

THE COMMODIFICATION OF BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION
International Student Curriculum Initiatives

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THE COMMODIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRITAIN.

International Student Curriculum Initiatives.

Abstract

This thesis examines the effects of market forces in UK higher education on professional practice in universities and their consequences for the educational experience of international students and those who teach them. It explores whether it is possible in practice for HEIs to reconcile the professional ethics of educators with externally set targets and economic imperatives in an environment which is commercial in orientation and where operational practices are based on a free market philosophy.

Policies and practices in international student affairs in Britain are viewed in historical perspective, charting the transition of roles from guest to client with a consequent shift in the demography of the international student body. This, coinciding with a decrease in the public funding of universities, has meant that international study has grown in importance in terms of revenue.

The argument is put that this has resulted in international students' acquiring a measure of consumer power the demands of which are thought to impact on British HE. Moreover, the new clients are less likely to possess cultural capital and relevant background in British institutions than their predecessors, and this is liable to impact on curriculum planning and policy making. The thesis identifies Japan as a major source of full-fee paying students.

An educational profile of Japan demonstrates how the Japanese have made continuing use of international study to meet the development needs of their society. It shows how, throughout their history, they have been engaged in the importation of educational goods and services and in the consumption of international education overseas.

A case study of a curriculum initiative, customised for Japanese students is presented which exemplifies the place of international study in contemporary British higher education. It is field-focused and uses a participant observer ethnographic approach underpinned by statistical data from the 1960s to the present day, thus setting the commodification issue in a historical continuum of international student policy making.

The study identifies the factors and forces driving Japanese students abroad and discloses the impact of these movements on the operational practices of institutions, thus serving as a microcosm of the political economy of study abroad.

The study concludes that external commercial pressures can be hazardous to academic freedom and professional autonomy yet the consequent operating environment can be exploited in the pursuance of curriculum innovation and the professional development of practitioners and planners.

JAPANESE TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

amae: dependence, a desire to be passively loved

buru-sera shop: a kind of sex shop, named after "bloomers and sailor suits"

Chugako: middle school, Junior High

daigaku: university

gaijin: foreign

gambate kudasai: do your best! struggle and endure, give it your all

gambaru: (verb) to do one's utmost etc

honne: frankness restricted to the private domain

ijime: bullying, bully

intelli: (interi) intelligentsia

juken jikoku: examination [entrance] hell

juku: cram school, supplementary private education

Kansai: Japan's second International Airport

Keizai Doyukai: Education Council, Japan Committee for Economic Development

kikokushijo: returnees i.e. Japanese children who have been educated abroad

kokuritsu: state endowed

kokusaika: internationalisation

kimono: traditional Japanese dress

kotok senmon gakko: vocational High School

kyoiku mama: education obsessed mother

Manchukuo: Manchuria re-named by colonising Japanese

Meiji (period): eponymous period

meishi: business card

Monbusho: Ministry of Education Science and Culture

Narita: Tokyo Airport

obento: lunch-box usually of rice, vegetables and fruit, eaten at one's desk or outside

OLs: office ladies, low status jobs in companies

omiai: meeting set up by matchmaker prior to arranged marriage

oyabun/kobun: in the demi-monde of the yakuza (mafia), senior/junior relationship

rinkyoshin: Ad Hoc Reform Council

ronin: "masterless samurai" used for students with no fixed educational abode

ryosai kenbo: good wife and clever mother

ryugakusei: international students

samurai: aristocratic class

san: honorific suffix

sempai/kohai: denotes seniority/inferiority in educational setting

shogun: generalissimo

tanki daigaku: Junior College

tatemae: outward display/orientation stance, often concealing true feelings

Todai: Tokyo University

Tokugawa : eponymous period

uchi/soto: in-group/out-group, inside/outside

wa: harmony

wakon kansei: Japanese spirit and Chinese technology

yakuza: Japanese organised crime/ gang/gangster

yobiko: supplementary educational establishment, entrance exam preparation

EDUCATIONAL (and related) TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

ARELS: Association of Recognised Language Schools

BALEAP: British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes

BASELT: British Association of State English Language Teaching

BUTEX: British Universities Transatlantic Exchange

CHE: College of Higher Education (previously specialised in teacher education - now more likely to have a liberal arts curriculum)

CIEE: Council for International Education Exchange (sometimes known as Council)

CNAA: Council for National Academic Awards

CVCP: Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (organisation of heads of universities in Britain)

DES: Department of Education and Science

DfE: Department for Education

DfEE: Department for Education and Employment

DTI: Department of Trade and Industry

EAIE: European Association of International Educators

ECS: Educational Counselling Service (British Council, Higher Education sector)

EPS: Educational Promotion Service (British Council, Further Education sector)

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELT: English Language Teaching

ESL: English as a Second Language (in American English this phrase has replaced EFL but a distinction between the two remains in British English)

FCO: Foreign and Commonwealth Office

F/HEI: Further and Higher Education (Institute of)

HEFCE: Higher Education Funding Council for England

HEI: Higher Education Institution (not necessarily a university)

HEIST: Higher Education Information Services Trust

HESA: Higher Education Statistics Agency

HMG: Her Majesty's Government

HNC: Higher National Certificate

HND: Higher National Diploma

IELTS: International English Language Testing Service (run by British Council)

IEP: Intensive English Program (in US universities)

NAFSA: National Association of Foreign Student Affairs (Association of International Educators)

NGO: Non-Governmental Agency

OST: Overseas Students Trust

PCFC: Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council

PET: Preliminary English Test (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate)

PGTA: Post Graduate Teaching Assistant

SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies (of London University)

THES : the Times Higher Education Supplement (now known as The Higher)

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

TVCOSA: Thames Valley Council for Overseas Student Affairs

UCAS: University Central Admissions System

UCL: University College London

UGFC: University Grants Funding Council

UKCOSA: United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs (now known as The Council for International Education)

WUS: World University Service

NOTE

For reasons outside the control of the candidate, in the majority of cases it has not been possible to provide page references for material cited in the thesis. The reasons for this have been discussed with and accepted by the examiners.

Patricia Walker

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CHAPTER ONE

THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT INDUSTRY WORLDWIDE

An Introduction to the Issues

I STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Every year hundreds of thousands of young people cross international boundaries to enrol as students in foreign institutions. They come from the industrialised nations as well as from the modernising nations. Some come from developing countries in which opportunities for higher education do not exist. Others seek admission to institutions abroad because they are unable to gain a place in a college or university in their own country because competition is so fierce .

There is a general consensus that it is "a good thing" to study abroad. Spaulding (1985) identifies three broad reasons why students want to spend all or part of their education overseas:

- a) to obtain a broader perspective than is possible in the domestic institutions;*
- b) to avail themselves of the possibility for advanced study in areas which may not be developed in the home country;*
- c) to meet students and faculty from other cultures and political systems thereby becoming more cosmopolitan or "internationalised".*

Historically, universities have seen themselves as international institutions. Knowledge is thought to have no national boundaries and traditionally, students from all nations

have been welcomed. Rashdall (1985) reminds us that the mediaeval European university taught in Latin, an international language, and the curriculum thus delivered was open to individuals of whatever nationality to teach and study without hindrance, protected by the Holy See and enjoying complete mobility throughout the European states.

This is not to say that foreign student affairs are without aspects of controversy to which deeply important educational principles are attached. These range over a number of issues which can be described as fiscal, political, academic and curricular. Altbach and Lulat (1985) define foreign student affairs as "*a significant educational variable reflecting basic issues involving policy-making on both sides of the equation both the 'sending countries' and the 'host nations'.*"

This thesis will focus on the place of international study in contemporary British higher education, its growing importance in terms of revenue, curriculum innovation and policy making, and will concentrate on specific relations with Japan as a major source of students. The factors and forces driving Japanese students, and the impact of these movements on the operational practices of British universities, present a microcosm of the political economy of international study, exemplified in a Case Study of one customised programme.

It is intended to demonstrate that the change in international student status from guest to client has resulted in their acquiring a measure of what could be described as consumer power. Demand factors have influenced the nature of higher education

planning, organisation and development in a way that has helped to create a climate where innovation and a flexible response to diversity are more commonplace. The claims that government policies have stimulated the putative successful commodification of international study, are not unconnected with forecast changes in policy-making in respect of home students, in relation to whom, in this and other educational concerns, international students are seen as harbingers of change.

II POLICY ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL STUDENT AFFAIRS

i) A Multi-National Concern

Altbach and Lulat (ibid) urge professionals charged with the responsibility of working with international students to come to an understanding of the nexus of decision making and the means by which decisions are made. On the whole, governments tend not to want to commit themselves to overall policy decisions on international student issues, largely because hitherto they have been of marginal concern or minority interest: issues therefore, until recently, tended to be characterised by ad hoc arrangements.

Data will be presented to show that international study is now a growth industry having a multi-faceted impact on the nature of higher education in Britain.

- a)** One facet is *financial*; with over a million students participating in some form of study abroad the equivalent of billions of \$US are being spent worldwide. Financial considerations govern receiving countries' decisions to re-allocate responsibilities for tuition fees, which impacts on the sending nations

budgetary requirements for foreign currency and remittances.

Poorer nations which have been priced out of expensive Western higher education are making use of tertiary provision in neighbouring developing countries which is affecting local economies and putting pressure on universities in, for instance, India and the Philippines. Others accept what is known as aid "with strings" from countries with a proselytising political motive; the USSR and the GDR were examples of such arrangements when they provided scholarships for significant numbers of African medical and engineering students.

- b) Another aspect is *political*; micro-political in that institutions in many countries, as statistics for the UK from the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFCE) show, have made policy decisions prioritising the recruitment of overseas students as a central aspect of the university's mission. The resulting fee income decreases reliance on central funding allowing more flexibility in resource allocations and consequently more responsiveness to the internal politics of the institution. It is also a macro-political issue in that the flow of international students abroad is influenced in terms of direction and magnitude by the domestic and foreign policies of national governments.
- c) There are *academic* implications too. International students are disproportionately represented in two areas, that is post-graduate and foundation. In Britain they account for one third of the post-graduate

population in Britain (Greenaway and Tuck 1995). In the United States twenty five per cent of doctorates go to overseas candidates. "*Fewer Americans but more non-US citizens than a decade ago are being awarded doctorates from US universities, especially in science and technology.*" Mooney (1991). Growing numbers of international students in both countries are studying at pre-degree level, details of which are given in Chapter 8.

There is a surfeit of anecdotal evidence in Britain supporting the fear that vigilance in respect of international students' competence in English is not being exercised and that this is having ramifications throughout Academic Schools, though there is no hard evidence available at the moment. This unease is affecting student/staff relationships and student/student relationships. A lecturer from a university with particularly large numbers of Japanese students confided to the author that tutors are consciously simplifying content and language to accommodate the students.

ii) Motivation and Explanation of Student Mobility

Spaulding's three major reasons for studying abroad are helpful in beginning to understand the issues. Altbach (1985) has further developed a table of push and pull factors. Research indicates that decisions to study abroad are likely to be based on a combination of variable factors in the home country pushing students abroad as well as key variables existing in the host country.

a) *Home Country (PUSH)*

1. *Availability of scholarships:* where there is little possibility of financial assistance at home students are more likely to look overseas to wealthier countries.
2. *Poor quality educational facilities:* one of the most powerful reason for students moving out of their own country.
3. *Lack of research opportunities:* as already noted, pushes large numbers of students abroad especially to the graduate schools of the United States . Many countries with sophisticated educational provision otherwise, have under-developed graduate programmes, for instance, Japan.
4. *Lack of appropriate educational facilities:* the lack of a comprehensive curriculum in those countries in which education is governed by a particular religious or political dogma, is a powerful push factor.
5. *Failure to gain admission:* although many countries appear to have ample provision in education at tertiary level, competition for places is excessively high and seen by some as an insurmountable hurdle.
6. *Enhanced value in the market place of a foreign degree:* the prestige of a foreign degree is thought to be an enduringly important factor in the decision to study abroad, but note that where a country refuses to accept foreign qualifications, it is equally likely that it becomes a powerfully inhibiting factor.
7. *Uncongenial political situation at home;* is a common push factor, though problems of re-entry can work as a disincentive, for example, the plight of students from China who were abroad at the time of the Tiananmen Square protests.
8. *Discrimination against minorities:* in many countries discrimination can be a

sin of omission rather than commission in that certain ethnic groups fail ever to be awarded national scholarships and are thrown on the family's resources completely for the education of their children.

b) *Host Country (PULL)*

1. *Scholarships available to international students.* Many of the world's so-called superpowers, especially the former colonial powers, have programmes of targeted aid to the modernising nations consisting of fee waivers or subsidised tuition from public funds. Britain continues to discharge what are seen to be obligations to certain countries of the former empire or dependent territories.
2. *Good or appropriate educational facilities and availability of advanced research facilities.*
3. *The likelihood of an offer of admission.*
4. *Presence of relatives willing and able to offer financial assistance:* is often a factor in receiving countries which were formerly colonial powers, or in countries to which there has been large scale immigration in the past. Numbers of Greek and Turkish students are attracted to London because of the presence of settled communities of these ethnic groups, and there is a strong tradition among Indians and Pakistanis, Nigerians and other Africans
5. *Perceived benefits of international experience:* the ubiquitous desire to become "international" is a reason most often cited by students and agents for study abroad.
6. *Politically congenial situation:*
7. *Congenial socio- political environment to migrate to:* though whilst this is a

pull factor for many students, the problem of non-returners is serious for some nation states which may have facilitated the study abroad only to find themselves thereafter deprived of trained personnel. This is an issue in India which has the largest number of non-returners in the world. Leave to remain is extremely difficult to achieve in Britain where immigration regulations forbid students applying for permanent residence after their studies are completed. In both the US and Australia it is easier and many young people avail themselves of the opportunity.

iii) Push and Pull Tendencies

Push and pull decisions to study abroad inevitably are based on individual needs and personal circumstances as well as on the development needs of nations. Financial concerns are not inconsiderable and the high cost of educating large numbers of the young of any country as well as the socio-psychological impact on communities has been referred to briefly above.

Throughout the nineties there has been an increase in the number of special arrangements some British universities or consortia have made with overseas governments to allow students to spend the first one or two years of their degree studies at a local institution before completing advanced work in the foreign country to limit the amount of currency sent overseas. On the other hand in countries where the economy is strong it may prove cheaper to study abroad than in the home country.

In the case of students from the third world, the need for and availability of advanced

technical education is both a push and pull factor. In Britain and other countries, a lack of qualified indigenous applicants in, for instance, engineering, maths and physics has meant that university departments rely on international student take-up to retain their viability.

iv) Further Variables in the Host and Home Countries

Though there are general principles and tendencies in the major directions of flow of international students, and reasons for these, it must be remembered that there is a second set of variables which affect the magnitude and flow of students abroad. These are discussed by Altbach and are paraphrased below:

In respect of the host country these are:

1. *Economic difficulties* leading to restrictions on international students through measures such as higher tuition fees. The UK is an example of a country which made decisions to charge students the full cost of their fees. This had profound effects on especially the magnitude of flow, and the direction from which it came, as Chapter 3 will demonstrate.
2. *Population changes* leading to an increase in available student places, of which the United States is an example.
3. *Changes in foreign policy* leading to completion of bi-lateral agreements e.g. China/US, Ethiopia/USSR.
4. *Re-emphasis of political commitment* or re-alignment, leading to an increase of inflow of international students from a given politically volatile region, e.g.

Afghanistan, and the Kurdish Republic.

5. *Education policy changes* leading to emphasis on international area and language studies hence greater commitment to study abroad programmes e.g. the US, the EU, Japan.

In the home country these are seen to be:

1. *Economic difficulties* leading to the reduction in available state funds as well as available foreign exchange, which is the case with many of the African countries, also Vietnam.
2. *An economic boom* leading to an expansion of demand for trained personnel and hence an increase in numbers of students going abroad; this would be true of the oil nations during the last decade and certain East Asian countries more recently.
3. *Economic policy changes* leading to emphasis in areas with dearth in requisite person-power, training facilities necessitating foreign knowledge and expertise, e.g. China.
4. *Political changes* leading to changes in foreign policy and hence change in inflow direction e.g. Iran, GDR.

(Source: Adapted from Altbach 1985)

v) Some Constraints on the Flow of International Students Abroad

The benefits of study abroad have to be weighed against what national governments might see as dangers to the health of society, high financial outlays and opportunity costs. Some countries have been very strict about the flow of their students abroad and

have built in a number of restrictions, (Altbach 1991).

Both India and Nigeria have refused to allow students to study abroad at the government's expense if the area of study they are interested in is available in the domestic universities. For individuals who intend going anyway, using their own money, difficulties are made by restrictions on currency taken out of the country and occasionally by the refusal of visas (Altbach *ibid*). Sweden provides generously for the study of English abroad but will not finance trips outside Europe, to Australia for instance, despite special courses for Swedes offered there. (Director, UBS Educational Consultants, Gothenburg, November 1996 in interview with the writer).

The Japanese have been accused of indirectly manipulating the international student flow. Whilst professing the ideals of internationalisation they had, since WWII, resolutely refused to accept the validity of foreign university degrees. This attitude towards foreign qualifications has changed significantly evidenced by recent statements from the *Monbusho* (the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) (1992). The climate of opinion within Japan is in a state of change (see Chapters 4 and 8) but until recently a graduate from an American or British university, on returning to Japan, had the status of a high school graduate. (British Council employee Tokyo in conversation with the writer). This has had an impact on Japanese international student objectives for study abroad. Until seven or eight years ago foreign faculty in Japanese universities could not get tenure and were largely relegated to language instruction classes. This has now changed but it is easy to see the signal that such a policy would have transmitted to the Japanese students .

In the developed industrial nations, the recession of the late eighties and early nineties had an effect on study abroad. The lack of mobility of many Western European students has been attributed (Altbach 1991) to a reluctance to risk their employment prospects at a time of economic stagnation.

III THE SENDING COUNTRIES

i) Trends in the Flow of International Students Abroad

The factors and forces behind what is now a massive movement of students is a complex interweaving of issues but the major reasons why students go abroad for part or all of their education has been theoretically posed by Spaulding.

The table below shows changes in the participation rates of the major sending countries over the last decade. The latest available data are from Unesco's country specific surveys which are considered to be the most reliable figures since countries may use educational statistics for propaganda or other purposes.

TABLE 1.***COUNTRIES WITH THE LARGEST NUMBERS OF STUDENTS ABROAD******1980/81 & 1993/4***

Academic Year 1980/81	Total No. of Students		Academic Year 1993/94	Total No. of Students
Iran	65 521		China	126 875
Malaysia	35 693		Japan	59 468
Greece	31 509		Korea	55 919
China	30 127		India	42 270
Nigeria	26 863		Germany	41 881
Hong Kong	20 625		Malaysia	35 840
USA	19 843		Hong Kong	33 638
Japan	18 066		Morocco	32 116
Venezuela	17 755		Italy	31 094
Canada	17 714		Turkey	29 707
Jordan	17 030		Canada	27 437
Germany	16 983		France	27 914
Lebanon	15 117		Iran	27 999
India	15 238		US	25 688
Turkey	14 606		UK	21 743
Saudi Arabia	14 298		Indonesia	20 839
Italy	13 848		Ukraine	19 286
Syria	13 701		Spain	18 637
TOTAL	404 537		TOTAL	678 351

Source: 1993/4 figures: Unesco Statistical Yearbook (1995) country specific data

1980 figures: adapted from Altbach & Lulat (1985)

Altbach and Lulat (ibid) describe the flow of students in the late seventies/ early eighties as predominantly from the so-called Third world to the more developed industrial nations, largely of the West, and within and around the Third world. Only a minority of students moved from the developed to the less developed areas of the world.

Table 1 shows that in the nineties, despite variations in the flows, some general patterns can be discerned. The most obvious difference is the increase in the aggregate number of students participating from 404 537 to 668 795. There are also significant rises in individual countries for instance, a dramatic rise from China, Japan, India, Germany and Italy and newcomers to the major senders include Korea, Morocco, France, Indonesia and the UK. On the debit side Nigeria, Venezuela, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria, who sent significant numbers abroad in the early eighties are missing from the list in 1994.

Iran has dropped from the largest sender, with more students abroad in 1980 than Japan has today. Politico/economic forces in Iran have resulted in a serious decline in the number of students sent abroad. For ideological reasons Iran no longer sanctions large numbers of her young people being educated in non-Islamic universities. Economic pressure, as a consequence of the expensive war with Iraq, has also contributed to the decline. The largest numbers of Iranians abroad at present are in France, where there is no fee differential for international students, suggesting that the high cost of studying in foreign countries is a factor.

In the early eighties, Venezuela was tenth among the largest senders, yet today, in common with the other countries of South America (apart from the wealthy Brazil), the continent is not represented among the top twenty sending nations. Similarly, sub-Saharan Africa has disappeared from the list of countries today, whereas Nigeria for instance was a major participant in international education a decade ago when she had her oil revenue to spend. Apart from the Mediterranean African countries who continue to send students to the former motherland of France and other Francophone countries in Europe, Africa is now absent from international student movements to a significant degree. It is safe to assume here that the growing costs of study abroad have priced most of the developing nations out of the market.

