation is that what is required is a change in paradigms that goes beyond the belief that individual abilities are restricted to mere technical-productive functions and that universities and colleges should be working towards a focus on “developing in university graduates respect for humanity’s differences and cultural wealth, as well as a sense of political responsibility, turning them into true architects of social change” (Gacel-Ávila 2005:125).
8.2.3 Re-thinking the Professional Project of International Educators

My preliminary review of national and provincial international education associations as well as education and training opportunities facilitated by these associations and other institutions such as Queen’s University International Educators Training Program (IETP) revealed that there is little or no serious debate on these issues. I found international educators with 10 or more years of experience who circulated equity/anti-racist/anti-colonial discourses whereas international educators new to the profession seemed to be more comfortable with market-like behaviors and capitalist/competitive or individualist/consumerist/vocational discourses. This generational shift may reflect the profound changes associated with academic capitalism that have changed the culture of colleges and universities since the introduction of neo-liberal higher education policies in the 1980s.

Although national and professional international education organizations in Canada have provided valuable support to professionals in the field, the nature and scope of this support must be broadened to consider the relationships between global and local players and how colonial relationships are implicated in the internationalization of Canadian higher education. Given that academic capitalism can be seen as having a direct impact on the professionalization of international educators, this is more important than ever.

Unfortunately, the introduction of a competency based approach for the training and professional development of international educators’ works against an alternative strategy for professionalization by endorsing a technical approach to international education which holds out the promise of providing the technical means to solve
problems through positivistic approaches, instruments, methods and techniques. As Tobias (2003:451) insists we must go beyond such technicist and instrumentalist theories to understand the wider economic, political and social forces that may inform our thinking about professionalization.

Some international educators’ discomfort with standardized professional preparation programs such as IETP provides some insight into what constitutes “knowledge” for international educators. I found that some international educators were resistant to such a professional project because it displaces the importance of their on-the-job knowledge and information exchange. International educators have an overwhelming interest in collaboration and sharing of such day-to-day working knowledge among peers. This is consistent with the findings in Trilokekar and Moore’s (2002) survey on the professional development needs of international educators that most international educators have an overwhelming interest in what they call “staff exchange”. The professional curriculum of international educators encourages international educators to engage in “rituals of verification” (Power, 1997) \(^{14}\), but international educators want to resist this incursion of instrumental and technical professional knowledge by drawing upon their own experiences and stories as work knowledge. Yet, in their stories of how they came to be involved in international education and constructed their professional identities, international educators might romanticize their personal mobility narratives and only sometimes critically engage with issues of identity, diversity and difference. A different approach would be for us to question our own international experience to reveal

\(^{14}\) Power (1997) refers to “rituals of verification” as the practice of constant checking and verification which has come to characterize the “audit society” in which a particular style of formalized accounting has become the ruling principle.
forms of educational colonialism or racism, rather than using personal experiences of mobility as a means to know the “Other”. (That is, international educators personal experience as exchange students, international students or immigrants which becomes a way to claim an international experience\(^{15}\).) Experience, in this way, can become a map to address issues rather than a totalizing discourse that denies difference.

I believe that my finding identifying resistance to the standardization of the IETP curriculum has important implications for considering what models can provide professional training and support for international educators. Specifically, international educators need to be re-connected to a more critical, dialogic inquiry-based praxis that sees international educators as knowledge-builders and sharers of knowledge and expertise (also see Parr 2004: 23). As part of this inquiry-based praxis, one of my informants also indicated that international educators need to be more engaged in the process of research, writing and reflection. Angela mused:

I would like to be doing more research in the field and publishing more I think…. <Pause> As practitioners, we need to write more, reflect more and share those experiences through writing. And I think we {international educators} need to need to build in a research component into every activity and new initiative.

Although there are few opportunities for Canadian international educators to share their written work, during the course of my research, a new on-line publication, e-MAGINED, emerged. The magazine invites contributions from anyone involved and/or interested in international education, including professionals in the field, people in all levels of government, NGOs and the private sector, and even students. While it remains to be seen

\(^{15}\) Just as traditional notions of feminists solidarity relied on uncritical claims of universal “sisterhood”, international educators must be re-formulated to draw not upon the assumed similarity of mobility experiences but on an analysis of difference that takes into account the global processes underlying these differences and their interconnectedness.
whether this publication will be liberatory (given the participation of ruling institutions), I suggest that this publication has the potential to allow international educators to critically consider the implications of their work and the ways in can be conducted with greater responsibility.