By contrast, the nations of Europe, as Table I clearly shows, have increased participation in Study Abroad over the years. Developing political unification in the enlarged EU and attractive financial incentives supporting the movement of EU students through Erasmus, Socrates and similar schemes are thought to explain the sharp increase. Before the encouragements from Brussels, only Germany, Greece and Italy were in the top twenty nations of international study participators. Each of these countries, all with a tradition of study abroad, has greatly increased participation, especially Germany which moves from twelfth to fifth position overtaking Greece as the European country with the highest number of students abroad, with France and Spain becoming leading senders. The UK did not appear on the pre-Erasmus Table in 1980, when British students were suspicious of the benefits of Study Abroad especially in times of economic uncertainty when many western students, as we have seen, were uneasy about employment prospects at home. (Chapters 3 and 4 develop

this point.)

The degree of market concentration now centred round the economically strong East Asian countries is a recent trend in international student mobility. In the early eighties the "paper tigers" were less prominent in the list of sending countries. Malaysia is an exception, as the second largest source of international students previously and, whilst falling from her second position, is nevertheless sending as many students abroad today as she did in the early eighties. Similarly, Hong Kong has not only maintained its presence but shows a significant increase. The political issues dominating in Hong Kong over the last decade, namely, the countdown to the return to China, have pushed many Hong Kong Chinese abroad as a preliminary to permanent migration.

China's four-fold increased participation is a combination of push and pull factors. The United States especially offers generous incentives to Chinese scholars to serve US diplomatic and trade interests in the PRC. Moreover, the dearth of trained personnel in key areas of the Chinese economy as a result of new political alignments and government policies, is stimulating demand for foreign expertise and scholarship.

Korean students represent the largest single rise in numbers going abroad, now third in the world from a much lower rate of participation in the eighties. The meteoric increase in prosperity among the Korean people, in common with their neighbours in Singapore (which, with 15 300 students abroad, is just outside the top twenty today) and Indonesia, means they have disposable personal wealth to invest in their children's future through education. In Taiwan and Thailand, similar trends are developing. There

is a clear correlation between growth in per capita incomes and demand for tertiary education, (Greenaway and Tuck 1995) resulting in the emergence of a pattern across East Asia.

Japan's involvement in study abroad activities has increased annually (see Chapter 5) from the 9th position she occupied in the eighties. Of significance is how she compares with her great economic rival the United States. Ten years ago as the chart shows, these countries sent about equal numbers abroad. Japan's increase is significantly greater than the Americans' despite the emphasis on area and language study in the States.

ii) Student Objectives

Using Spaulding's (1985) categories a) b) and c) it is reasonable to formulate the probability that the majority of these students fall into the b/a category, namely, availing themselves of educational opportunities which are not available, or available in insufficient breadth, in their home countries. The exceptions would be Japan, the EU countries, Canada and the US who can be classified as c/a, that is, seeking international experience.

iii) Major Destinations

The high numbers of Asian students going outside their countries to be educated are on the whole looking to the United States to provide tertiary education in an English-medium institution. The United States is the first choice for students from China (81 962), Hong Kong (13 752), India (34 796), Indonesia (11 744), Japan (43 770), Korea

(31 076), Malaysia (13 718), Pakistan (7 299), Thailand (9 537). Now that other English - speaking countries are actively promoting themselves, significant though numerically much smaller groups of students from South East Asia are enrolling in Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and UK universities. There is a small eddy of movement of Asian students going to other Asian countries in more or less reciprocal numbers, that is, 392 Japanese in Korea, 304 Singaporeans in China and so forth. The exception is Japan where numbers of international students are rising annually in accordance with the Monbusho policy on increasing participation of internationals in Japanese universities. At the time of writing 90% are from the other Asian countries, predominantly China, Korea, Taiwan. (Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1995, country specific data). The movement around Asia is the result of the now well established "Look East" policy in East Asia.

Current EU legislation and mobility schemes are making it very easy for European students to enjoy access to the universities of the member states. Unless, like the Asian students, they aspire to study in the US, they invariably elect to enter a university in one or other of the EU countries, Britain is particularly popular, due in part to the position of English as an international language.

A number of countries rely on international study because their supply of tertiary education places cannot cope with the demand, and these are not necessarily the poorer countries of the world. India, Morocco, Turkey, Iran, Palestine, Jordan, Pakistan, Brazil and Tunisia, have a tradition of sending their "high-flyers" abroad often on government sponsorship. Other students represent the wealthy elite of their

countries.

North American students, apart from very small numbers of students in languages and other minority interest subjects, are enrolled in universities in other English speaking countries in large numbers; the largest numbers of Canadians are in the US and the majority of Americans are in Britain including Ireland.

iv) Economic Capability

The largest senders today can be classified economically as among the wealthier countries of the world i.e. the EU, the "tiger economies", and North America . The seven countries shown in Table 1 as falling outside those groups, namely, China, India, Morocco, Turkey, Iran, Ukraine and Palestine are all recipients of aid. Although international education is said to be predicated on global co-operation, the indications here are that the countries sending the largest numbers of students abroad are those who can afford to pay the high sums involved or, exceptionally, are being financially supported in their endeavours. On the whole, the poorer nations of the world are not significantly represented in study abroad in the nineties.

IV THE RECEIVING COUNTRIES

i) The International Student Infrastructure

In both the sending and receiving countries, but especially in the latter, international student affairs (advice, welfare and administration) is now a career. Altbach (1985) prophesied that international student advising was an "*emerging profession*", which

would see a rise in professionalism during the coming decade . This appears to be the case since Riedinger (1992) writes of "*the growing phenomenon of overseas advising*". He goes on to say this "*nascent activity*" will evolve into an even more systematised occupation as information technology becomes more sophisticated. The establishment of a professional infra-structure has had varying degrees of influence on the movement.

Most of the receiving countries mentioned later have in post a cadre of professionals or semi-professionals, charged with co-ordinating the international activities for the universities in which they operate. The United States offers qualifications in international student support and counselling and the UK is moving that way too. For instance, the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs, Council for International Education (UKCOSA) is working with a number of UK universities to design a qualification in counselling and advice work for those professionals intending to work with international students though advertised posts in international education do not yet specify these qualifications.

There have been many benefits to international students and those working with them as a result of work done by such organisations as the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs - Association of International Educators (NAFSA), in the US, and UKCOSA in Britain, who have worked at raising the profile of international education through their publications, lobbying and the offering of a comprehensive service to members and their clients. Especially in the Asian countries, though not exclusively, private entrepreneurs, whether or not they have previous experience or credentials in

education, are setting up in business to recruit and "export" young hopefuls. It is perhaps inevitable, but there is justifiably some cause for concern, in that such activity creates built-in pressure to maintain and even expand. international student mobility when there is profit at stake. In UK universities which profit from international tuition fees, the beneficiaries are not primarily the academics, but, more often than not, the "quasi-educationists" who have in some cases a symbiotic relationship with the students and academics, in other cases parasitic.

ii) Countries Receiving the Largest Number of International Students

Since it is emerging that international study is a major service industry, it is of interest to investigate which countries are the major speculators in the commerce of study abroad.

Table 2 shows the numbers of international students enrolled on courses of study in the major host countries in 1992 (the latest figures available from third party sources). Total numbers are given rather than a breakdown of students by country so that the scale of the operation for each host country is shown and the major league players at the present time identified.

TABLE 2

THE WORLD'S LEADING HOSTS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS*1980/81 and 1993/94*

Academic year 1980/81	Total No. of Students		Academic Year 1993/4	Total No. of Students
USA	325 628		USA	449 749
France	114 181		France	139 562
USSR	62 942		Germany	116 474
Germany	61 841		UK	95 549
UK	56 003		Russian Fed.	82 745
Canada	32 303		Japan	45 006
Italy	27 784		Australia	42 571
Lebanon	26 343		Canada	35 451
Egypt	21 751		Belgium	27 378
Australia	17 694		Switzerland	25 307
Switzerland	15 515		Austria	23 991
Austria	12 885		Lebanon	23 157
Belgium	12 875		Italy	22 618
India	11 761		China	22 617
Spain	10 997		Turkey	13 354
Holy See	9 104		India	12 802
Argentina	8 649		Spain	12 578
Greece	8 304		Holy See	12 253
Philippines	7 901		Norway	11 290
			Jordan	8 055

Source: UNESCO statistical yearbook 1995 for figures from 1993/4.
Altbach & Lulat 1985 for data on 1980/81.

In the last ten years there have been few significant changes among the host nations. The major league players of the early eighties are still very much in business today. The most noticeable trend is that the big have got bigger and the small have fallen away. The United States, as it has always done, continues to dominate the international education business and has led the way in international student recruitment since the end of WWII. From America too has come the greatest interest in research and publications in international education as well as pressure to "professionalise" the movement.

The UK has maintained its "rank" moving from 5th position in the world in the previous decade to 4th, increasing its total numbers of students by about 40% . Those countries who have dropped away are Egypt, Belgium (though she is just outside the top twenty), Argentina and Philippines as noted earlier. The USSR, which had a strong tradition of educating students from the Communist world continues as a major provider as the Russian federation to which students from Cuba, Cambodia, Vietnam, China, and Laos under the Soviet "aid with strings" policy, receive a university education. The most important newcomer is Japan. At second place in the world among the sending countries (see Table 1) she is making rapid strides towards becoming a major host nation reaching 6th position in the world in 1992. The case of Japan is treated separately in Chapter 5.

It is worth noting that whilst international study is being seen as big business, a small number of players are dominating the market. Eight countries together receive more than a million students leaving only +222 000 in the other twelve. The former colonial

powers, France, Britain, Germany, the vestiges of the empire of the USSR, in the form of the Russian federation, and one might add the US as a major economic and political power, receive 884 079 students which is about 75% of the world's international students (1 222 507).

Increasingly, the other English speaking countries are working to challenge the US as the major provider of higher education internationally. Many European countries are developing an interest in internationalism because of increasing federalism *within the* EU.

Of the modernising nations, India has throughout her history been proud of her university education, and traditionally has welcomed students from the African countries, from throughout the sub-continent and from her nearer neighbours. Jordan maintains a long tradition of provider of education in Arabic to the Arab world.

The reasons why universities seek out students from other countries is one of the primary interests of this work, but can briefly be encapsulated as follows. The US and all those countries majorly involved in receiving international students are motivated in one of the following ways: commercial benefits; trade and diplomacy enhancement (functioning as philanthropy); political ideology; religious zeal or a combination of these.

V CONCLUSION

The movement of increasing numbers of international students continues to raise important economic academic and political issues which have impacted variously on both the sending and receiving countries. (Rajendran 1986) (Hayhoe 1984, 1989) represent the former and (Chandler 1989) and (Kenyon 1990) the latter.

The sending countries are beginning to articulate some of the many problems in dispatching large numbers of young people abroad. The majority of international students world wide, are financed by family and friends, (Altbach 1991) so it seems reasonable to assume that decisions to study abroad are based on individual and family circumstances. To overseas fees can be added overseas living expenses - calculated as a minimum of £10,000 per student per year in Britain in the mid-nineties and it can be calculated that the financial sums behind this movement are not inconsiderable and represent huge drains on any country's foreign capital reserves.

Tax-payers in some countries question the wisdom of governmental support for international study, which is not universally applauded as "a good thing". Although it is seen as a safety valve for the pressing demands for higher education opportunities within countries which cannot be met by any other means. Governments who implement or encourage such policies and practices find themselves incurring criticism from within and even outside their countries. It is being debated whether it would profit countries more to develop their own tertiary education rather than to purchase overseas study. For example, in Turkey, the government has taken up a compromise

position to allocate substantial sums in scholarships for graduate studies only, in order to develop an intellectual elite to implement and service the development of higher education in Turkey. (Turkish Daily News March 1995).

Among the host nations, debate centres on the putative long term benefits of supporting international students financially, a view which has been disputed by those opposing the trade and diplomacy argument. The theory was that, in the past, Britain's influence overseas was strengthened by educating at the UK tax-payers' expense the future opinion formers in friendly overseas countries hoping that, when they were in positions of power and influence, they would remember with gratitude their alma mater and the country to whom they were beholden.

In Britain, the importance of international study has been intensified in the nineties by changes in government policy towards the funding of higher education. This has resulted in an emphasis on the cash-benefits of increasing international student numbers. Some Vice-Chancellors are inspired to bring internationalism to their campuses but current discourse centres on the academic impact of large numbers of university students who are not of the majority culture, and who may not have the educational background and linguistic competence to benefit from courses of advanced study.

The pro-international lobby makes claims that international student spending boosts local economies, which benefits devolve to the institutions. Many local variations support this point. American universities where living accommodation is not at such

a premium as it is in this country, confirm that international students bolster the internal economy of the college by taking up vacant space in dormitories left by Americans who prefer to live off campus.

Summary

1. The international student market is seen to be momentous and lucrative, (Zikopoulos 1992), with 1 329 252 students in fifty host counties participating, (Unesco 1995);
2. The USA leads the market and the other English speaking countries are all increasing their market share as Table 2 showed.
3. The UK's growing recruitment is benefiting the economy at national and institutional level;
4. EU student enrolment is not financially beneficial to the UK universities but;
5. East Asia is a new and plentiful source of full-cost students;
6. Japan is a major source of students, ranked second in the world in terms of participation in study abroad.

Despite the fact that it is both very big business internationally and a major dimension in higher education policies, there is a significant lacuna in serious research on the international student movement in the UK as Chapter 2 will reveal.

CHAPTER TWO

SEARCHING THE LITERATURE AND REVIEWING THE RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

I PREAMBLE

Altbach (1991) recognises that "*Foreign study has fairly recently emerged as a topic for serious research*" though he concedes that it is still somewhat peripheral to educational theory. There are signs that social scientists are beginning to concern themselves with the socio-economic ramifications of study abroad as well as with the political dimension. However, most work done in the field has been conducted by educationalists concerned with cross-cultural psychological and adjustment issues and student counselling. The literature, though plentiful, tends to be applied and atheoretical. The issues attract description but are seriously undertheorised.

A disadvantage to the British researcher in international student concerns is that the majority of research projects and consequent literature is American. More than half of research is by North American scholars using American data (Altbach *ibid*) thus compromising the issue of relevance elsewhere.

Of the remaining research on any aspect of foreign study, it is noteworthy that the bulk is conducted by certain of the industrialised "host" nations and not by the sending countries. Regrettably, given the politico-ideological aims of foreign study in the Communist bloc, there has been little research in the former Soviet Union. Neither

have the French made much effort to explore the effects of a sojourn in a foreign university despite the many foreign students (10% of the student body) in French universities, a larger percentage than in the States. It seems that much of the research interest in foreign students is being shown by the foreign doctoral students themselves - predominantly those in psychology or educational studies .

Specific difficulties in collecting data on international students was mentioned by Baroness Perry, Master of Lucy Cavendish College Cambridge and Chair of the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) Education and Training Export Sub-group speaking to international educators at the British Association of State English Language Teaching (BASELT) AGM in London in March 1996, urging them to lobby for better data collection methods. In the UK, figures are collected by the DfEE, British Council, British Tourist Board and the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Department who all calculate on the basis of different criteria. Moreover, figures are collected by agencies at different times according to the census dates set by government, which in turn are dictated by the academic years of the different countries. The organisation of academic work over semesters and terms also makes a difference. A further difficulty is that of nomenclature; what is a "course", indeed, what is a "student" ? As for the latter, the term used in this study means a person studying beyond the compulsory phase, which is not the definition of a student in many other educational systems. In addition, accurate figures are not available for short term periods of study abroad or for students in universities who are studying on what are considered not to be "regular" university programmes.

UNESCO's statistical yearbooks, which are standardising data collection, yield valuable information on student mobility. Notwithstanding, gaps in the information remain since Unesco relies on the volunteering of data from in-country censuses and cannot require individual countries to supply statistics . The Commonwealth Secretariat is a further resource though for information on activities concerning the countries of the Commonwealth only. Figures on international students movements or participation, therefore, should be triangulated as scrupulously as possible.

II A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature surveyed to support this research ranges widely over published work on educational, cultural and anthropological aspects of the international student experience. The literature analysed is related to a number of themes as follows:

i) The Problem Approach

One characteristic of the international student literature - especially in Britain - is the predominance of the "problem approach". We can trace this attitude back as far as 1231 to a quotation attributed to Henry III addressing the people of Cambridge, cited by Williams, P. (1982)

" Unless you conduct yourselves with more restraint and moderation towards them [overseas students], they will be driven into abandoning their studies and leaving the country, which we by no means desire".

Overseas students, desirable in principle but difficult in practice! In Britain, in the

days before international students had to pay for their education, and whilst their numbers were relatively modest, (less than 12,000 in the UK in 1960), the prevailing attitudes towards them were somewhat paternalistic, spawning a range of literature on perceived problems associated with a sojourn abroad, for example:

Plunket (1960) conducted research into the problems of African students; Singh (1963) considered the adjustment problems of Indian students in Britain; Kendall (1968) at the University of London, looked closely at a multi-national group of mature students. Working from the Residential Unit for Students Problems, he was particularly interested in investigating overseas students and their families. Sen's (1963) work on overseas students and nurses has endured and is often referred to. These early studies typify the concerns of the time in that they focus on the experiences of groups of students who entered Britain in the economically buoyant days of the fifties and early sixties, many of whom had expectations of Britain as the mother country. They came from societies with a high regard for Britain, respect for her traditions, had a certain amount of European cultural capital and may well have had relatives who had been educated in Britain .

Other studies saw international study as problematical but challenging; these include Reed, Hutton & Bazalgette (1978) which is reviewed in more detail later; and Mason (1979) with a collection of essays allowing the students to speak for themselves.

Hall (1980) focused on students in Birmingham at the university and erstwhile polytechnic; Donald and Durojaiye (1984) moved their locus of interest to mature overseas students with their work on "wives and mothers".

ii) Cross-cultural Adjustment Issues

Difficulties of adjustment to the host country and subsequent re-adjustment to the home country at the end of the period has also been documented. Rendahl (1978) looked at cultural discontinuity in the teenage years and identified a phenomenon which she describes as, "culture dysphoria syndrome". Trezise and Furnham (1983) took up the issue of the pressures of the sojourn abroad contributing to mental ill-health amongst overseas students. Cookson (1981) investigated what measures were being taken to help overseas students who were victims of culture shock. These papers are in addition to a body of specialist literature in psychology, psychotherapy and counselling, outside the scope of this thesis but from which important insights can be gained on the mental health of sojourners should this be of interest to pursue.

iii) Curriculum Relevance

Baron (1979) and Walker (1988) have commented on the relevance of the foreign university's curriculum to nation-specific problems. Altbach (1991) discusses the impact and relevance of the western curriculum and the transferability of knowledge. Curriculum significance to the meeting of international students' personal and professional objectives is thought to be one of the reasons behind the unsatisfactory outcomes of the course content for some students in British institutions.

A facet of this issue is the re-appraisal of the nature of the university as embodying the spirit of internationalism both in terms of curriculum and client. This theme is being increasingly explored for instance, Altbach (1989), Berchem (1991) and Seidel

(1991) call on universities to see internationalism as a new challenge.

iv) International Student Policies

Goodwin and Nacht (1983) summarise their views on policy making in international student affairs in the phrase "*absence of decision*". They describe the decision making situation in American universities in terms of " ... *policy formation and lack thereof.*"

Spaulding and Mauch (1992) drew together threads of a number of policy issues including programmes and collaborative arrangements with students and scholars, as well as pointing up continuing research needs. Groennings et al (1991) conducted an analysis of the content of the Chronicle of Higher Education over a period of five years in the eighties. The conclusions were that policy decisions of colleges and universities concerning foreign students are all made reactively and focus on research, foreign students themselves, investments and academic programmes abroad. Universities were urged to work towards an institutional comprehensive strategic plan for policies on internationalism.

Light (1993) offers a critical re-appraisal of America's changing role in international higher education. He identifies world trends affecting higher education and argues that American universities must strive to offer the foreign students on whom they rely financially a high quality education.

Bown, (1994) has made an important contribution to thinking on policy with a

collection of papers on strategies and mechanisms for strengthening exchanges and directing and expanding the flow of Commonwealth students from the developing nations towards other developing nations, not concentrating exclusively on the experiences to be gained in the universities of the post-industrialised countries. She emphasises the advantages of South-South migration to militate against the problems of alienation and curriculum relevance.

Gopinathan (1994) in Bown (ibid) states that, "*Nigeria is almost alone in having an explicit policy on foreign students*". Not entirely alone however since the Japanese government has announced a scheme to encourage 100 000 foreign students to Japan by the millennium, "... *the Foreign Students Policy has to be regarded as one of Japan's most important national policies for the coming 21st century*" (Monbusho 1996), and is half way towards realising that goal, (see Table 2).

British government and institutional policies on international student affairs form a substantial body of literature in the UK. The particular policy decision which provoked debate on an unprecedented scale was the decision in 1979 to abolish subsidies on overseas students' fees in British institutions and charge the full cost of their education. Since this aspect of policy forms a substantive part of Chapter 3 the literature and research pertaining to it will be integrated in the text of that chapter rather than dealt with here.

Neither will other country-specific literature, relating to higher education policies be

reviewed here, since the major axis of policy and decision-making covered in this thesis is the UK-Japan axis, contrasting from time to time with the US-Japan connection. Literature specifically on Japan is reviewed in Chapter 5.

v) Socio-economic Issues

We have seen that the political economy of overseas study has been promoted as a neglected research issue by Altbach (1991) though Greenaway and Tuck (1995) have made a significant contribution with a comprehensive coverage of the economic impact of international students in Britain. Previously, aspects much researched centre around the financial aspects of international study to the students and their host institutions, though the financial cost to the students themselves is often interpreted as a welfare issue, for instance, Donald and Durojaiye (1984) were particularly concerned about the financial hardships incurred by overseas students and their families.

The Coombe Lodge Report produced by the Further Education Staff College (1985) produced a number of papers on the topic including the work of Birch (1985) examining student costs and fees; Hardern (1985) on marginal costing and the fees issue; Latcham (1985) on the reasons that unit costs affected the setting of overseas student fees; Rowland (1985) explored the issues centring on student contracting. These policies and procedures in Britain were seen as part of the recruitment configuration and were a reaction to the on-going investigation into the implications of the full-cost fees policy explored in Chapter 3.

John O'Leary, then Deputy Editor of the Times Higher Education Supplement (THES) was responsible for a series of articles on the theme including, " A case for rescinding the full-cost fees theory," (May 1981), " Scarman judgement leads to stalemate," (January 1983), " Full-cost principle stays despite fees concession," (March 1983), and " Truth about full-cost fees," (May 1985).

vi) International Students: Clients or Guests?

In the UK, the erstwhile Overseas Student Trust (OST), a charity directed by leaders of business and commerce motivated to protect Britain's trade interests overseas, and the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs (UKCOSA), have been influential in shaping the thinking of educators and government on international student issues with the World University Service (WUS), especially in its work for refugees, offering a different dimension. The National Union of Students made useful contributions to the debate, and with the forming of the Educational Counselling Service (ECS), the British Council has added its significant knowledge and experience to the discourse on international student affairs.

Other interest groups making valuable contributions include, in the United States, The National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, Association of International Educators NAFSA, The United States Information Service (USIS), the American Association of College Registrars and Administration Officers (AACRAO) and in Europe, the Association of European International Educators (EAIE). Their work has proved to be crucially important to practitioners though they tend to be concerned with

concrete issues relating to members' professional lives, rather than to research. Despite this important body of work the international student question remains under-theorised.

The first significant report on international student affairs was that commissioned by the OST, based on research conducted by the Grubb Institute for Behavioural Sciences popularly referred to in the literature as the "Grubb Report" (1978). The report concluded that in general, agencies had tended to discuss international students as though they were a homogeneous group and cautioned,

" Essentially the term 'overseas student' is an idea which is held in the mind as a convenient label, but it is a mistake to try and use it as an instrument under the impression that it concerns a coherent group of individuals ... This line of reasoning leads us to conclude that [international students] can most appropriately be described as individuals with special characteristics, because they have come from abroad to study in the UK." Reed, Hutton, Bazalgette (1978).

This thesis will argue further that it is unhelpful to attempt to categorise even those students who share a language and a culture as a homogeneous group, since much of student behaviour, ostensible ability, and realisation of objectives, depends on individual student goals. To what extent their presence in the country is as a consequence of acting on their personally articulated educational aims is likely to be a significant issue.

vii) Student Welfare in a Commercial Environment

Researchers and observers of international students in the UK have, on the whole, tended to concentrate their interests on welfare issues. This is true of the OST and particularly UKCOSA who have been effective lobbyists in the matter of student well-being.

The introduction of full-cost fees for international students in 1979 provoked in the universities an unprecedented interest in the service that those students who continued to "buy British" deserved. Students were thought of as "clients" and phrases like "responsible recruitment" and "after sales care" became the vogue.

References to international education and international students as a commodity became commonplace. Guptara writing in the THES in 1981 referred to "*foreign trade*" to describe the overseas students recruitment effort; O'Leary, ran a series of articles in the THES on the ramifications of the current high costs of overseas study on the magnitude of the international student flow and consequent influence on the composition of the student body, "The import and export swing in students", (June 1982); Hempel (1983) spoke of the "*foreign student bazaar*"; In 1985, Ecclesfield spelled out the importance of recruitment "*with a conscience*" at the Coombe Lodge Conference debating the development of a policy for international student recruitment.

As numbers of international students gradually increased in the UK however, and the "market" became more and more competitive, it is not surprising that good practice

came to be seen as "good business" and that many practitioners looked to the agencies mentioned above for advice and guidance.

Two major volumes which made significant contributions to the debate surrounding the full-cost fees controversy came from the specialist London University Institute of Education Policies in Higher Education unit. Williams (1981) published a collection of commissioned analytical studies, followed by his work on policy alternatives and future recommendations, Williams (1982). These studies touched on important economic issues including "costs" and "benefits", British diplomatic and trade interests, aid, impact on British foreign policy and the internationalisation of British higher education. A later survey, Williams, Woodhall and O'Brien (1986), looked at the effects of full-cost fees on the destinations of international students.

Dissenting voices continued to be raised, including that of Randolph Quirk, then Vice-Chancellor of London University, who described the situation at that time as "*... a disaster resulting in a deterioration in relations with friendly countries*". (cited in Williams, L., 1990). Bristow (1981) spoke of a recipe for inertia, referring to the putative ameliorating practices and procedures set out in the "Pym package" discussed in detail in Chapter 3 ; Williams (1981) marshalled the trade and diplomacy arguments against the Thatcher camp with his article on, "How to lose friends and influence abroad". A volume of essays, Williams et al (1987), was previously published in Higher Education Quarterly, in a special edition devoted to exploring a number of perspectives in the continuing debate.

viii) The International Student Experience

Examination of the student experience had come to be of central concern, whether it be from a desire to offer a caring service, or to expiate the guilt of turning international education into a "*cattle market*" as the Malaysian president of the Students Union at Leicester observed in Kuala Lumpur in 1988 reported in the Times Higher Educational Supplement on April 15.

The work of UKCOSA at national and local level, *has attempted to keep the student experience in the forefront of policy-making, working towards a better understanding of the long-term implications of government and university managers' decisions on student perceptions.* The prize winning entries from the UKCOSA essay competition for overseas students written by and about the students themselves, were published as, *Suffering for Success*, (Mason 1979). Indications arising from this publication were, as is implicit in the title, that students were questioning their relationship with the British people and the appropriateness, value, indeed success, in whatever terms, of the education they were offered.

In 1987, at the UKCOSA annual conference, international educators were challenged to consider what benefits other than monetary were to be gained from the presence of overseas students in their midst. Trying to open up the debate towards a more philosophical stance the Chair asked participants to reflect on the educational benefits to institutions with numbers of international students, which topic he followed up in

a THES leader, " A Semi-detached question", (Scott 1987) expressing disappointment at the lack of educational theory underpinning the international student debate. Walker attempted to encourage discussion with " Profits in a Working Mix" (THES August 12 1988).

Overseas Students - Who learns What?, was the challenging title of the UKCOSA conference proceedings, (Shotnes 1985a), a collection of essays promoting the notion that both the recipients and the hosts in international education experience a challenge to their assumptions and preconceptions. Shotnes (1985b) focused attention on the teaching and tutoring of overseas students. The work was the result of a workshop for academics and other interested parties in further and higher education whose efforts concentrated on improving existing methodology and approaches without attempting to evaluate either the effectiveness of provision or attainment of student objectives.

Olu Nwana (1985) in Shotnes (1985a) challenged, "The Relevance of Overseas Study", calling attention to the lack of consonance between Western teaching and learning traditions and either the Muslim Koranic education of much of Nigeria or the older indigenous African learning. Nwana criticised the curriculum of British universities as determined by a not very clearly articulated " *... future utility, ...subjects or courses comprising principles to be applied as the needs arise...*"

Bristow and Shotnes (1987) provided an opportunity to hear the student voice which offered unique insights. Overseas Students At Home in Britain?. It provides a classic

statement on the condition of life for students in Britain and the extent to which their needs are met. It is clear from a reading of the essays that this generation of students is in a different financial relationship to Britain than the students of Suffering for Success of ten years before. Kazim Bacchus (1987) writes of the commercialisation of higher education in Britain since the full-cost fees policy. " ... *with the latter development these students had now assumed the role of clients to whom education had to be marketed like any other commodity*".

xi) Responsible Recruitment

In 1986, UKCOSA produced a collection of position papers Towards a Policy on International Education, (UKCOSA 1986) which contained a key essay, "The Need for a Responsible Recruitment Policy". Another advocated a true internationalism in higher education with interests other than pecuniary (authors not named). Sherlock, in Smith (1988), described the hazards of "Recruiting in Dangerous Waters", recalling the days when universities encouraged students, particularly from the Commonwealth, to study in Britain to assist the process of development in those countries to which Britain was indebted after centuries of colonialism. She warned that "*these considerations have been overshadowed by the financial needs of institutions*". The THES has made significant contributions in instigating a discourse on the student "market" as a result of which, institutions debated their own market share, and pondered ways of increasing it, facilitated in their discussions by the British Council Marketing News.

Although students were beginning to be thought of as clients there was little informed discussion on the other side of the equation, that is, the university as producer. There was little questioning of the validity or desirability of the product, and few voices were raised in support of re-designing it to meet the clients' needs more closely, though Semple-Piggott (1985) in Shotnes (1985b) saw this world-view as "*a systems failure*" which, he suggested, was increasingly dangerous for the well-being of universities and the health of courses with "*the development of a market in which overseas students increasingly take on the role of critical selective consumers*". The main thrust of the debate however centred on how institutions could make the clients comfortable whilst they consumed the indigestible product, rather than serious consideration of how the product itself could be made more palatable.

Shotnes (1985) had identified the "*buyers' market*" and warned that in such a market the overseas customers had a greater potential to manipulate and demand (Williams, L., 1990). They would increasingly go where they felt they would obtain value for money. There were no signs at this stage that modifications to the product might be demanded.

The British Council's Code of Practice (ECS/EPS 1989) urging institutions to adopt policies on responsible recruitment and student-centred after care, built on the UKCOSA code of practice and was later endorsed by the CVCP.

x) Linguistic and Inter-cultural Interferences

Academics, especially practitioners, have tended to confine their research to aspects of international study which are supported by academically robust theory, applied linguistic, socio-cultural and so forth, to support their investigations. Frequently visited themes are language and cultural influences:

a) Language

In 1960, Livingstone pointed to problems of language proficiency as significant to an international student's success. The well known study by Sen (1970) referred to earlier, warned that language mastery was not in itself a useful predictor of international students' chances of success but conceded that students tended to overestimate their own ability in this domain and were reluctant to admit to difficulties.

It is also widely accepted that the informal colloquial style of many practitioners in British higher education is a barrier to students' comprehension (Walker 1988). Students have testified that they prefer to read the textbook than attend the lectures of some academics, because the English of the book is easier to understand.

Carlas (1966) had previously covered this phenomenon emphasising that students preferred to rely on books so that they could move at their own pace. Elton (1985) in Shotnes (1985b) supports this view adding that "*Self-study material was also of considerable help*". He re-iterates the point made earlier

that " *A formal style of presentation was easier for the non-native speaker to understand than a more casual style.*"

Jordan and Mackay (1973) commented on difficulties experienced as a result of elements of communication styles which featured slang, humour, allusion, heavy regional accents and so on, recommending that students needed to spend more time with native speakers. Campbell (1974) identified academic concerns as particularly significant for international students citing as areas of difficulty, essay writing, speaking in tutorials and following lectures. Niven (1987) in Bristow and Shotnes adds, "*... and the inadequacies of supervision and course direction to which many of them [international students] draw attention*".

It seems however, as we survey the literature, that these "problems" are seen by British university staff as being the responsibility of the students rather than the educators and that the solutions are in the hands of the students. An illustration of this continuing perspective can be found in interview data collected as part of the empirical research for this thesis. Post Graduate Teaching Assistants (PGTAs) in the case study institution complained that the international students they had been given to tutor "*just want to be told what to do, they don't know how to work on their own they aren't ready for higher education*" (feedback data from staff development workshop reported to the writer).

Many universities now offer study skills and pre-sessional courses (discussed in Chapter 8) which provide further and welcome inflows of income in the form of short courses including pre-sessionals. Unfortunately, this provision tends to marginalise the language proficiency issue and vindicate policy makers and managers. It is typical of the short-termism that dogs international student issues in British universities and obviates the necessity to make hard decisions about relevance, validity and value for money.

b) The culture-bound nature of academic discourse

It is widely accepted and well documented that difficulties are encountered by students when they move outside the traditions in which they have been acculturated and confront foreign educational principles and practices. Problems relating to conflicting expectations by teachers and students from learning and teaching styles prevailing in Confucian and Platonic traditions are well understood by teachers of English as a foreign language and are taken cognisance of in EFL methodology. Outside the language classrooms however, many international students suffer alienation.

Burns (1965) commented that international students were reluctant to use their own initiative in planning their programmes and were uncomfortable with the lack of direction from tutors. Singh (1963) had also emphasised problems springing from habits learned in a different educational system in which rote-learning, deference to teachers and emphasis on individual competitiveness was

unexceptional. Kendall (1986) produced a comprehensive bibliography of help and guidance for international students. Much of this was premised on the belief that whilst international students were in need of the education Britain could provide, they would inevitably experience problems in obtaining it hence the encouragement to seek appropriate help. The emphasis continued to be on coping strategies, that is, making the best of what seemed to be thought of as emic difficulties.

One study which highlighted academic concerns and which did seem to throw a certain amount of new light on the subject of students from overseas was the Grubb Institute Study by Reed et al (1978). It was explained that most of the students in the survey judged everything from the perspective of how issues hindered or helped their academic work. They mentioned the inadequacies of their advisers and the absence of guidelines. They also protested at the overwhelmingly British context of the teaching material that was used. The study recommended altering the structure and organisation of services to international students.

The British Council followed this up with a study in 1980 on the learning problems of international students. The research identified the root causes of a series of problems to lie in the engrained study habits of the students, born from the culturally determined academic environment in which they had been socialised. These included passive understanding of learned problem solutions,

using questions for clarification rather than for probing, and an absence of lateral thinking.

III A SHORTFALL IN THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

Increasingly the impact of foreign student enrolment on the host nations' universities is being taken seriously by the receiving countries. The THES reported on February 3 1995 that recent figures released by the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York, confirmed record numbers of international students admitted to United States colleges in the academic year 1994/5, over half of the 444 000 plus of whom were from Asia. That pattern was being duplicated in Britain as Chapter Three will demonstrate.

Decision-making on international student interests in the US has, in the past, taken place by default according to Goodwin and Nacht (1983). They claimed that operational practices and institutional thinking throughout the host countries are the result of an uneasy alliance of the "market forces" of the third world eager for higher education opportunities, and the academic institutions of the industrialised nations, eager to fill their classrooms. Few researchers have attempted to take the long view and investigate the consequences which might occur should these worlds collide.

In a survey in 1995 conducted by the Higher Education Information Services Trust (HEIST) with the Universities Central Admissions System (UCAS), 39% of

international students in Britain reported that they had family members who had studied here. This led the authors of the report to conclude that cultivating alumni was a strategy for recruitment which ought to bring success exponentially and that universities should allocate resources to this end. A disconfirming viewpoint is offered by one international student respondent who is quoted as saying, *"It's fair that UK students don't pay as you don't want to be overrun with a lot of foreigners"*.

Only 6% of the students surveyed wanted to live in halls of residence specially for overseas undergraduates the rest preferring to live in halls with British students so that they would be able to improve their English and experience British culture. What the quotation above only partly obscures is the fear that the growing numbers of international students in British universities will inevitably bring about changes in the British university experience and what these changes might be has not been systematically investigated by practising academics.

In Britain, institutions have concerned themselves with work on recruitment trends, strategic plans in respect of international marketing, financial considerations and welfare issues, which contrasts sharply with the dearth of research interest in academic or curriculum issues, specifically those related to the impact on institutions of growing numbers of international students. Altbach, who provides the best overview of coverage of the issues makes the point that *"Work on the impact of increasing numbers of international students on host institutions has not been much in evidence"* (1992), though more recently, Greenaway and Tuck (1995) have encouraged research

on the non-economic costs of international students to institutions.

In summary, the thrust of UK research as indicated above has been in a dissection of the problems of international students from a producer's perspective, that is, how can we help the consumer appreciate or accommodate the product as it stands. Difficulty in swallowing the tried and tested fare is thought to be a congenital disorder of the client and no reflection on the suitability of the goods. An after-dinner speaker at an international student affairs conference in Cambridge in 1990 at which the writer was present described international students as "*disasters waiting to happen!*" and this patronising view was not atypical of many involved in international student work in Britain .

Only Makepiece and Baxter (1990) have made a serious attempt to assess the success or otherwise of international students on courses here, and as they reported, obtaining the co-operation of other institutions was very difficult. Information is not easily available on international student failure rates. Reflective practitioners with experience and intimate involvement with international students are not channelling their knowledge and expertise into systematic research. Nor has there been a serious audit of modifications to educational provision that are going on country-wide. When universities in Britain are relying on international student fee income for significant percentages of their general recurrent income, there are compelling reasons why the effects on receiving institutions of rising international student numbers should warrant critical investigation. That international study is universally beneficial or that it can

be exponentially developed in higher education, is an unchallenged axiom espoused by self-interested parties which has not been tested by research.

So, from this broad-brush backdrop of international student issues, the focus narrows to an investigation into the policies and operational practices relating to the international student enterprise in Britain in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

GUEST OR CLIENT: INTERNATIONAL STUDENT POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN BRITAIN

I A HISTORY OF POLICY

i) Background

British government policies on international student issues leading to the instatement of full-cost fees, and the changes in the way international students were subsequently viewed, are of importance in understanding the current position on student recruitment and institutional funding in British higher education at the time of writing. The purpose of this chapter is to chart the main events leading to and following from that period of time.

ii) Developments to 1979

Students from overseas have been entering British universities in considerable numbers since the mid-19th century. Many came from the British Empire's former colonies and, after independence, the Commonwealth, believing that British was best and in particular that a British education was superior to that of any country in the world. Traditionally, the tuition fees of all foreign students, whether or not they had ties with Britain, had been heavily subsidised by the British taxpayer; the fee set represented only a small proportion of the real costs of education.

Successive governments had been grappling with the problem of rising student numbers and open-ended subsidies at a time of increasing economic difficulty. In 1960 there were more than 27 500 international students in publicly-funded further and higher education in Britain, (Kenyon 1990) (Williams 1990), the numbers having risen steeply from 21 000 in 1958. During the late sixties and into the seventies a number of social and economic factors came together to increase public awareness of the overseas student presence. The following concerns impinged upon the position of international students in Britain at that time:

- . escalating overseas demand
- . economic difficulties at home
- . concerns about the cost of education
- . large scale immigration
- . growth in racist attitudes
- . Britain's responsibilities to the independent Commonwealth nations questioned

In 1966 Anthony Crosland announced a policy for the academic year 67/68, aimed at regulating the numbers of overseas students by the introduction of a differential fee. This was set at £250, three and a half times that of the nominal home students fee.

Shirley Williams was the Minister of Education who presided over what came to be seen as a turning point in overseas student (as it was then known) policy. Despite the imposition of the £250 tuition fee however, numbers of students continued to rise.

TABLE 3

STUDENTS FROM ABROAD IN BRITAIN PRE-1979

<i>notes</i>	<i>YEAR</i>	<i>TOTAL NOs</i>
£250 fee in HE	1969	28 680
	1970	33 854
	1971	38 420
	1972	43 620
	1973	51 426
	1974	60 368
	1975	73 698
	1976	81 721
	1977	83 951
numbers peaked	1978	84 448
. numbers fell for first time . fee increased to £940	1979	82 373

Source: Statistics of Education, HMSO, Vol.3 Further Education, (various years 1971, 1979) University Statistics, UGC, Vol.1 Students and Staff, 1969 - 1980, figures for 1980 not issued)

Data on student numbers for this period are classified and presented by government as "university" and "further education". Data in the "further education" volumes include polytechnic first degree students, college of higher education undergraduates and colleges of art and technology courses leading to degrees. The purpose of the table above is to indicate the aggregate numbers coming from abroad to Britain to study on advanced or degree level programmes. For the purposes of this study, the relevant figures have been combined to show the international student population at the time.

Setting the first differential fee in 1969, government's expressed intention was to decrease public spending on non-compulsory education and, just as importantly, reduce numbers. The seemingly inexorable growth in overall numbers did not falter throughout the decade however, despite the inching up of fees, culminating in the significant rise in 1979.

The slow growth at the beginning of the decade speeded up towards its end, until, in the late seventies, students from overseas accounted for 20% of the student body. The government in 1977 took steps to regulate (which means reduce) student numbers by the imposition of quotas. It was hoped that a combination of market forces (cost) and regulation (quotas) would together halt the headlong expansion.

The incoming Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher introduced full-cost fees in May 1979. This momentous decision caused a rise of 33% *initially* to £1 230 for postgraduate courses and £940 for other higher education courses. Sir Geoffrey

Howe maintained that the British people were still subsidising overseas students to the tune of 60% of full educational costs.

The Tories asserted unequivocally that Higher Education was a marketable asset: all new students would be expected to pay the average costs of tuition. Institutions had benefited from government subsidies for overseas students and this money, estimated at £100 million at 1979 prices, was progressively withdrawn over the academic years 80/81, 81/82, 82/83. It was resolved that the British taxpayer would no longer foot the bill for growing numbers of international students directly or indirectly.

iii) Effects of the Introduction of Full Cost Fees

"... overnight as it were international student numbers plummeted until, with the Pym Package (of carefully targeted aid) ... the long haul back began", O'Leary (1990)

A dramatic decline in enrolment levels had been forecast. Whether or not the dismal prophecy was to come to pass, after 1979 and the sudden loss of their government subsidies, it was incumbent on institutions to think creatively about how they would maintain their recurrent income, given this unplanned-for deficit in funding. Much of the furore at the introduction of full-cost fees was led by the Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the universities, who orchestrated a campaign against the government in the early eighties. There has been no identifiable move since those days on the part of Vice-Chancellors to modify this policy. On the contrary, the higher educational

press in 1996 reported the deliberations of the CVCP on whether the time was right to introduce tuition fees for home students.(THES September 20)

Although every attempt has been made to be accurate, this is something of a challenge. Data on international students from secondary sources differ widely according to the writers and the argument being put forward. Working from primary sources is complicated by the many changes that have taken place in post-compulsory education in Britain during the period of interest to this study. The collection and analysis of statistics on tertiary level participation, over the last three decades, has been bedeviled by changes in nomenclature, in responsibilities of government departments, in the presentation of data, and in the categorisations of data.