I also suggest that international educators need to recognize and draw upon the struggles of other professionals resisting the encroachment of neo-liberalism within the academy. This is especially important for international educators, such as international recruiters, who are engaged in unfettered capitalism. Stronger links need to be built with international recruiters by those who are concerned by the sale of international education on a commercial basis if international recruiters are to recognize the limitations of approaching international education as a global private good. Others in the higher education profession are critiquing their role in the furthering of academic capitalism and suggest a role for professionals to take in proposing and supporting alternate solutions. In student affairs units, the use of business models to increase efficiency and a focus on students as consumers is prompting some student affairs professionals to explore the emergence and encroachment of academic capitalism into their activities (Helm, 2004). Critics of the model express concern that a focus on students as customers limits students’ growth because it removes the emphasis on development and concentrates on convenience (Ousley, 2005). As efficiency and customer service are emphasized by resource providers, the concern is that programming in student affairs is streamlined to reflect these values (Ousley, 2005). Some adult educators in university-based continuing education are also worried that the profession has gradually abandoned its historical commitment to social justice in educational programming in favour of a market oriented
approach (Cram and Morrison, 2005:29). It is suggested that adult educators must move beyond training people to meet the requirements of the new global economy and instead explore new ways of living and working that serve the interests of people, not corporations (Cruikshank, 1998). As Jones, Turner and Street (1999) suggest, we need to re-think higher education and academic literacy not in terms of skills and effectiveness, but rather at the level of epistemology, identity and power.

In sum, my study revealed that among what might be called the academic globalizers, is little or no understanding of how the political, cultural, economic, and academic dominance of Western higher education is implicated in the internationalization of higher education discourse. While the vision of international educators to create a more sustainable and equitable future for future generations of the global community are to be encouraged, international educators must also recognize the neo-colonial potential of their professional project. Ideologically, international education espouses global civil society, yet in practice, this is not necessarily the case (Wylie, 2008:5). What exactly constitutes an international education is problematic and complex. In fact, international education is really the “internationalisation” of knowledge systems and educational discourses (Wylie, 2008:7). Yet, none of the advocates of international education as a “business” talked about how the organization, transmission and evaluation of knowledge is bound up with issues of power and control.

More educational and development opportunities should be facilitated for professionals in the field which call upon international educators to critically examine and interact with the politics of education. I would argue that the current lack of standardized professional preparation programs creates an opportunity for international
educators to create new circumstances and realities for themselves. International educators need to be engaged in a project that is fully grounded in an understanding of the material and discursive violence of the long history of education and development interventions (Gibson-Graham 2005:6). Dei and Kempf (2006:314) also argue that we must not only seek to better comprehend oppression but also the sources and sites of our agency. Taking a broader view, international educators must be in a position to consider how they might be able to sustain the critical lessons of post-colonialism, while continuing to act for positive social change.

8.4 Implications for Further Research

I had initially expected, as I learned more about international educators’ work activities, that I might also need to interview other informants, such as international students, to understand how these work processes operate as part of an extended set of social relations. Ethical reviews were already necessary at each institution in my study to access international educators’ in their professional capacities and so interviewing students about their experiences remains as a further project. Such research would underline the point that the power relations which structure our institutions and work also coordinate the experiences of international students. Lee and Rice’s (2007) utilization of the conceptual framework of neo-racism to explain many of the difficulties international students encounter will be especially relevant in such a study to understand how international educators’ work activities can be articulated to neo-racist power relations.

The occupational grouping of international educators is an ideal sub-group of university administrators to study since the work activities that international educators are engaged in is very broad and complex. My introductory research needs to be
supplemented with detailed research that documents “how things work” in each occupational area of international education. That is, I suggest that further research should focus on international educators’ discrete work identities and activities. In order to make international educators’ working lives more “ethnographically accessible”, I suggest that a more detailed examination of particular administrative and professional work practices, such as international transcript assessment, for example, is required.

Finally, more work needs to be done in envisaging the curriculum for an alternative professional development and education program for international educators. I have suggested that the training of international educators needs to include critical pedagogy, especially postcolonial theory and the literature on academic capitalism. Hurabielle’s study also found that the practical knowledge and academic skills acquired, maintained and developed by international educators reflected a “Northern” perspective reflecting Eurocentric epistemologies (1998:119). This raises questions about the suitability of Canadian practitioner skills, knowledge and abilities relative to “Southern” contexts (1998:119). Hurabielle suggests that courses are required for international education practitioners that critically examine development paradigms and colonial and post-colonial history of areas of the “South” where international educators find themselves working. Such courses could also include practical experience in cross-cultural situations and language training (1998:146).

These suggestions for an anti-racist, anti-colonialist curriculum and scholarship for international educators need to be taken up by international education associations, such as CBIE, and training programs such as IETP.
8.5 Conclusion

International education is now a transnational service industry in the production of skilled human resources for economic globalization. International educators cannot help but be implicated in these neo-colonial relationships. Although an agenda for social justice and equity is largely absent in policies for internationalization, Beck’s “ethic of inclusion” offers some thoughts about social transformation. International education can be based on the principles of mutuality and equality rather than commercial principles of profit and loss (Gillespie 2002:264). Globalization carries with it the danger of creating a marketplace in knowledge that excludes the South. As Gacel-Ávila (2005:121) reminds us:

We cannot forget that there are the “globalisers” and the “globalised” which brought the end of the 20th century to a situation of profound and increasing inequality between nations.