" A further complication is that, perhaps inevitably changes in the classification of subjects studied and country coverage have also occurred during the period in question". (Greenaway and Tuck 1995)

It should be noted that once numbers dropped from their local maximum in 1978 they continued to decline until 1983/4 reaching a low for the period . The 1984 enrolment figure shows a halt in the decline followed by a rally the following year. 1985 saw an important rise of 7 000 which began the climb back which has not abated to the present day.

Some economists are of the view that the effects of the world recession and the marked appreciation in sterling's real exchange rate contributed as much to the decline in aggregate numbers as the full-cost fees policy (Greenaway and Tuck 1995) and it is more than likely that the overall picture is a combination of supply-side impetus followed by a number of demand-side factors. By the end of the eighties international student numbers had reached a figure equivalent to midway between the 1975 and

1976 totals. Despite the remarkable recovery, however, British "international education" had been set back fourteen years.

One fear expressed at the time was that the Commonwealth students to whom it was felt Britain had some responsibility would be driven away by the increased costs . Yet Niven (1988) disputes the view that Britain's overseas student recruitment had ever embodied "*unalloyed altruism*" towards the needy and unenlightened. As he explains, "*From the late nineteenth-century onwards it was... the usual practice of the authorities in far flung corners of the Empire to send to British public schools and to Oxford and Cambridge their hand picked aspirants to a place in the local order of government.*"

It is unlikely that a few hundred pounds would cause this particular clientele to weaken. The data above show that numbers peaked in 1978/79 just **before** the full-cost fee was introduced. It seems that the government's earlier decision to rely on a combination of market forces and quotas was starting to have an effect as Table 3 showed, and might have had long-term effects if it had been allowed to run, in which case there would have been no need for the 1979 decision. Williams (1990) claims that the government chose to go ahead, in ignorance of the actual numbers of international students in the cohort that year since they consulted neither the DES nor FCO. The key players at that point were the Treasury and Cabinet.

iv) Reaction to the Policy

Throughout the UK, the "overseas student question" united critical opposition to government policy, from many walks of life and across the political spectrum, yet "policies" have remained virtually unchanged to this day, so adamant was the British government that the cost of educating overseas students was a burden they were no longer prepared to shoulder and that the situation could be turned around to become a benefit to Britain.

Chandler (1989) commented that with the full-cost fees policy *"Foreign student policy in Britain ... entered the modern age,"* noticing that this change in government thinking affected other countries like Australia and New Zealand who later began to question the sustainability of their policies on international student affairs. So the effects of 1979 were long ranging and long lasting.

The OST was a powerful lobby, raising policy issues in the consciousness of politicians and educators and calling on professionals to try to bring about " *the development of a coherent national policy for foreign students to replace the current mixture of goals and jurisdictions*". (Kenyon 1990)

Scott (1987) has described the overseas student issue as *"a semi-detached question"*, much commented on pragmatically but lacking a broader philosophical base. He also makes the point that, as a result of all the furore over fees, " *overseas students are now being taken seriously, rather than for granted.*"

People within the universities and outside were angry because they believed Britain had betrayed her proud tradition of hosting needy students from abroad, but as Niven (in Smith 1988) comments, this is a disputed accolade. During the days of Empire, Britain had indeed sought to educate potential opinion formers (Nehru, Mrs Ghandi, Kenneth Kaunda, Hastings Banda, Robert Mugabe and countless others) though these people *"did not emerge without some measure of colonial patronage behind them"*. Noble motives tempered by *"an element of expediency"*. The diplomatic and trade justifications for the presence of overseas students had, according to a THES journalist (4/4/86) (cited in Williams 1990) never been properly articulated except in *"rather soggy and even sentimental terms"*, vaguely encouraging the educational enlightenment of influential public figures. Academics and politicians wanted to see a role for Britain as provider of not only material aid (in the form of education) but British culture in order to ensure the civilised development of the newly independent states. Others saw it as a means of promoting Britain's commercial and political interests overseas. (Williams 1990)

There is a case to be argued that Britain had a moral obligation to those newly-independent Commonwealth countries who remained reliant on the former motherland for further education opportunities because Britain had failed in her duty to develop a comprehensive education service for her dominions during the colonial period. This is a real responsibility and not, as has been implied, a tiresome legacy or obligation from the imperial past (Williams L. 1990 citing Williams P. 1981). The case of Nigeria is not atypical. The colonial administration had not set up a single secondary school in the entire Hausa kingdom (of the seven bakwei states in the north) until the

late 1930s (Bray 1981).

The removal of fee subsidies for international students in Britain has been seen as a demonstration of the final abdication of commitment to "*academic internationalism*", a term used by Chandler (1985) and echoed by Kenyon (1990) in a speech at the International Symposium in Kobe Japan.

v) Policy Revisions and 'the Pym Package'

Reasons for the recuperation and subsequent *maturation of the international student* market after 1984 have been much discussed but it is important to consider the significance of the Pym Package of 1983 (announcing carefully targeted aim to certain nations and groups within nations) to the general recovery.

Measures were devised to ameliorate what were seen as the damaging effects of the full-cost fees policy. This counter-policy was named after Mr (now Sir) Francis Pym the then Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and was a (belated) reaction to widespread international hostility and considerable damage to Britain's commercial and diplomatic relations overseas. Williams P.'s (1981) article, "How to lose friends and influence abroad" was typical of educational journalism copy of the time.

Malaysia, Hong Kong and Nigeria were very much to the forefront of the protests, Malaysia becoming renowned for her "Buy British Last" campaign parodying the Buy British First catchphrase of the time.

Francis Pym's department at the FCO, had borne the worst of the backlash of protests from overseas despite, as has been noted, not having taken any part in the 1979 decision. Pym's proposals were based on many of, though not all, those put forward by the OST. They were moderate in scope not advocating a return to across the board subsidies but a sum of £46 million spread over three years was to be provided for scholarships which helped to meet specific policy objectives held by the government. (This was in addition to the £50 million already spent on scholarships.) Only £25 million of the £46 million was new money, the rest having been transferred from the Aid budget!

When Martin Kenyon in his 1990 speech in Kobe says that the government's backing of Francis Pym's measures meant that it was admitting it had made a mistake, he takes no credit for the powerful lobbying by the OST, under his leadership, to bring this about. Williams, L., (1990) quoting Williams, P., (1984) argues that "*the Trust succeeded in winning the confidence of Whitehall by the reasonableness of its approach in contrast to what the government regarded as unduly shrill and uninformed comment coming from elsewhere*". This is also acknowledged by Chandler (1989). Kenyon (op cit) sums up,

"The 1983 announcement was the last major government input into international student policy. The [Pym] package did nothing to alter the fact of full-cost fees. Indeed it joined with the 1979 decision to form the cornerstone of a government policy which is essentially that there should be no general subsidy of overseas students but that, in accordance with

national interests and obligations, a degree of carefully-targeted scholarship support should be made available."

Despite the fact that it was obviously a damage limitation exercise - the Economist reported (February 26 1983) that *"the most embarrassing diplomatic cases are to be given special treatment"* - it was reasonably successful and Pym himself enjoyed a certain degree of respect. It is interesting to note that history has conspired to merge the two events (i.e. full-costs fees and Pym package) as if they were two segments of a holistic policy Williams (1990) reports. This is not the case and has been disputed in the THES (March 1st 1985) in a leader, " History is re-written " which he cites.

The affair was eventually defused but criticism of the British Government from abroad and from inside the country, aimed at the short-termism of policies and lack of consultation with interested groups who might have alerted the government to the ramifications of its actions, have left the British people (especially educators) with the feeling that this was a rather shameful period in educational history.

II CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT PROFILE

i) Changes by level and sector

Clearly, institutions after 1979 developed new strategies for recruiting from overseas remarkably quickly. Overseas student numbers fell and then rose overall, but it is worth breaking down the global figures to demonstrate who were the winners and who the losers after 1979.

TABLE 5

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE UK: BY SECTOR (1969/1979)

Year	Universities	F/HEIs	Totals
1969	16 770	11 910	28 680
1970	18 252	15 602	33 854
1971	19 865	18 555	38 420
1972	22 007	21 613	43 620
1973	24 880	26 546	51 426
1974	27 972	32 394	60 368
1975	31 539	42 159	73 698
1976	34 075	47 646	81 721
1977	35 494	48 457	83 951
1978	36 839	47 609	84 448
1979	35 177	45 534	82 373

Source: Statistics of Education HMSO various years

* by F/HEIs (Further and Higher Education Institutions) is meant **all institutions** other than those institutions which were known as **universities** before the dissolution of the binary line; these included, Polytechnics, Colleges of Higher Education, Colleges of Advanced Technology, of Art and Commerce and so forth.

TABLE 6

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE UK: BY SECTOR (1980/1989)

Year	Universities	F/HEI advanced and <i>non-advanced</i>	Total F/HEI	All Totals
1980	35 801	18 363 <i>18 512</i>	36 875	72 676
1981	34 586	16 491 <i>9 722</i>	26 213	60 799
1982	33 300	13 641 <i>6 965</i>	20 606	53 906
1983	33 800	13 800 <i>7 800</i>	21 300	55 100
1984	34 600	13 500 <i>7 300</i>	20 800	55 400
1985	39 000	14 000 <i>9 800</i>	23 800	62 800
1986	42 000	14 100 <i>8 300</i>	22 400	64 400
1987	44 100	14 800 <i>6 900</i>	21 700	65 800
1988	47 300	15 900 <i>6 700</i>	22 600	69 900
1989	51 500	19 200 <i>7 100</i>	26 300	77 800

Source: Statistics of Education, HMSO, various years

Tables 5 and 6 show the emergence of a pattern in the decade leading to the imposition of full-cost fees. Table 5 shows only a dip in universities' international student numbers (as opposed to those in F/HEIs) in 1979. Table 6 shows that in 1980 they actually **rose** despite high fees and the operation of quotas. 1981 and 1982 saw fairly small drops of 1215 and 1286 respectively. In 1983 there was a small rise of 500 students after which numbers rose each year. It can be assumed that at this time, students enrolled before the fees were introduced would be moving through the institution and it is likely that, initially at least, there was a disincentive for new students to pay such an increased cost. After this point, however, efforts to recruit can be seen to be bearing fruit.

The dramatic changes over the years illustrated are not in the overall figures but in the shifts in the flow into the different sectors. Note how until 1972 there were more students attracted to the universities than the F/HEIs. In 1973 for the first time there were fewer in universities than in the other institutions. From that year until 1981 the greatest number of international students was in what was termed further education, that is outside the university sector. From 1975 to 1979 the biggest gains were in non-university education. Whether or not this trend would have continued is not now possible to say given the events of 1979.

From 1980, government presented its figures differently; it was then possible to break down the FHEI statistics into advanced (university and CNAA first degrees, HNDs and so forth) from non-advanced, (A levels, HNC and similar courses). The gains in the advanced sector at the expense of the non-advanced can be seen clearly. In 1980

they were almost equal; 1981 shows a big drop in non-advanced courses, 1982 saw a further drop, and 1983 a similar pattern. The 1987 figure shows an all-time low for FE with HE across the binary line dominating. This pattern has continued to the present day with HE on an acclivity whilst the bottom has fallen out of the market in further education as Table 7 demonstrates.

TABLE 7

STUDENTS FROM ABROAD BY SECTOR AND LEVEL OF COURSE (1990/ 1993)

	1990	1991	1992	1993
TOTAL HE	77.8	85.8	92.9	105.3
TOTAL FE	6.8	6.7	6.8	7.7
TOTAL	84.6	92.5	99.7	113.0

(figures in thousands)

Source: DfE/ DfEE Statistical Bulletins

The true damage wrought by the full-cost fees policy can clearly be seen not to have wounded the universities whose damage was limited and from which they easily recovered, nor the former polytechnics, who seized what they saw as a business opportunity and, marshalling their strengths of flexibility and vocational/professional provision stole a march on the traditional universities. The loss has been in the provision for those students aspiring to enter further education who are outside both the scholarship arrangements in Britain and their own country's government bursaries which are targeted at university students, usually post-graduate. It became increasingly hard for students to get started on the educational ladder.

The real concern is that with the dearth of students in the FE colleges, there is a subsequent low participation in the areas in which FE institutions traditionally excel, namely, technology and commerce. A lack of trained personnel in these fields means that the development needs of countries are not being met. Developing countries are in need of technicians and middle managers to build up an infra-structure. Educating graduate administrators and other professionals will not get roads built in Vietnam.

ii) Changes by country

TABLE 8

TOP 20 SENDING COUNTRIES 1979: CHANGES IN 1988

total numbers in thousands

	1979	1988	% increase or decrease
Malaysia	14 739	6 438	56% decrease
Iran	8 365	1 104	86% decrease
Hong Kong	6 954	7 345	5% increase
Nigeria	5 263	1 315	81% decrease
USA	3 585	5 228	45% increase
Greece	3 029	2 820	6% increase
Iraq	2 487	923	62% decrease
Zimbabwe	2 254	insignificant	no longer in top 20
Singapore	1 841	2 040	10% increase
Jordan	1 739	insignificant	no longer in top 20
Sri Lanka	1 673	insignificant	no longer in top 20
Cyprus	1 655	1 547	6% increase
Turkey	1 274	insignificant	no longer in top 20
India	1 200	1 096	8% decrease
Kenya	1 199	1 285	7% increase
Germany	1 185	3 235	173% increase
Sudan	985	insignificant	no longer in top 20
Pakistan	941	1240	31% increase
Canada	934	1028	9% increase
Libya	938	insignificant	no longer in top 20

Source: adapted from various tables in Williams (1990).

The story is clear enough. Of Britain's 20 best customers in 1979 business was lost from 13. The hugest percentage increase of 173% was from German students exempt from fees; the USA increased participation by 45%, wealthy Hong Kong and Singapore made cautious increases of 5% and 10% respectively. Other gains are barely worth mentioning and were from a fairly low base. Other countries show a massive falling away, 56% decrease from the former colony Malaysia, 86% decrease from Iran, the second biggest sender before full-cost fees. Tiny gains or barely perceptible drops can be seen in those countries who were recipients of the Pym targeted awards, namely, Cyprus, Canada, Pakistan, India and Kenya. In 1988, Japan appeared just outside the top senders with 1036 students, 1.4% of the student body in Britain.

O'Leary has continually urged universities to give consideration to the changing profile of their student bodies as a result of government financial policies, and to take cognisance of the factors in the sending countries which are driving or limiting the flow of international students to Britain. In 1990 he wrote:

"..... the real evidence of the damage done in the past decade lies in the mix of students coming to Britain. The 1986-7 statistics show that, except where a big aid programme alters the picture, the poorer countries are generally sending far fewer students, the richer ones far more. It is a trend which holds good across all continents".

III THE FLOW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS TO BRITAIN

i) The Changing Landscape

So far this chapter has charted the rise and fall and revival of international student aggregate numbers in this country. The imposition of full-cost fees has been seen to be pivotal in respect of the quantity and composition of the international student cohort. The decade preceding the policy change has been tabulated and analysed. The impact of policy differences has similarly been examined and arguments have been put forward to show that the pressure on higher education institutions to recruit (as opposed to receive) international students in order to make up the shortfall in their government grant has had long lasting effects and widespread ramifications.

The rationale for tampering with the fees structure was alarm about growing numbers of international students yet the figures show a relentless climb with the universities (as distinct from polytechnics and other institutions) managing to weather the storm. How it was that students continued to come despite the price rises is an issue it is important to understand.

It might seem that the tradition of coming to the UK for higher education was established so firmly when education was free or cheap and its desirability a crucial factor that those clients who could afford to, and even those for whom it was not easy, continued to pay. The consumers clearly saw academic goods and services as essential goods. Although there is evidence, presented later, that the Malaysians, the Hong Kong Chinese and the Singaporeans are shopping around, higher education is seen to

have a relative advantage. Universities have maintained their market share, the polytechnics, especially since incorporation, have increased theirs. The colleges of further education have not been able to compete. They have had neither the financial wherewithal nor know-how, to do what the others have had to do to win students.

A combination of supply and demand factors explain the continuing presence of international students. The real costs of British higher education are said to have declined in that unit costs have been driven down by government, and the so-called productivity gains passed on to students. In addition, higher education costs in Britain have declined compared to other countries, due to sterling's exchange rate. Growth in real income per capita in the countries of Britain's major suppliers has affected demand for tertiary education. Finally, many overseas governments are committed to supporting international higher education as a means of meeting the development needs of the country (and individuals personal needs and aspirations).

As for the shift in national composition. There is clear evidence that numbers from the poor countries have withered away. The rich have stayed and have been joined by the new rich - Britain's new friends in the EU and East Asia replacing the old friends of the former empire and present commonwealth.

ii) The Current Landscape

Chapter 1 revealed that although Britain has marginally improved her market share of the international student commodity, moving to 4th place in the rankings of hosts to students from abroad, the participation rates of countries and national composition of

the student body in the UK are very different from what they were pre-full-cost fees, as the statistics above have shown.

The following is a breakdown of the current position:

1. The Commonwealth countries of Australia and New Zealand sent only 590 and 208 students respectively in 1993 (the latest third-party figures).

2. South America is very poorly represented with only 1 429 students from the entire continent coming to study in Britain.

3. From the continent of Africa there were only 8 505 students studying in Britain in 1993. Numbers are in single figures from some of the poorer countries though Kenya continues to send 1000 +. Numbers from Nigeria, now she is no longer a wealth producing oil country, are down to only 875 which has serious implications for the development of that country. The case of South Africa is interesting. Having sent large numbers of students pre-UDI, there was a steep decrease during apartheid. Numbers then increased to 577 in 1993. Despite the severe financial constraints and dramatic re-building programme in the country it is likely that numbers will rise again because of political instability and the fear felt by many (though not exclusively) white South Africans, for the safety of their student children.

4. Numbers continue to rise from North America as international programmes are prioritised on US campuses. 7 915 North Americans overall came to Britain, 1 287

of them from Canada and 5 161 from the USA. The majority follow Junior Year Abroad courses but increasingly they enrol on three year undergraduate or one year post-graduate programmes which represent a saving of at least a year's tuition fees at US prices.

5. There are currently 36 133 students from Asia in Britain and there are signs that numbers have not yet peaked. The traditional markets of Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore are being joined by the tiger economies. Numbers from Japan have risen to 2 042 from about 300 at the end of the seventies.

6. The most spectacular increases have been from Europe. Although aggregate numbers are only a little higher than those of Asia, there has been a tremendous increase in the participation rates of EU students in British higher education to 40 386; of which, 6 538 from France, 7 079 from Germany, 6 767 from Ireland and 5 943 from Greece.

An interesting little irony has emerged over time for, despite aggressive marketing in East Asia, the really exponential growth in student numbers has been from the EU. Below is a chart indicating the change in total enrolments in Britain, by area, over the ten years after the fees hike furore was beginning to settle down.

TABLE 9***INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE UK (1982/1993)******BY COUNTRY GROUPINGS***

	EC	Commonwealth	Other	total
1982	6.2	29.8	20.7	56.7
1983	6.4	28.7	20.4	55.5
1984	7.2	27.9	20.6	55.7
1985	8.4	27.9	24.8	61.1
1986	9.8	29.7	25.0	64.5
1987	11.6	29.8	24.7	66.1
1988	15.0	29.7	25.6	70.3
1989	19.8	29.5	25.6	74.9
1990	24.3	32.6	26.3	83.2
1991	30.0	34.3	27.3	91.6
1992	35.2	35.9	28.9	100
1993	42.4	38.2	33.1	113.7

(figures in thousands)

Source: DfE/DfEE Statistical Bulletins (various years)

Before the imposition of fees there were only 3 000 students in Britain from the EC and 74 000 from the Commonwealth. "Others" were still marginally lower than the pre-1979 figure but the rise in EU students has been little short of meteoric. It means however that the buoyant overseas numbers the government prided itself on is a fallacy for, for fees purposes, the EU students are home students, and the in-bound

flow is not matched by a comparable flow of British students abroad. We might see a government decision to try to stem the flood of Europeans who do not pay directly yet who are known to make demands on institutions in terms of language support and so forth. It seems as if the guests were replaced by clients who are being displaced by the guests.

IV THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT ARENA: MARKET OR FAIRGROUND?

Paradoxically, government policy aimed at keeping international student numbers down has allowed for the seizing of business opportunities to increase external income. The full-cost fees policy turned out to be a double-edged sword for the UK Vice-Chancellors. Coinciding as it did with swingeing cuts in public expenditure, the overseas student policy offered a way forward for those institutions who saw a chance to replace former obligations with commercial enterprise. Moreover, since it was clear that the DES action had a purely fiscal determination, universities had a convenient scapegoat and could publicly profess that they would reluctantly shoulder the burdensome responsibility of marketing their institutions. A circuit of British Council Higher Education Recruitment Fairs was soon to be part of the landscape in Singapore, Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur, Nicosia, Bangkok, Taipei and many others.

Throughout the eighties even the most scrupulously anti-marketeering university managers contrived to steel themselves for the most aggressive marketing to which higher education had ever been subjected. In 1983/4 income from student fees to universities alone was in excess of £90 million (UKCOSA 1986). The THES reported

that by the academic year 1987/8, 7.7% (£153 million) of general recurrent income across the newly defined HE sector had been generated by what was turning out to be a most profitable venture for British Higher Education.

Looking back over the history of international students in this country a corruption of Jane Austen's opening to *Pride and Prejudice* springs to mind. It seems to be a truth universally acknowledged, that a young man in possession of a fortune, must be in need of- a degree from a British university. If that seems hyperbolic consider the great accolade awarded to Reading university for recruiting international students - *The Queen's Award for Industry* in 1989. The economic benefits of the international student presence have been calculated to amount to about £1 billion a year in invisible earnings if spending by the students themselves in the private sector is included (Greenaway and Tuck 1995).

As O'Leary (1990) summarises the higher education involvement in international education,

" ... the categorisation of overseas students as an invisible export seems only too apt as the culmination of the policy of a decade".

The commodification of Higher Education had begun.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE COMMODIFICATION OF BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION

I INTERNATIONAL MARKET FORCES IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION

In the late 1980s when there were signs of recovery in the international student market a deep schism opened up in British higher education concerning its nature and execution. This seemingly irreconcilable polarisation of opinions was embodied on the one hand by I.G.Patel of the LSE and John Ashworth of Salford in keynote addresses to the UKCOSA conference in 1988. Patel referred to an exchange on the subject with an undergraduate (international) student at the LSE who was posing the rhetorical question whether it is the same to export education as to export tea.

Patel, in (Smith 1988), saw problems in treating education as a commodity since the consuming of the good required customers to take up residence in the country thereby involving considerable on-costs, and inevitably, to purchase goods in addition to the required primary good in order to derive maximum benefit from the purchase. In the particular case, culture, including value systems and language, need to be acquired in order for the consumers of education to profit from its availability. Patel claimed that in the unseemly rush to find paying customers to replace some of the former clients too poor to pay the raised fees, institutions were selling to a client group which was not in a position ultimately to benefit. This was tarnishing the reputation of the product in the marketplace and driving down its value to the consumer. In concrete terms he saw the falling away of the Australians, the Indians, the Malaysians,

Sudanese and other Africans (educated often in English and with a historical association with Britain) who were being replaced by growing numbers of Americans, East Asians and Europeans without the appropriate cultural capital to invest in their education.

In short, Patel feared the emergence of a client group of consumers for the higher education product which differed significantly from the traditional client group for whom it was intended and which would inevitably require modifications to the product in order to make it client sensitive and therefore more marketable. These modifications could not help but influence the quality of the product.

He warned that the value of good overseas students, many of whom had stayed on in the UK in the past to become some of Britain's finest scholars and teachers, would be eroded by the " *deeply intense and often unhealthy competition for foreign students*" which would lead ultimately to a lowering of admission standards followed by a decline in the overall quality of the student body.

This view was challenged by Ashworth who claimed that exporting education was a business like any other, subject to the discipline of the market. Students were customers and student welfare officers quality control executives. He pointed out, in Smith (1988), that the producers, UK HEIs, were faced by two types of consumer: i) the monopoly buyer (UK government) and ii) the free market operating overseas brokers on behalf of their high spending clients.

Where the British government had subsidised the overseas fee, this distinction (between the two types of client) had been blurred. With the removal of subsidies, a sharp managerial distinction became clear. It was realised that students are not of equal value. Clearly overseas students are a financial asset since as a group, they are not susceptible to the financial manipulations of government in that they pay an agreed fee directly to the institution in a bi-lateral contract.

This is in direct contrast with the fees arrangement set (and altered) for home students by the government. There is no government restriction moreover on the *numbers* of students from abroad, institutions choose to enrol. Chandler (1989) analysing developments in international student affairs during the turbulent period of the eighties has concluded that " *within the broad framework established by the government, the administration of foreign student policy in Great Britain rests with the higher educational institutions themselves...*", arguing that changes that have taken place in policy within the institutions have been " *even more important than government action*".

There is no doubt that the catalyst to action, as discussed earlier, was the introduction of full-cost fees. A fuller consideration of the reasons for the financial squeeze on the HEIs and the resultant growing reliance on overseas fees income are clear and are demonstrated below.

II SOURCES OF FUNDING FOR HEIs IN BRITAIN

i) The Block Grant

According to the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), Profiles 1994, universities in Britain receive their income from a variety of sources both public and private. The largest element of institutions' income is HEFCE funding, often referred to as the block grant. This accounted for 37% of the total income to the sector in 1993/4. The total amount HEFCE has for distribution each year is decided by **government**. The distribution of the grant and the amount available to individual institutions within the sector is decided by **HEFCE**. This can vary between 14% to 50% of an individual institution's income but is more likely to be around 30+ - 40+ %. The highly specialised colleges of, for instance, music, or the specialist theological colleges, or institutions of postgraduate medicine are the institutions most likely to receive either most or hardly any of their income from government because of the atypical nature of their student composition. Of the mainstream universities selected at random but which represent "old", "new" and collegiate; North, South, Midlands and London, some examples of their proportions of funding are given below.

TABLE 10

HEFCE FUNDING AS A PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITIES' INCOME

University	Block Grant total in £ millions	% of university's total recurrent income
Cambridge	63.4	30.5
Oxford Brookes	31.3	31.8
City	15.8	31.4
Lancaster	19.5	31.6
De Montfort	31.8	36.9

Source: HEFCE Profiles 1994

Note how, despite the similarity in percentage proportions, the total amount arising from the block grant differs widely across institutions. For example, 30% of Cambridge's income is considerably more than 30+% of City's. The point is that for most institutions, considerably less than half of their total income comes to them from central funding. Many of the former polytechnics however, have a much greater reliance on central funding than the "average" given above. For instance, the University of North London received 21.6 million pounds from the block grant in 1994 which represented 47.1% of total income. The largest that year was Guildhall with 19.0 million representing 48.6% of its total income (HEFCE 1994)

ii) Fees Income

The other major source of income to universities is from tuition fees as the table below indicates.

TABLE 11

TUITION FEES AS A PROPORTION OF UNIVERSITIES' INCOME

University	Total Fees Income in £ millions	% of total recurrent income
Cambridge	43.7	21.0
Oxford Brookes	21.6	32.3
Sunderland	27.2	45.1
De Montfort	38.3	44.7
Plymouth	34.9	43.2

Source: HEFCE Profiles 1994

Most home students have their fees paid on their behalf by the Local Authority, from the public purse. There is a discrepancy across the sector in terms of percentages of income deriving from fees illustrating how difficult it is to make generalisations about the financial health of universities. The "average" institution has a fee income roughly equivalent in terms of proportion to the block grant. For instance Oxford Brookes' block grant/fees proportions work out at 31.8% /32.3% typical of an institution which prioritises teaching over research. Some institutions like Cambridge have a much smaller proportion of their income coming from fees since they have the capacity to generate income from sources such as research and consultancy. Many institutions rely on fees for the greater portion of their income. On the whole the former polytechnics with less versatility and potential earning power come into this category. Data from HEFCE and HESA show no so-called old universities with close to 40% of their income coming from fees but many ex PCFC institutions.

The total recurrent income from fees and block grant shown in the random instances quoted above indicate the heavy reliance of institutions on this central funding from government and the Local Authorities. As noted previously, the total and proportional sums are determined externally by government ministers and are completely outside the control and therefore planning of the institutions themselves. More significantly they are subject to change without prior warning. For this reason, the third pillar of institutional funding in many institutions has come to be, increasingly, the fee from overseas.

iii) An Erosion of Funding

The falling rolls of the mid-eighties gave great cause for concern representing a significant drop in fees income but in universities, especially the erstwhile polytechnics, this problem was attenuated to a certain extent, by the increased proportion of the age cohort applying for places in Higher Education institutions and the increase in women and others "returning to learn". The Universities Central Admissions System (UCAS) reports that from data on application forms, more students than ever before are attempting to avail themselves of an undergraduate higher education. "*Demand for university education is rising fast and will not abate. The government's cap on student numbers flies in the face of market forces....*" (CVCP newsletter, May 1995)

According to the newsletter above, the growth in student numbers, despite the threats implied in the demographic shift, has been something of a pyrrhic victory for the Vice-Chancellors, especially those of the former polytechnics who in the numbers

game are victims of their own success. (80% increase in students since 1979 - despite a period of falling income per student). New funding arrangements have meant that Government expects universities to educate more and more for less and less.

In the early years of this decade observers of higher education could not ignore the fact that universities in Britain were at a low point " *staff [were] demoralised through lack of reward for great increases in productivity. Further reduction will heighten these factors,*" the Head of Funding Research and Strategy Division of the CVCP (ibid) quoted from the THES. Despite inflation forecast at 3.25%, home tuition fees were to be held at the present level, there was to be a squeeze on unit funding of about 3.5%, capital funding increasing by only 3.4% and no growth beyond 1997. It is entirely reasonable that university management expressed exasperation: " *The Government should recognise that universities are one of the UK's success stories. How long will Government continue to risk the quality which underlies that success?*" (Press release from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom (CVCP) dated 20/4/94).

The communication continued,

Funding per student cut 25% in 3 years - and worse to come ...

The money provided by the Government to universities for teaching each student has fallen by over 25% in real terms since 1989/90 and is forecast to fall by a further 14% over the next 3 years.....

Despite having reduced per capita funding the government continued to insist on further "efficiency gains". The CVCP pointed in May 1994 to "genuine and

significant efficiency gains that the universities have madehowever the cut imposed in funding per student has already impaired the quality of the student experience."

It is in this financial climate, and against this background of government manipulation and institutional insecurity, that initiatives to increase recurrent income and decrease reliance on central funding were seized upon.

III *INTERNATIONAL STUDENT RECRUITMENT INC.*

i) British HE plc

In a plenary speech to the British Universities Trans Atlantic Exchange Committee (BUTEX) in May 1994, Baroness Warnock made the connection between slashed government funding and increased international student recruitment. She described what she saw as the impoverished nature of British higher education with its resulting inferiority of the student experience. She marvelled at the audacity of British universities in encouraging international students to pay large sums of money for such inferior educational provision, drawing her examples from North American programmes in British universities but seeing them as part of a wider picture of exploitation. She described the starving universities as greedily snatching at what they perceived to be easy money from the international student invisible earnings.

In the years following the imposition of full-cost fees the antagonism between the pro- and anti- business approach to international higher education (as exemplified by the Patel/ Ashworth debate in 1988), has become increasingly less polarised. The British

Council, UKCOSA and other bodies working in the area have done much to encourage the presentation of a united front to the overseas market and promote the consistency of standards which has always been regarded as the hallmark of British Higher education.

Yet whatever the elusive term "internationalism" means to universities in other countries, in Britain it tends to be used as a synonym for "recruitment of overseas students". The International Officer, Director of International Relations or Head of International Admissions is usually little more than a "recruiting officer" for international students.

ii) International Marketing

Williams, G. et al, (1987), have demonstrated in their survey of educational policies a significant increase in the level of marketing activity overseas, especially on the part of the so-called old universities who had most to lose from the withdrawal of government subsidies, and those entrepreneurial polytechnics who had the perspicacity to see incorporation coming. Overseas visits and the use of placement agencies are activities in which universities engaged, promoted by increasingly sophisticated promotional materials specifically for the overseas market, some country specific.

As with many companies or organisations concentrating on export opportunities, institutions made various moves to internalise the market. One such measure was the forming of consortia such as that launched by a group of northern universities with Malaysia. Other initiatives concerned institutions with heretofore impeccable

reputations involving themselves with commercial organisations for financial gain. (Oxford St.Catherine's and Kobe Steel is an example of one of these uneasy partnerships from which the University of Oxford was at pains to distance itself).

British institutions of higher education have come to be seen clearly as businesses and are advised to be operated by the application of normal guidelines directing business concerns of all types. James Kennedy of the British Council speaking at a TVCOSA training workshop at Rhodes House Oxford in May 1988 urged university staff to think of British Aerospace as a model. Just as an airline would never skimp on safety - not if it wanted to stay in business - so a university should never skimp on quality, the parallel being that both "industries" needed to have customer satisfaction as a priority.

Other educators have been cynical about the motivations of universities to "internationalise". Fenwick (1987) claimed that *"... the main pragmatic reason we want overseas students is that we can't obtain enough British ones" (to generate additional income)*. He urged institutions, if they were serious about being able to effect internationalisation, to attempt a fuller understanding of the "micro-culture" of the university which contains inherent barriers to change and that changes there would have to be if the composition of the student body was to change radically. He made it perfectly clear that the move to internationalise the institutions was nothing more than a business opportunity.

That British universities might be stigmatised in the world's eyes as indulging in

discreditable dealings led to two separate and different reactions. One was a closer examination of the "international student experience" and the other was a serious defence or justification of current practice. The rationale for the presence of international students then moved towards the realm of the spirit.

IV THE CALL TO INTERNATIONALISE

The UNESCO constitution teaches that *"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."* This would seem to be an ideal rationale, ethical and altruistic, for international education. Almost a mantra in the nineties, the word internationalism came to feature in the mission statements of universities, and the internationalisation of our campuses is a professed objective in strategic planning as the extracts from a range of Mission statements published in the HEFCE Profiles of 1994 show.

One of the four pillars of the mission of the University of North London is:

" Internationalism: to define and deliver a curriculum and a learning experience which acknowledges the European and wider international context within which the university and its students operate".

The University of Plymouth speaks of education which is *"relevant to the needs of the individual, the region, the nation and the international community"*.

Anglia Polytechnic University is dedicated to developing an identity *" within the*

European and wider international communities".

The University of Bradford claims to have a sense of shared purpose and belonging which it seeks to extend "*locally, nationally and internationally amongst all those whom it serves*".

At the University of Wolverhampton they are " *serving regional, national and international needs*".

Ten years ago, few universities employed specialist staff to deal with the specific issues that surround the recruitment and subsequent retention of international students. Today there are few universities which do not boast a fully staffed international office for marketing and promoting the institution and whose staff travel the world encouraging the applications of international students. An International Office is a must.

V EXPLORING NEW MARKETS AND EXPERIMENTING WITH NEW STRATEGIES

i) The Establishing of the Educational Counselling Service (ECS)

As Chapter 3 indicated, the relationship between students and the host universities changed from one of dependency, as Kinnell (1988) puts it " *invoking paternalistic responses from the host nation, to that of clients paying for services*". Universities began to cast about for help in coping with their new role. They were prepared to

spend significant sums to acquire it and one such source of advice and guidance on procedures and practices was the British Council.

The partnership arrangement between British HEIs and the British Council, known as the ECS, was formed in 1984 from the special allocation of £100 000 in the Pym Package but is now funded entirely by institutional subscription. In 1989 all but two universities, all polytechnics and some CHEs and Central institutions participated in the scheme. So it was then that the pillar of the British establishment, British Council, also became a player in the higher education commercial venture. The ECS alone had an annual income of well in excess of half a million pounds. (ELT Gazette December 1994)

Institutions see the ECS as a value for money service, because of its palpable success in developing and implementing a market strategy for the sector. HE promotional visits, fairs, "missions" including "in-bound" missions, that is, organising groups of influential educationists on study visits and fact-finding tours around UK HEIs, specialist country briefings, market surveys, annual reports and Marketing News published regularly, together with general promotion of good practice, have contributed to the up-turn in British fortunes.

The potential for profit of the higher education enterprise has obviously not escaped the notice of HMG, for, when the British Council was seen to make money in the service of the income-generating activities of the HEIs, a cut in the Council's budget of £21.5 million was announced (February 1992). It therefore became a matter of

some urgency for the Council to make further endeavours to develop its own business opportunities. To a certain extent it has a captive group of consumers in the institutions to whom, it appears, money is no object in the acquisition of a greater market share. They are prepared to continue to pay increasing sums for the British Council's involvement in their affairs.

The marketing support the Council is currently developing has three thrusts:

1. forecasting (future possibilities British education overseas);
2. developing (new outlets, uses - for English language for instance);
3. positioning and promoting the export of educational goods and services for the benefit of Britain and the countries it works with.

To achieve this the Council has planned to extend its market profiles and provide an Internet service with market news and an archive. It also plans to commission market research from individual institutions or agencies and produce a comprehensive ELT course monitor (of both private and state sector provision). This will be available on World Wide Web and CD-Rom. (John Whitehead of the British Council in a presentation to BASELT, London March 1996)

ii) Maintaining the Market Share

The argument has been put that the nature of the higher education client group was irreversibly changing. The subsidised students of yesteryear for many of whom English was the lingua franca were being replaced by students with neither cultural capital to invest in their education nor cultural and emotional ties such as the

following, vividly expressed by a Trinidadian student for a UKCOSA essay competition in Mason (1979).

"Britain was part of my world. Had I not studied the geographical lay-out of the country, its constitutional history, its literature? Mentally I was one with this country. It had shaped my whole way of thinking, coloured my education and I was here to discover why."

As with any established or developing business, the corporate plan had to take account of future as well as present demand, and the needs of the paying customer. Although initially universities followed the tried and tested markets of former times they soon developed appropriate resources to recruit further afield. International recruitment concentrated at first on the previously allegiant customers, trying to woo back lost business and enhance their tarnished reputations. It began in Malaysia which led the "Buy British Last" campaign, moved to Singapore where the Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who as "Harry Lee" had won highest honours in his law degree at Cambridge, now spoke out against British policies (Sesser 1994); to Cyprus and to Hong Kong. Universities with a faithful following continued to fish in those same waters and universities without a tradition of international recruitment, imitated those who had.

Eventually and inevitably, those waters became over-fished, and with guidance from the British Council and the DTI, the institutions cast their nets further afield. The search for students was and still is market driven with institutions measuring the potential of a market against specified economic factors, countries' GNP and so forth. (Chapter 8 explores characteristics of potential markets for British HE.)

VI *MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE CLIENTS*

In the 1990s, the maxim governing the external affairs of universities is Marketing. Whilst Academic Schools are cut, or closed, periodically reviewed and audited qualitatively, the Marketing and Communications departments seem to swell without limit, part of the mushrooming of central administrative departments and burgeoning bureaucracy in universities (Shumar 1997) which followed the dissolution of the binary line in Britain.

As numbers of international students gradually increase and the market becomes more and more competitive, it is inevitable that good practice, in respect of sensitivity to student needs, is seen as good business. Indeed, in the enterprising Thatcherite business culture, academics are learning the business of becoming client-centred, market-led and product-driven. This is explained by, among other reasons, the putative difference in the relationship between the providers and the provided for. There are no favours any more and students are far from beholden. On the contrary they are discriminating customers looking for "value for money" and even "value added". Marketing departments work on recruitment trends, in other words, observe sales figures with a view to ascertaining if they have their fair share of the "market".

Academics have evolved into managers, star in videos and stay in top hotels entertaining local agents. The implementation of these business practices unfortunately came without an operations manual or a training programme. Niven (1988) previously alluded to the *"certain amount of distaste"* with which university personnel had

viewed changes in the ethos of their institutions, observing that,

"It is another paradox of government policy in the 1980s that the virtues of professionalism in management and finance are insisted upon to the detriment of the professional skills in which educationalists are actually trained. To their credit the institutions have learned the new skills remarkably fast and are now not only attracting overseas students more competently but also more honestly".(emphasis added)

Not everyone then or now shares Niven's sanguinity and many university personnel were and are uncomfortable in the role of *entrepreneurial businessman*. Financial pressure remains such that Vice-Chancellors are compelled to compete with their peers if their universities are to remain viable though international fee income as a panacea for the financial woes of the sector is seen as facile by many academics. Notwithstanding, there have been changes in international students since they became clients not guests. An identifiably more assertive attitude is expressed by students about conditions and courses.

Customer power is related to numbers. One international student is unlikely to affect the policy decisions of a Vice-Chancellor but if those international students make up 9% of the student body their voices may well be heard. When they make up 25% of the student body and are responsible for the largest proportion of recurrent income outside the block grant they may well have a clear influence on university policy.

In Chapter 9, the case study will demonstrate how customer power is further strengthened when a third party (agent, institution, foundation or other agency) in a self-selected role on behalf of his quasi-constituency, negotiates the product or service on their behalf. It can easily be demonstrated that universities have become more responsive and student centred once they felt this pressure. Increased fee income has provided many universities with much-needed cash to facilitate this flexibility.

It is usually accepted that successful business practice normally depends on designing and developing products and services to customers' specifications. The emphasis is on the new, the innovative, the constantly up-to-date and changing. In the case of the British universities those products are the higher education courses. Arguably, it is the very constancy and unchangability which has resulted in the very special kite-mark of high quality and this is the image which is marketed abroad. There is however a significant mis-match between new-client needs and standard provision of the traditional fare of British universities; between clients' potential to benefit from the service, and the immutability of the range of goods and services.

VII CURRICULUM INNOVATIONS OR COMMERCIAL INITIATIVES?

THE JAPANESE CASE

The late eighties early nineties have seen the changing map of British international influence. Some critics have feared the effects of the phenomenon described as "fortress Europe" believing this would turn European universities in on themselves to become less rather than more internationalised. This has not been the case and the last

decade has seen the making of many new "friends". Attempts to form alliances with the increasingly wealthy countries of the Pacific Rim - Taiwan, Korea, Malaysia - have been successful, yet the wealthiest country - perhaps the most lucrative contract of all - Japan- for many years seemed passively to resist the advances of the British higher education marketing machine.