This is the setting where educators and institutions of higher education have to play a part. I agree with Gacel-Ávila (2005:122) that it is crucial for international educators to seek out alternatives to these political and economic practices, which are expressions of the power held by a mere few countries and international businesses. International educators should be asking whose interests are served by our work.
Bibliography


Figure 1: The Hierarchy of International Education Work

- Senior Academic Administrators (e.g. AVP International, VP Research)
- International Project Co-coordinators (IPC)
- International Recruiters (IR)
- Study Abroad Advisor (SAA)
- International Student Advisors (ISA)/ International Admission Officers (IAO)
- Front-line Managers
Table 1: My Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Institutional Type</th>
<th>Years of Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adriane</td>
<td>International Admissions Officer</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>International Project Coordinator</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Study Abroad Advisor</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela</td>
<td>International Project Coordinator</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina</td>
<td>International Project Coordinator</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>Study Abroad Advisor</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>International Student Advisor</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly</td>
<td>International Project Coordinator</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Study Abroad Advisor</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>International Admissions Officer</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>10-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>Management</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra</td>
<td>International Recruitment Officer</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>International Recruitment Officer</td>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>International Student Advisor</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupational Types: Management (Dean/Director/Manager of International Office), International Student Advisor, Study Abroad Advisor, International Recruiter, International Admissions Officer, International Project Coordinator.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Globalization / Global Citizen</th>
<th>Critique of Globalization (anti-colonialism)</th>
<th>Neoliberalism / Equality</th>
<th>Equity / Anti-racism</th>
<th>Capitalist / Competitive</th>
<th>Individualist / Consumerist</th>
<th>Vocational</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>New Managerialism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adriane</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Discourses Articulated By Position
Table 3: Key Informant Professional Membership/Professional Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>AUCC</th>
<th>CBIE</th>
<th>CEC</th>
<th>CIDA</th>
<th>IEAC</th>
<th>IETP</th>
<th>NAFSA</th>
<th>OAIE</th>
<th>WSANET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberly</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angela</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adriane</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Columns: ACC, AUCC, CBIE, CEC, CIDA, IEAC, IETP, NAFSA, OAIE, WSANET

Rows: Anne, Carolyn, Karen, Patricia, Amanda, Christina, Kimberly, Angela, Sandra, Sarah, Andrew, Emma, Matthew, Adriane, Michael, Jennifer, Tammy

Mgmt, IPCs, IROs, SAAs, IAOs, ISAs
Additional Professional Membership/Development
1 TRISEC
2 CUSO
3 ICEED
4 CONAHEC
5 CUSAC
6 WES
7 EAIE
8 WUSC


Professional Development: CEC (Canadian Education Centre), CUSO (Canadian University Services Overseas), IETP (International Educators Training Program), WES (World Education Services).
Appendix A: Conversation Guide

*Exploring the “everyday/night” activities of international educators.*

- What are the international education activities at your institution?
- Where in the organizational structure have international activities been placed?

*Exploring international educators’ ‘work knowledges’*

- What are the international education activities that you are involved with? Please describe. How did you come to be involved in these international education activities?
- Walk me through a typical day.
- Tell me about the values and beliefs that guide your work as an international educator.
- What attributes, if any, do you think an international educator should posses?
- Do you think that international educators should engage in advocacy?
- What education/training/professional development have you undertaken?
- Has this training and/or professional development been sufficient? If not, what further education/training/professional development would be helpful? What would it look like? Who should offer it?
- What international education organizations and/or professional associations do you belong to?
- Do these organizations assist you in your education/training/professional development? How so or where are the gaps?
- Do you think that international education is a profession? If yes, why? Do you think that the international education sector is professionalizing? If so, how? When did you notice this trend?
- Do you support standardized education/training/professional development and/or certification for international educators? Why or why not?

*Exploring the ‘problematic’ or tension in international educators work activities.*

- Have you ever been requested to implement a policy or work process that you did not agree with?
- Can you identify an aspect of your work activities that you wish were different?
- Is generating revenue or seeking outside resources a part of your job? If so, how do you feel about this?

*Exploring the social organization of international educators work activities.*

- What was the initial mandate of your institution with regards to international activities? How has this mandate evolved? Why?
- What do you think your institution hopes to achieve by participating in these activities? What impacts do these activities have upon your institution?
- Do you feel that the institution’s administration provides sufficient support for these activities?
• Have you noticed a change in this level of support? If so, in what direction and for what reasons?
• What international activities would you like to see your institution undertake? Why?
• What do you think are the most important rationales for undertaking international education activities? Why?
• In what ways do you think international activities at your institution are affected by wider social, economic or political factors?
• Are there any documents that are useful to you in doing your job? How do you use these documents?
• What do you see as future developments in international education? How do you feel about these trends?