Breaking into and maintaining a share of the Japanese market was perceived to be notoriously difficult. " *There is still a way to go before British industry reaps all the benefits of profiting from doing business with the Japanese as customers and partners.*" (Peter Lilley, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, DTI, Priority Japan, cited in British Council 1991). Japanese business practices have been well documented and are thought to include, tough negotiators, demanding clients, scrupulously high standards in all aspects of business, long termist, complex, hierarchical, a corporate decision making approach, time consuming. " *Over the past few years British industry and commerce have stopped treating Japan as a problem and started to treat it as an opportunity.*" (Michael Perry, Vice-Chairman Unilever, Chairman Priority Japan, in British Council *ibid*).

" *I would just make two observations on selling to the Japanese. First, there must be a visible long-term commitment. Second, we have to maintain a uniquely high and consistent standard of quality.*" (Sir David Plastow, Chairman Vickers plc, in British Council *ibid*).

Efforts were clearly thought to be worth making however, if we are to judge by the amounts of money sunk into events like the Japan Club and other initiatives, and

many universities made strenuous efforts to obtain or increase their market share.

It was asserted earlier (Chandler 1989) that it is institutional policies which have had the greatest effect on the international student landscape. One policy of particular interest is the preparedness of institutions to make special arrangements in response to requests from various groups of clients. Special arrangements are predicated on the notion that certain students' needs are different from and greater than their peers. It is thought that students from countries with a tradition in British universities have fewer problems and can benefit from standard educational provision, though there is no published research to substantiate this view. It seems more likely that it is a facet of the buyers' market referred to earlier by Shotnes (in Williams 1990). An example of customised curricular provision is the special arrangements made for Japanese.

The wealthy citizens of Japan have developed into some of the most sophisticated consumers in the world. As anthropologists are pointing to economic issues as being at the centre of much of human endeavour, the observance of behaviour in the allocating and disposing of scarce resources is imperative to our understanding of the development of communities. (John Clammer 1996 seminar to the Japan Interest Group Oxford) .

A study of changing consumer behaviour in respect of the goods and services of higher education will identify trends and patterns in the buying and selling of Study Abroad. The following chapter will reveal that the Japanese are not neophytes in the commercial sector of international educational initiatives, but, on the contrary, are

infinitely more experienced protagonists than their British counterparts. Whether the interaction of East and West will be financially lucrative remains to be seen; it is hoped that it will be instructive. An investigation of the practices and procedures of established operators will assist the devising of a conceptual framework of the higher education enterprise.

As Japan is inexorably moving up the ranks of "sending countries" to Britain, a demonstration of the prevailing consumer behaviour of the Japanese market will serve as an indicator of consumer behaviour generally, that is, throughout the international student market. Evidence will be offered to show the powerful effect the Japanese brokers have had on the higher education product of British universities.

It is for this reason that attention is now focused on the international student market of Japan.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EDUCATION MARKET IN JAPAN

I THE JAPANESE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

i) Introduction

This chapter will offer a brief historical perspective on educational developments in Japan (for those with little previous knowledge of the area) present a necessarily concise but fairly comprehensive overview of the Japanese education system and conclude with some common themes in the research and literature on education in Japan. In this way it is intended to illuminate the relationship between the phenomenon of Study Abroad, and the myriad societal factors and forces shaping and directing education in Japan.

It is not the intention of this thesis to analyse the history of Japan other than to point to a recurring pattern in Japanese international relations and suggest some themes in Japan's configuration of international perspectives. Rather it will illustrate how international student concerns inevitably connect with factors and forces in societies which serve as indicators of a range of societal and national movements. These include considerations governing the magnitude of student inflows and outflows discussed in Chapter 3 showing the influence of political and other activities in society.

ii) Japan the International Educator

It is often said that difficulties in acquiring the Japanese language has long been a barrier to foreigners who might otherwise have benefited from the reputedly

spectacularly successful system of Japanese education. Whether or not this is the reason, the fact is that unlike Britain, Japan has little tradition of using education as an invisible export. In reality, the reverse is the case, since she has been, to varying degrees throughout her history, one of the great *importers* of foreign educational goods and services, and *consumer* of international education overseas.

The implementation of government policy aimed at increasing the numbers of international students in Japan has resulted in changes in these mores recently, and as a result, the Japanese are reviewing their position on international student flows, in-bound as well as out-bound. It is the case that heretofore Japan did not have an illustrious tradition as an exporter of education and culture. Throughout her history she has shown little inclination to make her very long established and well financed system of education available to other countries.

One exceptional period when Japan strove to impose influence on the neighbouring countries of East Asia, was during her relatively brief period of expansion when education was a means and an influence on the process . Hunter (1989) records how a desire to enhance Japan's position strategically had been burgeoning since the unexpected success in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894/ 5. Under the terms of the peace agreement Japan made gains in Formosa (now Taiwan), the Pescadores Islands and part of Manchuria. This unprecedented territorial acquisition strengthened Japan's arm. Internal affairs in neighbouring Korea had long been dominated by the Japanese but in 1909, after the assassination of the Japanese resident general Ito Hirobumi by a Korean, the Japanese abandoned any attempt at conciliation and annexed Korea. The

colonisers moved to wipe out all indigenous Korean culture subjecting the Koreans to what Hunter describes as *"a brutal military regime which attempted to crush all anti-Japanese activity and sentiment"* (Hunter ibid). Japanese became the official language, Japanese education its vehicle.

Japanese additions to its growing empire included further areas of China, all of which expansionism was justified as altruism. Japan claimed to be seeking to benefit the inferior nations which surrounded her, her expressed mission, to lead and co-ordinate Asia in opposition to the West and give them the benefit of her superior technology. It could be said that Japan's actions served not pan-Asian but Japanese nationalism because of *"Japan's inability to submerge her own interests for the benefit of Asia as a whole. Blatantly selfish methods and policies and the degree to which Japan became entangled in the extremes of her own rhetoric inevitably resulted in the pursuit of a course devoted to Japanese, rather than Asian, nationalism"* (Hunter ibid). Nonetheless, Japan became the educational Mecca for ambitious young Asians desiring an advanced education, so that they might prepare themselves to contribute to the development of their own nation states.

When in 1915 Japan presented China with the Twenty One Demands of economic political and military concessions to enhance her position there, her role of mentor was jeopardised. In reaction against these policies Chinese students left Japan to return to their country thus fuelling further rejection of Japanese values, or, as Hunter explains *"The return of the Chinese students helped to spread wider resentment of Japan's actions and attitudes."*

The 1917 loans Japan made to China did nothing to stem the rise of Chinese nationalism to counter that of the Japanese and in 1919 there were riots in both China and Korea against Japanese imperialism.

Japanese continued belligerence eventually threatened the stability of the important East Asian trade with the West; opposition from the US became overt resulting after the Japanese attack on Pearl harbour, in what became known as the Pacific War.

After the surrender, Japan's energy had to be directed inwards to meet the social and economic imperatives of the war's legacy, responding to the challenge to re-build the country from total devastation. *"It was physically devastated; its cities were demolished, its homes, temples, schools as well as industry were in ruins... Schools were closed and some 19 million schoolchildren were idle."* (Anderson 1975). How Japan accomplished the "economic miracle", building upwards from the ashes of Hiroshima, has been the subject of miles of print in comment and analysis. What is unanimously accepted is that education was its architect and builder.

The heritage of Japan's cultural imperialism has been re-visited and re-evaluated by the Japanese politician and scholar Shintaro Ishihara in the book which became a controversial best-seller in the States, The Japan That Can Say No (1989). One aspect of his thesis is that the Caucasian colonizers left their former empires in a sorry mess, the problems resulting from mismanagement and failure to educate properly and democratise, continuing to reverberate throughout the world today. On the other hand, according to Ishihara,

... the Asian countries that are booming economically - South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, etc. - were all controlled by Japan at one time before or during World War II. Admittedly, Japan behaved badly during the conflict and soul searching is in order, but in some ways we were also a beneficial influence. Of the resource supplying regions South East Asia is the only one where, thanks to Japan's contribution, the countries are making rapid social and economic progress. You cannot say that about any place where Caucasians are pre-eminent.

Ishihara's view of the Japanese contribution to the development of her East Asian neighbours would not find credence with a wide audience. Moreover, his ambition to be a catalyst for candour has shocked those who expect never to hear from Japan any viewpoint expressed which might cause the interlocutor to experience discomfort. His work however brings up to date this survey of Japan as an international educator.

In 1989, when Ishihara's book was published, Japan had decided on a policy of "internationalisation" in response to the recommendations of the *Rinkyoshin* (Ad Hoc Reform Council). The unprecedented period of high economic growth triggered by the restoration of sovereignty at the end of the American occupation, followed by the Korean war which provided a ready market for Japan's manufactured goods, continued unabated until 1973. With the oil crisis Japan realised her vulnerability and, *comme d'habitude*, instigated a period of self-reflection with a view to reform. Prime Minister Nakasone appointed the *Rinkyoshin* and decided ultimately that internationalism would

be the vehicle for reform and that this would be accomplished by a programme of student exchange.

The Monbusho has been sponsoring a "100,000 foreign students plan", for the year 2000. The target number was set following France's example, it was reported in the JTW (July 15/21 1996), reviewing progress to date. This was a very ambitious project since there were only 10,428 foreign students in Japan in 1983 when France had 100,000. The Monbusho's Outline of the Student Exchange System in Japan, (Monbusho 1996a) reports that 91.5 per cent of the foreign students currently in Japan were from Asian countries, predominantly, China, South Korea and Taiwan. The plan seems to be working well in that total numbers of students have risen annually at an average rate of 16%. During the second stage of the plan, (between 1992 and 2000) the number is expected to grow by 12%. Only in 1994 did the rate of growth falter so that 1995 failed to meet its targets. Whether growth rate has bottomed out and if the composition of the student body can be widened to include Europeans and Americans remains to be seen.

... the existence and prosperity of Japan greatly depends on the maintenance of harmonious relationships with foreign countries International exchange in education, especially the exchange of foreign students at the higher education level, plays an important role in raising education and research standards in Japan and other countries.

Considering the important role foreign students, who are studying in

Japan, will play after returning to their countries in the development and strengthening of friendly relationships with Japan, the Foreign Students Policy has to be regarded as one of Japan's most important national policies for the coming 21st century. (Monbusho 1996a)

Today, Japan, as one of the world's most technologically and economically advanced nations, has taken her place as one of the leading host nations to international students, currently at 6th place in the world. Kiyoshi Yamamoto (1990) acknowledges that the Japanese government's plan is still at a developmental stage but that it is clearly recognised within Japan, that the country is at a crossroads as it attempts to establish a system of foreign study that will meet its development goals.

iii) Japan the International Scholar

The Japanese word for international scholar is *ryugakusei* which Goodman (1992) translates as " *bearer of enlightenment from the lands beyond the sea*". Almost a mantra in the nineties, the word internationalism features, as we have seen, in the mission statements of universities throughout Britain and the internationalism of the campus is a professed objective in many a strategic plan. Whereas internationalism is used as a synonym for the recruitment of fee-paying students in Britain, Japan is one country which can point to hard evidence to back up her claims to support internationalisation, for hers is a much quoted case of its successful use to achieve clearly stated learning objectives. In the past, overseas study has been spectacularly successful in achieving modernisation. This view is shared by Lehmann (1982) who acknowledges that " *In historical terms, Japan has tended to be a beneficiary, rather*

than a benefactor, of the great intellectual currents of the world."

The pilgrims to China in AD57 were Japan's first recorded "overseas students". These students were very effective in learning and assimilating a writing system, a medical system, religious, architectural and other artistic knowledge and bringing it back to Japan. These scholars held the view of *wakon kansei* (Japanese spirit and Chinese technology); it was the means by which the learning gained was absorbed and adapted to the needs and aspirations of Japanese society.

The Japanese have for centuries demonstrated a belief in the power of international knowledge and influence which at times in their history they have **avoided** for reasons of self-preservation and other times have enthusiastically **embraced** for their own self-advancement. Periodically in Japan, government policies emerge to serve one motive or the other. The Shoguns (in 1632 the Tokugawa family established themselves as the de facto rulers of Japan and passed the title of Shogun down through the male line) were afraid that their totalitarian regime would be de-stabilised by European political and social ideologies which were threatening to steal into the country in the wake of the foreign priests.

" An official orthodoxy based on Neo-Confucian doctrines emphasised the preservation of order and the maintenance of social hierarchy. Potentially damaging foreign influences were minimised by cutting off the country from virtually all contact with the outside world."

Hunter (1989) [emphasis added]

At that time Japanese people were forbidden to travel abroad for whatever reason and the import of foreign books and artifacts, indeed anything that might convey foreign knowledge was banned. Their respect for the practical knowledge of the foreigner however, (on which the European character in the novel (Clavell 1975) rose to Samurai status) could be utilised without allowing themselves to be tarnished by his values.

In the middle of the 19th century, the Japanese government sent Japanese scholars abroad for the explicit purpose of learning specific skills and knowledge which they were to bring back to Japan. The 1868 Charter Oath from the Meiji emperor advocated a policy of increased learning from overseas. Later, in 1871, he told his people *"...travel in foreign lands, properly indulged in, will increase your store of useful knowledge"* (Hunter 1989).

Between 1871 and 1873 Prince Iwakura Tomomi, a model of a Japanese international scholar and comparative educationist, set out on a round-the-world field trip with very clear objectives, namely, to acquire models, ideas and plans to modernise Japan as quickly as possible. Goodman (1992) observes that the prince knew that at that time Japan's greatest natural resource was her people and, for the purpose of fuelling the great industrial revolution which was to come, the people could not be over educated. *" Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule "*. (Hunter op cit)

The period of the Meiji restoration was characterised by policies on overseas travel

and learning. As a result of absorbing foreign influences, the legal system of Japan underwent a period of radical reform, on European lines and adopting Western-style judicial procedures. A state education system was set up which provided for universal primary education as well as vocational and higher. Some of these influences came from Britain, the English public schools providing a model for "*character building and moral education through a spartan school environment*" (Mashiko 1989), one of the many specific European influences behind different aspects of the Japanese education system. The Japanese embraced enthusiastically, but selectively, European attributes and artifacts at this time. An illustration of visitors to the National Industrial Exhibition in Tokyo in 1890 reveals not a single kimono in sight. Japanese gentlemen wearing Prussian style uniforms (the very uniforms which can be seen worn by male high school students today in any city in Japan), with moustaches and goatee beards accompanied ladies sporting bustles and poke bonnets (in Hunter op cit).

With Japanese expansionism into Asia, the political pendulum swung back again bringing a xenophobic distrust of anything Western. Japanese opportunism manifested in military opposition to the Germans (briefly entering the First World War on the side of the allies in order to appropriate German concessions in China and in belligerence against the Russians to acquire further territory (Manchuria and southern Sakhalin) to increase economic influence. At this time many people had left Japan to settle in the US although there was growing resentment towards the Americans' immigration laws. The Japanese were discriminated against on the grounds that they were non-white thus assaulting the Japanese implicit belief in their superiority as a people. In 1924 the US effectively prohibited further immigration from Japan.

Lehmann (1982) charts what he sees as a systematic course of imperialism on the part of the Japanese after 1894. In 1931 they annexed Manchuria to create a puppet state which they called *Manchukuo*. This was followed by the war against China in 1937, the period of imperialism gathering momentum with the attack on Pearl Harbour and, under the title of the *Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*, colonisation of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, Burma. Much has been written about the extreme form of ethnocentrism manifested in militant nationalism. The highly centralised education system, increasingly traditional and Japan-centred became the means of disseminating ultra-nationalistic ideas preparing the nation for Japan's entry into the Pacific war. The national curriculum fuelled the highly efficient propaganda machine for the duration of the war.

After the defeat, the American occupation forces dismantled the whole system replacing it with one which closely resembled their own. They imposed a 6 3 3 4 single track system [six years of primary, three of junior high and three of senior high, followed by four years for a bachelor's degree] predicated on egalitarian, non-sexist and co-educational principles designed to support equal access to higher education. In order to assist this process twenty-seven distinguished international educators went to Japan in March 1947. They were known as the U.S. Education Mission to Japan. In their concluding report they pointed out that the Japanese system of education was due for reform " *even if there had not been injected into it ultranationalism and militarism*" since it had been based on a nineteenth century highly centralised pattern with " *one type of education for the masses and another for the privileged few*". (cited in Lehmann *ibid*)

After the war, Benedict (1946) explains, Japanese "*excessive faith in military force*" was seen as a "*serious error*" in national and international policy. "*The old attitude from which we could gain so little and suffered so much should be discarded for a new one which is rooted in international co-operation and love of peace*". It was thought a period of study abroad would expedite these objectives and Japanese students started going to America under GARIOA, Fulbright and other scholarship programmes. There was also a scholarship provided by the British government to bring Japanese to the UK.

" It is not too much to say that these students became a driving force to enable Japan to modernise itself and develop from a country impoverished due to World War II into the second largest economic power among the free nations"

(Shigeto Kawano 1988).

In 1700 Alexander Hamilton (cited in Goodman 1990) had written,

No Japanese dares leave his Country, and if he does, he must never return. They are so wedded to their own Customs and Opinions, and so jealous of having new or foreign Customs introduced, that they will not send Embassies to other Kings or States, or suffer their Merchants to have Commerce out of their own Dominions.

The view that the Japanese experience culture-shock to an unprecedented degree continues to prevail, and is something of a self-fulfilling prophecy since the Japanese themselves believe it, yet it has been clearly demonstrated above that in the past, overseas travel especially for study, with the expressed objective of achieving

modernisation, was spectacularly successful. Whereas in the past, however, overseas study was the domain of the educational and financial elite, this is no longer so and is increasingly not the case. Since the post-war days a steady stream of students began going abroad for study, which has not abated to the present day.

When Japanese receptiveness to international influences is analysed, it is important to distinguish between the *tatemae* style of communication which is the outside face, or what Japan perhaps thinks the foreigner wants to hear, and *honne* which is the really strongly felt beliefs and values. The second important aspect of attempting to understand Japanese issues or trends is that the outsider should not expect to be able to sum up what is happening because it is always changing. It seems that as soon as an outsider arrives at a summary of the position in Japan, whether it concerns education or life style or policy making, it has changed. The Japanese nation is much given to self-reflection and self-appraisal and is continually striving to improve its position in whatever field. An illustration is found in Japanese society's fluctuating openness to and isolation from the rest of the world which seems to have fallen into four phases since 1600.

The first phase covered the years 1600 - 1868 characterised by a closed, inward looking society in the Tokugawa era. The function of education was to develop moral character in order to fulfil the samurais' function in society and maintain stability. The second phase was from 1868 - 1912 when the Meiji emperor opened up his society to international influence to fuel the cause of modernisation.

In the ultra-nationalistic period from 1912 until the outbreak of the war, Japan again directed her creativity inwards, when discontented rebels opposing the privileged classes in a domestic war, urged military action against western forces and Asian neighbours, and when international relations were driven by oppression and exploitation.

The Potsdam Declaration after the unconditional surrender of September 1945 avowed the intention of the allies to remove "*all obstacles to the survival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental rights shall be established*" and Japan was obliged to open up her society and population again to the innovating policies and procedures of her conquerors.

In conclusion, this thesis supports the view that a fifth phase is underway that is a kind of internationalism which has more to do with Japan's place on the international stage than, as in the past, for the purpose of learning from others. This kind of openness to the world abroad is intended to further Japanese influence and economic position through the "export" of Japanese language and culture. Japanese students are being urged by parents, government and university teachers to go overseas and appreciate cultural diversity, **with a view to better understanding the richness and uniqueness of their own.** Once again in Japanese society, as elsewhere, there is a suggestion of the tension between nationalism and internationalism with Western individualism threatening to disturb the Japanese emphasis on responsibility to the group. Yet again there is a call for a return to "traditional Japanese values". The

advisory panel to the Health and Welfare Minister in 1990 regretted the fact that children deprived of interaction with parents because of long working days would *"lose creativity and activeness and come to lack a sense of being a member of society and do not relate to the emotions of other people. The children have less opportunity to learn patience and values"*. They also reported that the declining population would have adverse effects on an increasingly aged society *"Just as was the case in the last days of ancient Rome, the decrease in the number of children is a sign of a declining civilisation"*. (Asahi Evening News February 22 1990, in Video Letter from Japan TDK 1986)

These signs suggest that Japan is again ready to re-visit the principles of *wakon yosai* (Japanese ethos and Western technology) - though perhaps the emphasis is changing (Western ethos and Japanese technology?) learning from other societies, not as *"passive pupil but an interactive or even controlling learner"* (Goodman 1992).

iv) Japan's International Student Enterprise

British universities have identified Japan as a market they would like to penetrate. To maximise the potential for successful transactions with the Japanese a better understanding of the factors and forces driving the market operations in that country is vital, especially concerning segmentation and consumer behaviour.

In a UNESCO Bulletin of 1988 we are told,

Higher Education is a powerful instrument for social, economic and political change. It produces the high-level manpower and research

needed to sustain and promote a country's development efforts but it is often confronted with problems in its internal functions and in its relationship to the nation's development processes.

Japanese Higher Education as a whole has enjoyed continuous growth since the reforms introduced by the American Education Mission to Japan discussed earlier. Although international comparisons are very difficult to arrive at because of the differences in currencies the OECD has established purchasing power parities (PPPs) and allows that unit costs in Japan have remained low making it a sellers market with some of the highest participation rates in the world. A staggering 93% of all Japanese who successfully completed compulsory schooling in 1980 continued in education (Kitamura 1991).

The continued prosperity of colleges and universities in Japan, due to the never abating flood of applicants will be tested in the face of current changes, the most significant of which is demographic. In Japan, 90% of college enrolments are in the 18-22 age bracket and the sharp decline in the number of 18 year olds after 1992 will be one of the most important challenges facing the industry. *It will certainly influence the financial condition of many tuition-dependent private institutions.* (Kitamura ibid).

[In 1987 70% of Japan's students and institutions were in the private sector.] The late eighties saw a rush to establish new institutions in Japan or convert from a two year Junior College to a four year university. This scramble by university managers was a final chance to expand higher education's capacity before the period of declining enrolments made further developments impossible.

The shift in the market from sellers to buyers market is demonstrated in the move in many institutions towards a strategy of expanding institutional size by adding new departments or programmes designed to attract the shrinking pool of prospective consumers. Some of these new projects are in the field of International Education or Study Abroad programmes . It has been observed that in the service industry of Study Abroad the Japanese now have a long history in an established market as seen earlier. The Nakasone policies have been taken to heart in Japanese companies and families and according to Guidepost and other Study Abroad publications, demand for Study Abroad is growing as many parents desire some international experience for their children.

According to the Japanese popular press, there is a growing preoccupation with overseas travel "*Overseas travel surges, going it alone popular*" (JTW January 29/February 4 1996) with 13.6 million in 1994 to over 15 million in 1995. In 1996 a projected 16.5 million will travel abroad according to the Japan Travel Bureau, Inc. This is said to be mainly due to lower travel costs, reflecting the strong yen, moving from elite interest to mass interest, with an accompanying growth in infra-structures dedicated to support the ever increasing flow. The opening of Kansai International Airport is part of this development. The market expansion embraces Japanese going abroad for weddings; to explore newly-opening China, ("the dim sum tours" to Shanghai for four days); increased mobility among the over sixties and the under tens; and rising numbers of students seeking long and short term international education experience.

Service is an important aspect of Japanese lifestyle. Customer care in restaurants and department stores, hotels and even bars, is superlative to the uninitiated Briton. In education too, service is expected by the Japanese student and parent.

There are a range of agencies servicing Study Abroad including: Counselling Agencies both comprehensive and institution specific; Travel Agencies; Embassies; Publishers; College Preparation Schools; English language Schools and Institution representatives. All of these agencies are committed to developing their own business with prospective Study Abroad participants and with new outlets and destinations.

The service of counselling and disseminating course information and entry requirements is seen as crucially important. *"There is still limited study abroad information on countries other than the US in Japan compared with other countries".* (Yamada 1993). Agents publish and regularly update an information base on study abroad opportunities for students, handle all documentation including visa processing, university application and even passport documentation in some cases. They also offer pre-departure orientation to students and parents relating to the country education system the institutions and life style. Many agents also provide an "after-sales care" service. This is specifically aimed at alleviating the anxieties of parents who, it is said, prefer to deal with the agent than directly with the foreign institution if there are any problems. *"This is because of the language barrier, the agent's neutral position and responsibility to the family".* (Yamada ibid).

Clearly, the old mind-set of " British is best" and " Let them apply and we'll accept

them or not", is unlikely to be effective in a country where the building and maintaining of relationships is valued in business and where, as is customary throughout Asia, operators use intermediaries. It is practice in British universities however, to acknowledge the student as client not the parent or sponsor, and there is a justifiable fear that the commercial operators have a tendency to homogenise the client group, whereas, experience shows students do not share the same aspirations.

Direct experience, based on many years of working with Japanese and other international students shows that the profile of the Japanese student varies considerably. These students (and their parents/teachers), before they commit to a period of Study Abroad, will have been sold a story in Japan which may or may not reflect the reality the students are coming to. (see student testimony later).

Practitioners, on their side, need to be clear about student objectives. There is a danger that the man in the middle will distort the message. Whether or not Japan is, as in the past, sending her young abroad to learn from the so-called developed or post-industrialised nations, or whether tapping into the resource of Western higher education is another form of Japanese economic colonisation, is an interesting question. As Goodman (1992) has observed, "*Japan has always shown herself an assiduous learner, a willing and successful pupil.*" There is concern however, about whose objectives are primarily being pursued through the Study Abroad phenomenon, the students themselves or those who encourage (and profit from) their movement, implicitly or overtly.

Stimulation of a service industry by the providers, even though the end-user of the product may not derive full benefit, can be paralleled in the highly lucrative crammer business. White (1987) has accused the industry of impeding examination reforms in Japan because they profit from Japanese students' exam pressure. Parents have complained, and the Nakasone Reform Committee advocated changes, yet there is little sign of an abatement in the intense competition for high school and university places.

*The increase in the **juku** industry, the ubiquitous tutoring, ... in service to the preparation for exams are given as evidence that the examinations must be deemphasised if not removed. In this view, **juku** are seen as a parasitic phenomenon that threatens to smother education with a competitive desperation. Yet attempts to abolish or even play down the practical importance of **juku** have consistently failed. (White ibid)*

With their vast experience of the examination industry in Japan many *jukus* are developing international business as agencies for Study Abroad. (see above). The *jukus* might be seen therefore to be creating a demand for international education just as for many years they have stimulated or created a demand for higher education in Japan.

Investigating developments currently taking place in Japanese education deepens understanding of a potentially important international partner and major consumer of international education. Moreover, the opportunity to observe operational practices and

inter-act with agents and other operators in Study Abroad enlarges our store of experiential knowledge - a case of teacher turned pupil (to corrupt Goodman above), maximises opportunities in what is becoming acknowledged to be one of the great educational issues of our times - the development potential for British universities of cultivating an international student clientele. Furthermore, this learning will be directed towards addressing the research question #5 on the push and pull factors driving increasing participation by Japanese students in British higher education.

Since we know that motivation for international study springs from conditions obtaining in the home or sending country in balance with the attractions of the host country the following will explore a number of those factors.

II THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN AS THE EXPRESSION OF A NATION

i) Preamble

A survey of research and a review of the literature on international student initiatives in Japan, suggests that the need to reform the system is a significant concern. The purpose of the following section is to consider some of the salient features of education in Japan which are thought to have a direct bearing on the desire by many thousands of Japanese to spend part or all of their education abroad.

The profile of Japanese students comprising the in-flow to Britain, and that of other international students bear certain dissimilarities. It was highlighted earlier that one of the most powerful reasons behind a student's decision to leave his or her own

country and incur the expense of a sojourn abroad is to take advantage of certain opportunities which may not be available in the home country. Ostensibly that does not seem to be the case in Japan where higher education is well-established and seems adequate and appropriate for the needs of society. To investigate whether or not this is in fact the case a survey of the present condition of education in Japan is introduced here with attention given to higher education and its potential clients.

ii) The Fundamental Principles of Education in Japan

a) *Philosophy*

The basic principles are provided for in the Constitution of Japan enacted in 1946 and the Fundamental Law of Education enacted in 1947.

" All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their abilities, as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free " (Article 26). The central aim of education is defined as, *" the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem the value of the individual, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society".*

(Monbusho 1995). The Law sets out principles relating to equal opportunities and provides for a nine year compulsory system of education which is co-ed and which prohibits partisan political education.

b) *the establishment of institutions of education*

There are three strands of educational establishments in Japan and a three-fold

vertical ranking exists.

Firstly, the National government establishes national schools;

Secondly, the Prefectural or municipal government establishes local public schools almost all compulsory schools, elementary and lower secondary schools;

Thirdly, the Non-profit corporations (school juridical persons) have responsibility for the private schools.

Such is the belief in the power of the Japanese educational machine, midwife to the Japanese workforce, which created the impressive Japanese economy, that it comes as a surprise to many observers that the final stage of compulsory education in Japan is the *Chugako* (Junior High School). Needless to say, given the Japanese commitment to education, it ends there for only 6% of the age cohort 94% moving on to High School a higher percentage even than in the US, and much higher than the UK. What is more, the non-compulsory sector is not free so that night schools and commercial high schools are the only option for the children of low-income families. Competition for entry to the "best" high schools is fierce because once there, the student has a better chance, it is thought, of getting into one of the "top" universities (Rohlen 1983).

iii) The Organisation of Japanese Higher Education

Institutions of higher education in Japan are classified as a) universities, b) junior

colleges, c) colleges of technology and 4) special training schools (offering advanced courses).

a) Universities (*DAIGAKU*)

As centres of advanced learning, universities are " *intended to conduct teaching and research in depth in specialised disciplines and provide students with advanced knowledge*". (Monbusho 1995) whose official position is that all that is required to enter higher education is the completion of upper secondary schooling.

That may be the de nomine position but de facto, the three-fold vertical ranking is reflected in the relative and proportionate competition for entry. The practice is that efforts to bring about nationally standardised university entrance procedures have been going on for some time but that each university continues to set its own exams, the level of difficulty reflecting the status of the university.

Vertical ranking is a salient feature of Japanese society and naturally encompasses education. Shukan Yomiuri (23/6/96) published statistics concerning the top ten universities in terms of the numbers of company presidents they educated " *Best school to climb the corporate ladder*" surveying 200 major enterprises in diverse business fields ranging from banks and consumer electronics giants to car manufacturers and real estate agents. Their findings are as follows: [note Tokyo university's pre-eminence and the

dominance of National and prestigious Private universities.]

TABLE 12

University	Type	Number of CEOs	Share
1. <i>Tokyo</i>	National	68	35.8
2. <i>Keio</i>	Private	23	12.1
3. <i>Kyoto</i>	National	19	10.0
4. <i>Waseda</i>	Private	17	8.9
5. <i>Hitotsubashi</i>	National	9	4.7
6. <i>Chuo</i>	Private	5	2.6
7. <i>Nagoya</i>	National	5	2.6
8. <i>Hokkaido</i>	National	5	2.6
9. <i>Osaka</i>	National	4	2.6
10. <i>Kwansei Gakuin</i>	Private	4	2.1

Source: Shukan Yomiuri (June 23, 1996), reprinted in translation in JTW

The high school curriculum, being broad-based and not designed to meet the level of specificity of the entrance exam questions, is an inadequate preparation. If students want to succeed, it is essential that they attend a *juku* specialising in university entrance exam preparation. After five and a half days at school, and hours of supplementary lessons in the *juku*, they then have many hours of study facing them at home.

This punishing regime gives rise to the popular saying among high school

students preparing for university entrance, "*Four hours pass, five hours fail*", referring to the hours of sleep they allow themselves before an exam.

" I started preparing for the exam by going to juku in the sixth grade. Most students start in the fifth grade, and some even start in the fourth grade. One evening a week I had a private tutor in math for an hour and a half. And on Sundays I went to a big juku called Yoyogi Seminar from 10.00 - 12.30 . Each time we were given a mock test similar to the entrance exam. The teacher would correct our papers and tell us our grade, so we could try to do better next time. These tests also helped us get used to the tense exam atmosphere"

(student testimony cited by Condon 1991)

For some students this can take many attempts with those failing for the public high schools having to "lower their sights" and go for a private high school. According to a University of Michigan survey in 1984, the Japanese people tend to put effort before intelligence, over 70% of respondents in the survey attributing individual success to diligence, endurance and effort rather than natural ability. A young person will be encouraged to try, try, try again, until he or she is finally accepted by some high school. This pattern is faithfully repeated at the end of the high school where the *juken jikoku* (examination hell) of the university entrance is enacted. (please see below). *Gambate kudasai!* means endure or push yourself to the limit.

"Hardship is, and always has been, integral to the learning process in Japan" (Goodman 1990). Family effort is believed to be behind the success of many students, mothers playing an especially important part during the crucial time of preparation for university. Many observers of Japanese education and society, recently, Dickensheets (1996), have confirmed the enduringly powerful influence of the *koyoiku mama*.

b) Junior Colleges (*TANKI-DAIGAKU*)

"Junior colleges (sic) aim is to conduct teaching and research and to develop in students such abilities as are required for vocational or practical life." (Monbusho 1995) In practice the two year junior college is an alternative to university for women. They have been described as little more than finishing schools (Greenlees 1992), but allow a woman to spend longer in employment than if she were to take a four year course and then look for a job. Admission to the Tanki-daigaku is completion of upper secondary schooling or equivalent.

c) Colleges of Technology (*KOTO-SENMON-GAKKO*)

At this stage in Japanese further education differences can be seen along gender lines. Just as the junior college is peopled predominantly by women, so the colleges of technology tend to cater traditionally for men. Unlike the junior college however, students transfer into them after the lower secondary school and remain five years until they reach the level of associate degree. (Equivalent to the first two years of an undergraduate degree).

The emphasis is on developing abilities required for vocational life. Popular subjects are engineering (including chemical, mechanical, electrical, civil and information technology), also mercantile marine studies.

iv) The Quantitative Development of Higher Education

Higher Education provision in Japan has developed steadily year by year and the student profile by subject and sector changes little. The following gives the most up to date figures at the time of writing and for ease of comparison, figures from the year this study began . As the review and commentary above has indicated men are predominant in the four year universities though women's participation is inching up. The Junior Colleges are the destination of the vast majority of women but note how their numbers have dropped slightly in 1994 as more men are enrolled. (Chapter 8 shows other differences in the exit aspirations of Junior college graduates).

TABLE 13

QUANTITATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

Type of Institution	Numbers 1991 1994	All Students 1991 1994	Female Students 1991 1994	Females as % Total 1991 1994
College of Technology	62 62	53 698 56 234	5 856 9 966	10.9 17.7
Junior College	592 596	504 087 498 516	461 812 455 439	91.6 91.4
University	514 565	2 205 516 2 546 649	625 191 821 893	28.3 32.3

Source: Statistical Abstract of Education, Science, Sports and Culture, Monbusho.
. figures for May 1992 from the 1994 edition
. figures for May 1994 from the 1996 edition

v) Admission to Higher Education

a) Admissions procedures

The Monbusho acknowledges that admission to universities and Junior colleges is granted on a competitive basis. Because there are no specialist subject nationally standardised leaving exams like "A" levels, the following are required:

1) scholastic achievement tests (including recently developed nation-wide exams administered through the National Centre for University Entrance Examinations that is, through national, local, public and private universities) and other tests assessing students abilities and aptitudes.

2) credentials submitted by the upper secondary schools which are also taken into account. The number of students admitted purely on "Principal's recommendation", as this is known, is rising. (This practice is causing problems matching students with courses when they arrive in British institutions without a criterion referenced transcript).

b) Problems of non-admission

In the spring of 1989 1,933,616 students applied for admission to universities and junior colleges, 990,660 males and 942,956 females. Of these, 702,000 that is 63%, were successfully admitted. That left 37% of **technically qualified students** without a university place. Of those successful however, about 189,000 or 27%, had graduated from upper secondary school **one or more years before**.

Young people who do not gain acceptance become *ronin*. It seems that huge numbers every year are in this position, nearly two hundred thousand young people (see above) spent one or more years after having graduated from high school cramming day and/or night at a *juku* or *yobiko*, trying to pass a university entrance exam. This is a significant statistic and needs to be seen as part of the overall presenting profile of Japanese students applying to British institutions. It is a facet of the students' academic history which is often overlooked by admissions officers, or of which they are unaware and can be a significant contributory factor to difficulty or failure on courses later.

c) Enrolment rates

There have been changes in the higher education enrolment rates throughout the course of this study. Japan rivalled the US five years ago in terms of numbers enrolled in universities. An international comparison below shows the US with the highest participation rates in the world - the US is truly a mass system but figures show France and Germany with higher rates than Japan. This is likely to be an effect of the recession in Europe. Britain continues to lag behind the major industrial nations with fewer students in higher education though rates are rising significantly as chapter two expounded.

d) International Comparisons in HE Enrolment Rates

Japan (1993) 34.2*

United States (1991) 47.4

United Kingdom (1991) 30.1

France (1992) 42.2

West Germany (1991) 45.8

* (the Japanese press reported 40% enrolment in 1994 - comparable figures for the same period internationally not available at time of writing)

vi) The Higher Education Curriculum

a) Undergraduate

The limited curriculum of the Japanese university has excited much comment and has been unfavourably compared with the comprehensive institutions of the West, having sometimes only one or two undergraduate faculties, usually in Social Science and Humanities. The programmes last a minimum of four years, (6 for medical, dental and veterinary sciences).

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF UNIVERSITY (Undergraduate) STUDENTS BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY (Figures in thousands)

Field of Study	May 1991	May 1994
Social Sciences	39.8	40.1
Engineering	19.6	19.6
Humanities	15.4	15.9
Education	6.9	6.4
Natural Sciences	3.4	3.5
Agriculture	3.3	3.1
Medicine, Dentistry	3.3	2.9
Pharmacy	1.8	1.7
Home Economics	1.8	1.8
Others	4.6	5.0

Figures collected over the period of this study show very little change in the proportions of students following these disciplines. **Source:** Monbusho (1995).

The distribution of students by major field of study varies across the three categories of university national, local public and private. In national universities (the most prestigious apart from some notable long established private universities like Keio and Waseda) humanities and social sciences accounts for only 23%, but accounts for 57% of enrolments in local public institutions rising to 64% in private universities.

TABLE 15

**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF JUNIOR COLLEGE STUDENTS BY MAJOR
FIELDS OF STUDY (figures in thousands)**

Field of Study	May 1991	May 1994
Humanities	26.2	28.3
Home Economics	24.2	24.3
Education	16.0	15.9
Social Sciences	13.2	13.0
Health	5.6	3.1
Engineering	5.0	4.6
General Education	3.3	3.7
Agriculture	0.8	0.5
Others	5.7	4.9(Art),1.7(others)

In many junior colleges there is a very restricted curriculum indeed. It is not that humanities and home economics courses are particularly popular, but that there is nothing else available in some colleges. These disciplines take up one half of all enrolled students followed in popularity by education and social sciences.

(The Monbusho (ibid) counted Art separately in 1994 whereas previously it was counted amongst "others", otherwise, as above, little change.)

b) Post-graduate education

Universities have the power to set up graduate schools offering masters courses lasting two years and PhDs five, (four for medical and dental courses). In 1991, of the 515 4-year universities only 322 (63%) of (mainly National)

Japanese universities had graduate schools, many of which were in a position to offer only Masters degrees. Less than half of all Japanese universities offer doctoral programmes. By May 1994 the number of graduate schools had risen to 389, 275 of which were able to offer PhDs. Post-graduate opportunities in Japan are limited compared to other wealthy nations. The need for development in this area is accepted by the Monbusho and throughout Japanese society.

c) Aggregate numbers in Higher Education

In May 1991 there were 504 087 students in junior colleges, (fewer than in 1991) but there were 2 205 516 in universities. TOTAL: 2 709 603 students. In May 1994 there were 461 849 students in junior colleges and 2 546 649 students in universities. TOTAL: 3 008 498 students.

In summarising educational provision, particularly tertiary, in Japan, certain characteristics are identifiable. One is steady growth, another is the predictability of student choice, the whole controlled by a Monbusho which is long-termist in its planning, and resistant to change. In many ways the envy of the world, Japanese education appears nonetheless at something of a cross-roads. Consumer power is being exerted in the domestic and international market by huge out-flows and returning in-flows of Japanese and growing in-flows of international students. This cannot fail to cause waves in the previously calm waters of Japanese university life.

vii) Japanese Government Policies on Higher Education

Education provides a sound base for the development of the nation. It is an important policy area which must constantly be dealt with by the Government. (Monbusho ibid)

Three areas of policy which are of particular interest to observers and researchers in the higher education/study abroad interface are the following:

a) Higher Education Reforms

Enrolment rates cited earlier show that participation rates in higher education are very high. The total number of 18 year olds peaked in 1992 and is now declining rapidly. The demands of the public for higher education are becoming more diversified. Consequently, there is growing pressure for innovation in HE with a growth in inter-disciplinary approaches.

b) Entrance Examinations

Parents have protested against procedures for entry to university, which are said to be brutal as well as financially exploitative, and not particularly effective in selecting the most motivated candidates committed to academic interests. There has always been something of a lottery about the way things are managed. The Economist reported in 1990 *"(the) sole criterion of admission is a game of Trivial Pursuit writ large..."*

In response to complaints from parents and corporate Japan, Monbusho has introduced a new national examination scheme administered by the National Centre for University Entrance Examinations which can be used by any

national or private university. The much discussed new exam began in 1990 and was designed to assess the basic scholastic achievement which applicants have gained in their upper secondary schools but institutions have *not* relinquished their own arrangements.

They are expected to develop selection procedures which do more justice to candidates by combining the national exam with other selection criteria. Monbusho has announced it will progressively introduce structural changes taking account of the demographic as well as socio-economic changes over the coming years affecting junior colleges and colleges of technology as well as universities.

c) Graduate work

As we have seen, the lack of graduate opportunities in Japan compared with those of other advanced nations is thought to be a drawback to the development needs of the nation and the Monbusho is at pains to remedy this. If it is successful this may well have an impact on the demand for study abroad. It is hoped that an expansion of graduate schools and a corresponding rise, through the Japan Scholarship Foundation, of the number of loans available, again, especially to graduate students, will go some way towards achieving growth in this important area.

viii) Survey of the Implementation of Educational Reforms

From 1987, the National Council for Educational Reform offered four reports to the Government in response to which the Cabinet set out its priorities in a policy paper entitled *"Immediate Policies for the Implementation of Educational Reforms - Policy Guidelines for the Implementation of Educational Reform"*. These are surveyed in a number of documents some of which are reproduced in Beauchamp (1994) and Monbusho (1995). These include a recognition of the need for a lifelong learning system; reforms in both secondary and higher education; the promotion of scientific research; reforms for coping with the changing times.

From 1989 - April 1991, the Central Council for Education (charged with implementing the reforms) deliberated *"reforms and other issues related to upper secondary education and 'the development of an infra-structure for lifelong learning'"*. Later in 1991 the Council presented its reports looking at reforms of various systems to adapt them to a new age. The report recognised the *"importance of decreasing the mental pressure placed on children, recovering human dignity and valuing individuality"*. These intentions are in response to the complaints from parents discussed earlier, about the suffering experienced by their children in the examination hell. (Beauchamp 1994)

April 1995 saw the publication of the paper debating the role of Japan as she stood *"... on the Brink of the 21st Century"*. The main thrust of this document was to consider the state of an education system that can deal with *"... the great societal changes resulting from internationalisation, the spread of information media and so on."* (Monbusho 1995)

The University Council was inaugurated in September 1987 as an advisory body to the Minister. Close reading of the documents in translation fails to reveal much in the way of concrete proposals or a factual and quantifiable implementation plan. In place of this is a series of mantric exhortations recommending "*individualised, energised educational and research activities ... distinctive diverse and individual graduate schools, ... the improvement of University Education ... reform strategies involving entire higher education.*" There is much discussion of the enhancement of graduate provision and the need to establish national standards in institutions of higher education together with a system of self-evaluation by the institutions.

ix) The Importance of the Private Sector

In May 1989 **73% of university students in Japan and 91% junior college students were enrolled in private institutions.** "*... private institutions, which are carrying out unique educational and research activities based on the distinctive aims or principles set out by their founders, have an increasingly important role to play.* (in providing distinctive educational programmes to meet the diversified and heightened demands for higher education from the public.) (Monbusho 1995)

It is especially important at the level of kindergarten, upper secondary and higher education; higher education does not include technical colleges which are classified as secondary. As an illustration: in 1995, 30% of upper secondary school students were in private schools, more than 73.50% of all university students were enrolled in private institutions and 83.9% of junior college students. (Monbusho 1996b) Grants to private schools for "*their current expenses*" amounted to Y66.6 billion in 1995 and

to universities Y280.4 billion.

"Trends in National Subsidies to Private Institutions of Higher Education for their Current Expenses" (Monbusho 1996b) indicates that there is a commitment by government to **increase** subsidies to private institutions especially in terms of the purchase of equipment for research purposes and " *to help alleviate the economic burdens of students enrolled in these institutions*". The business of education is a well developed public service in Japan for which clients and their sponsors are prepared to pay the market price.

x) The Concept of the Cocoon Years

When British educators welcome their international students from Japan it is well to consider the alternatives from which the students are making choices. Whether the **incentives** to study in Britain, (quality, standardisation and so forth as commented on above), are the compelling forces or whether they are propelled abroad by conditions and agencies in-country, is a highly significant issue in the long term success of the students and the institutions providing for them. Opting out of, or avoiding, that is de-selecting the universities of their own country will have a profound effect on how and to what extent these young people benefit from the education in Britain.

There are about a thousand or more institutions of higher education to which an educated speaker of Japanese can gain entrance. It is generally accepted that they provide a most welcome respite between the punishing regime of the senior high school and the treadmill of working life with total commitment to the company

required for satisfactory progress through the ranks. For very good reasons this period is known as "the cocoon years", where the years of pressure give way, for the fortunate who earn a university place, to a tolerance of unconformity and individuality, where challenge is limited, and goals and objectives, where they are set, are self directed and not imposed from outside. (Condon 1991).

Moreover, if the Japanese student has obtained a place at a prestigious university, he or she can expect to be recruited by a good company and offered a job for life together with perks and full training. The subjects studied or grades obtained are nothing like as important as the name of the university. It has been said that the most desirable graduate is a male PE major from Tokyo University. A healthy young man whose mind is not cluttered with preconceived ideas. (Goodman 1990)

Of the thirty six percent of high school graduates who enter university almost all graduate. The Japanese are fond of saying that in America it is easy to enter university but hard to graduate whereas the reverse is true in Japan. However, as mentioned above, simply being there improves a person's life chances, even their marriage prospects, and marriage to the Japanese is the cornerstone of society - it is extremely important to make a "good " marriage.

" Having received the Todai imprimatur, he knew he was a catch in the world of omiai" (Condon op cit) (Todai is the prestigious University of Tokyo, and omiai is the practice of arranged marriages where the couple can "meet and look")

III SOME THEMES IN THE RESEARCH ON JAPANESE EDUCATION & THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOVEMENT

i) Introduction

A survey of current and completed research on themes coherent with the furthering of the aims of this study can now be conducted on the basis of the background covered in the previous section. In the world of business this is an essential pre-requisite of product evaluation through investigation of consumer attitudes, behaviours and preferences. What follows therefore is an indication of the major areas of inquiry and thematically related publications yielding information and insights into the international education industry in Japan.

Assessment of student profiles, and needs analyses, are typical concerns of curriculum developers and are common precursors to course delivery and design. Furthermore, producers benefit from re-thinking the appropriateness of current provision and working towards enhancing their understanding of the behaviours of potential client groups. In addition to that, understanding the operational practices of the Japanese education brokers is crucial if British universities intend to increase their share of the Japanese market. There follows a brief survey of some of the literature dedicated to understanding the Japanese as educators and as prospective international student clients.

ii) Background

In common with the general literature search in Chapter 2 it will be found that much

of what follows has been published in the United States and concerns the Japanese international student experience there. The literature tends to support the Americans' view that the astonishing economic dominance of Japan since WWII is a direct result of the Japanese education system.

It is widely accepted that the United States' connection with Japan has been long and famously troubled. In spite of, or rather, because of this, the Americans have striven to understand Japan and the Japanese. Ruth Benedict's classic work The Chrysanthemum and the Sword was commissioned by the United States Government in response to the appalling events of the forties, . In the opening to the book she acknowledges that " *The Japanese were the most alien enemy the United States had ever fought in an all out struggle.*" She goes on to explain " *We had to understand their behaviour in order to cope with it*" (Benedict 1947).

The belief that it is necessary for the West to arrive at a better understanding of the Japanese is shared by many academics. J.A.A. Stockwin of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies in Oxford, has written that "... *even now (1986) Japanese society is not well understood in the West, but the need to understand Japanese society is becoming increasingly imperative as contacts between Japan and the West increase.*"

One of these Japan/Western interfaces is in the market for international education where the Japanese can be seen as purchasers and the British as producers. Stockwin's words are becoming increasingly apposite as educators seek to recognise the educational and wider social factors governing the flow of Japanese students abroad.

The great comparative educationist Michael Sadler (1900) reminds us "*In studying foreign systems of education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside...*" (in King 1979). Sadler was not alone in urging comparative educationists to give due accord to the "factors and forces" which influence educational developments and in turn are influenced by them.

From a vast literature on Japanese educational issues the following indicative selection is believed to be representative and is thought to be complementary to the broad spectrum of concerns reviewed in Chapter 2.

iii) Japanese Education and Society

Among Comparative educationists Edmund King (1979), (1986), has established important links between societies and their systems of formal education which he sees as manifestations and expressions of the values of that society. *Modernisation and international sensitivity ...may imply false "recognition" of tasks to be faced. if the education proposed takes insufficient account of the world in which [they] are growing up.*

In the case of Japan he goes on to comment on the quality and quantity of research produced by Japanese academics. *"In the rest of the urbanised world, the phenomena of young adults ... as a distinct educational and social constituency in its own right - has come in for repeated and sensitive study during the past two decades."*

But not, he reflects, in Japan where research on young people has been dominated by the twin issues of "*unrest and delinquency*". (King *ibid*) The infamous bullying practices have been reported by various Japanese education specialists, among others, Picken (1986) who relates instances of young people driven to murder their tormentors; Greenlees (1993) who cites instances of violence by teachers, such as burying children up to the neck in sand until they confess.

Schoppa (1991) sees the *ijime* and associated problems as an impetus for reform of the system.

" The immediate problem most responsible for making education reform a leading political issue in the 1980s was that of school violence and delinquency ... in 1980 ... the city of Tokyo reported a 44% increase in cases... in February 1983 ... a group of junior high and senior high school youths in Yokohama were arrested after they attacked a number of sleeping vagrants, killing three".

He advises researchers to put these statistics into perspective however comparing the Japanese statistic of 2,125 incidents of school violence in a year with the situation in the United States where 282, 000 students and 1,000 teachers were seriously assaulted **in a month**. Specialist analysis and comment on Japanese societal influences on education and the contribution of education to Japanese society is comprehensively treated by Cummings (1980), who demonstrates on the basis of direct personal observation in schools how society is transformed by the educational process, yet

highlights the tension in Japan between the egalitarian nature of pedagogy and curriculum on the one hand and the elite's view of education as a means of furnishing government and industry with high flyers for top positions.

Teenage lifestyles including attitudes to education is treated by White (1993). In a comprehensive survey, she also raises the latest anxiety in Japan, school refusal.

The reputedly spectacularly successful Japanese system of education has provoked strong reactions from academics and politicians along a continuum of opinion from highly idealised to bitter criticism. It is generally accepted that the school, supported by the home, is a supremely effective agent of socialisation in Japan but that as a consequence even the most positive cultural practices exert their own kind of pressure on young people. " *We have had an ijime counsellor for the past year. I am acutely aware of how serious and widespread the epidemic is every time the hotline rings (nearly every hour and this is a small rural area)*". (Marjorie R. Asturias, Letters to the Editor, Japan Times Weekly February 1996))

The popular press in many countries is enthusiastic about copy on Japan. One example of this is the often salacious media attention that has been given to the *kikokushijo* (the returnees). One aspect of Japan's economic expansion has been the international placements of large numbers of Japanese whose children have been educated for a period of time outside Japan. It has been long feared that these children experienced tremendous cultural dislocation as a result of their international experience and that their academic work suffered sometimes irreparably. Ishida Hideo (1983) cited by

Goodman (1990) showed that the biggest personal worries of [overseas businessmen] concern not their own careers but the education of their children.

Glazer (1976) Rendhal (1978) and White (1988) deal with reported instances of anti-social behaviour including violence, alienation from mainstream Japanese culture and lack of proficiency in Japanese language and writing after a sojourn abroad. White (1987) spoke of the ill-treatment meted out by his classmates to the "*accidental international child*". An entire industry has grown up around this putative problem both in Japan and among Japanese students taking research degrees overseas, with entire stands given over to the phenomenon in Japanese bookstores. Studies of these children have spawned a number of sensational stories of returnees performing anti-social behaviours such as heaving their mothers off fifth floor balconies, beating grandparents senseless with baseball bats, being terrorised, bullied by Japanese classmates for speaking Japanese with a foreign accent, *even to being accused of dropping the atom bomb*. (Goodman 1990 refers to stories carried by the Asahi Shimbun, notably on February 13, 1983).

However, through his field work in Japan, Goodman challenges the assumptions behind much of the thinking about *kikokushijo* who he believes will guide Japan in the next century. He proposes that the *intelli* (intelligentsia) especially of the left wing (of which the Asahi Shimbun is a mouthpiece) have used treatment of these returnees as a basis for attacking the conservative government. Special schools have been set up to "re-educate" them and ameliorate the debilitating effects of foreign education on students' skills, abilities and attitudes. Universities have been instructed to organise

special quota arrangements which policy has subsequently provoked further reaction against the returning young people. Goodman prophesied that far from becoming social outcasts these children would become the vanguard of a new elite in Japan with highly desirable characteristics and abilities resulting from the international experience. His work is of interest to academics in higher education in that it offers a further perspective on the seemingly ambivalent position of the Japanese on internationalism.

It seemed that for a time, Japanese society was starting to re-evaluate the benefits of international experience but the problem theme continues to emerge as in the Japan Times International Weekly (February 1996) which told the tale of eleven year old "Yuji" who *"has spent nearly his life abroad"* (sic) who is causing great concern because he *"stays in a closet for hours or refuses to change his clothes or take a bath for days"*. It is said he *"is trying to be the same as his friends but he knows he cannot and feels great pressure ... His father blames his experience working abroad"*.

This topic is of interest to the theme of study abroad even though it is focusing on the problems of children because it begs the question whether and to what extent experience and knowledge gained abroad is a marketable asset for the international students on returning to Japan.

iv) Japanese Students' Language and Gender Issues

Two prominent themes in research and literature on the Japanese abroad centre around language issues, and the position of women.

Firstly, Japanese speakers' problems with English are both legendary and well documented and are a specialist area which has had to be excluded from the present study due to limitations of time and space. However, much of the Japanese students' testimony presented later will touch on language issues so it is of relevance to mention some well-known studies here. They include work on communication style by, for instance, Yashiro (1987) Takashima (1989) Nagashima (1973) and Barlund (1975). White, R. (1990) relates his experiences teaching writing to Japanese undergraduates to describe behaviours achievements and learning outcomes.

To most Japanese a foreign language is English; international education means western, probably American, inevitably in English. That students have difficulty with English is not surprising as White (1987), Stephens (1991), Goodman (1990) and Beauchamp and Vardaman (1994) explain, English is not taught in Japan as a means of communicating but as an exam subject. Goodman describes English lessons and offers examples of English exam papers commenting that it is taught "*rather as Latin or ancient Greek are (or were) taught in Europe*". Japanese students are doubly pressured in that despite being unable to conduct a simple conversation with a native speaker after having studied it for three or four lessons a week for about six years, they are required to gain a pass in English in order to enter a good high school and university, whether they intend to study English further or not. Beauchamp and Vardaman cite Japanese documents on educational reform specifically targeting English as a means of "*Advancement towards internationalism, ... emphasis needs to be placed on the mastery of English as an international language as a tool for international communication ... skill in active communication with foreigners*".

Issues relating to women's education and the future life goals of women are raised by Japanese women students in discussion with the author who considers the prominence of Japanese women in the study abroad cohorts to be significant and to support which data will be presented later. The following references are indicative of the subject. Fujimara-Fanselow and Imamura (1991) consider that "*surprisingly little has been written on issues pertaining to women's education*" despite what they see as a proliferation of literature on Japanese education generally, in English. They set out to redress the balance with a survey of women's education and women's roles, how women firstly exercise choice over educational matters and subsequently how their education is utilised. Condon (1991)'s ethnographic approach to women's concerns is presented through conversations with Japanese women on a range of topics. She conducted interviews on education, university and college life and so forth, giving a faithful account without much obtrusive analysis.

Fischer (1986) also dealt with attitudes to women's education in Japan. Matsui (1988) conducted a comparative study of a group of Chinese and Japanese postgraduate women at State University New York (SUNY), Buffalo. Matsui was interested in the women's perceptions of gender role and whether and to what extent their views had altered as a result of their experience in higher education. Their attitudes differed in that the Chinese women testified that gender was not an issue in Chinese universities but the Japanese believed they were forced into a "feminine" way of behaving. The assumption that study abroad is an automatic passport to better job prospects is challenged in the Japanese women's testimony to Matsui.

Sumiko: Even if I go back, I wouldn't have a good job. There

are so many overseas returnees in Japan. Having only an M.A. degree is useless. I'm too old to be hired by a company or a high school. I don't expect much. I did what I wanted, so I'll pay the price. I don't expect I'll get a better job than teaching in a high school.

The point about age relates to the practice of big Japanese companies recruiting women of about the age of twenty two straight from Japanese universities. The ideal age for marriage is thought for a woman to be twenty five which gives rise to the saying that women are like Christmas, no good after the twenty fifth. It is thought to be a waste of money training women if they marry and leave the firm failing to "pay their dues". Millie Creighton (JTI September 30/October 6 1996) sees the role of the OL (office lady) as an extension of the nurturing role of the mother symbolised in the serving of tea to male colleagues, but that even that usefulness is brief. *"Single women employed between the ages of 24 and 27 are commonly referred to as "aging" They are not encouraged to stay because by working too many years they accumulate seniority and become 'costly labor' "* .

There is also the fear among prospective employers that women who spend a long time abroad are assertive and opinionated whereas malleable women are valued as employees. *"Women who go overseas worry that they may be seen as too ambitious ... and hence unfeminine"* (Goodman 1990). The Japanese press has also taken up the theme of the woman contaminated by foreign education which echoes to a certain extent the kikokushijo debate. Time magazine (October 23 1989) ran the story of

Tokyo Assemblywoman Mitsui who recalled being humiliated in an early career as a high school teacher for refusing to make tea. Jiro Takai (1992) refers to Japanese study abroad women experiencing problems on their return. *"Japan is an example of a country which is highly masculine ... Japanese women, after experiencing the freedom allotted to them [abroad] are likely to realise how little esteem they have back in Japan"*.

There have been certain changes in the position of women since and a consequent increase in women's participation in Study Abroad. Opportunities for women's employment have worsened and the chance to escape the allegedly stultifying effects of Japanese society are being seized. Narumiya (1986) sees educational opportunities inseparably related to gender in equality issues in Japan and discusses the Japanese ideal of *ryosai kenbo*, that is, good wife and clever mother a concept imported from 19th century Europe which continues to haunt Japanese women long after the Europeans have largely abandoned it.

Personal experience of working with Japanese women matches research findings that the position of women in Japan is changing with the recent dip in Japanese fortunes. This is impacting on employment practices, stimulating a rise in the number of women expressing an interest in further and/or higher educational qualifications post- Japanese university, and in mid-career professional and academic development opportunities (Guidepost, Letters to the Editor, April 1st 1995).

v) Some Distinctive Characteristics of Japanese Education

Reading on the Japanese system of education should be balanced between Japanese and other official descriptions and reports, and informed comment from within and outside the country.

The Asian Cultural Centre UNESCO (1990), and the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Monbusho (1992) (1994) (1995) (1996a and b) present the official picture. British official bodies commenting on Japanese education include The British Council Market Survey (1986), Annual Reports (1992) (1994) and reports on educational missions to Japan (1993). The body of work from these sources is factually descriptive in nature without specific interpretation or evaluation.

Contributions to an understanding of the system comes also from the private sector including The Association of International Education (AIE) (1993), various educational Foundations and charities, for instance, The Educational Information Service (EIS), (1992) partnering Fulbright and the Japanese United States Educational Council (JUSEC). Such agencies also exist outside Japan: in the UK, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (1994) has published research findings and has collated information regarding cultural exchanges with Japanese institutions of education. Similarly, the UK- Japan 2000 group (1993), provides information on work done in the UK on Japanese language and other Japanese studies, the Japan Foundation, the Daiwa Foundation and others.

A comprehensive account of the education system of Japan in Mashiko (1989) covers all levels with detailed exposition and clarity. Particulars of grading systems,

qualifications, international schools in Japan as well as advice on placing Japanese students in foreign (US) institutions are presented. Although living and working largely outside Japan, her experiential knowledge and well-informed analysis goes a long way towards explaining the characteristic features of Japanese education.

Simmonds (1990) describes Japanese education as functional, instrumental in producing the Japanese workforce. He delineates the areas in which Britain can learn from Japan in terms of educational practice. Merry White (1987) has listed the ways in which the United States can learn from Japan but concludes that *changes in* American societal norms and values would be an essential pre-requisite, underlining as so many commentators do, that Japanese educational development has always drawn on support from the family, school and home deriving mutual benefit from shared values. Dore's thorough and authoritative study of 1965 offers an important historical perspective. He (and others) have written on the phenomenon of the Diploma disease, as he describes the Japanese obsession with educational qualifications. The cultural basis for Japanese students' achievement has been investigated by Shimahara (1986). The Americans' heightened interest in Japanese education relates in part to their perception of its significant contribution to Japan's position in the international market, and the fact that Japanese students do better than theirs. They often however are confused about the exact mechanics of how things work in Japan, as in the following example quoted by Beauchamp (1991). Terrel Bell, the then Secretary of Education told the visiting Japanese minister of education in Washington, " *we must have **juku** because the Japanese are so productive . What we need is a continuation of your magnificent example*". On hearing that the Japanese

would like to, "*do away with juku*", it is said he lamely responded that he did not actually know what *juku* were.

The private educational sector in Japan, of which the *juku* is a cornerstone is an aspect of Japanese life which has excited much comment and research. Private education operates across all sectors but particularly lucrative enterprises are the schools and colleges dedicated to the provision of supplementary education. These are the *juku* and *yobiko* to support and provide information on which, there are entire publishing companies, marketing departments, international liaison and so forth. Among those who have investigated student adaptation to and take up of *juku* courses is Tsukada (1988) who provides a valuable and detailed examination of this quintessentially Japanese phenomenon, [though they also exist in Korea and Taiwan and recently, one started up in London] through an exploratory case study of one *yobiko* and its *ronin*.

The putative ordeal that is said to be the experience of high school for many Japanese young people has been much investigated. The most detailed study is Rohlen (1983) on the schools of Kobe, linking student achievement with socio-economic background and going some way towards exploding the myth concerning the homogeneity of the "classless" Japanese society. Rohlen saw public education in Japan as a universal scapegoat, criticised by the left for creating inequality and by the right for undermining traditional Japanese values and culture.

The education system has been surveyed by Sato (1991) who, after an overview comprising brief portraits of the other sectors, restricts himself to detailed analysis of

higher education referring to the significance of the falling birth rate and other demographic data. He presents the view that the university system has failed to deal with Japan's employment needs.

It has been concluded by El Agra and Ichii (1985) after a discussion of Japanese higher education in general, that the Japanese university faithfully reflects a number of pre-occupations of Japanese society, in that it supports high-growth industries, reinforces the distinction between the sexes, and determines the structure of wages in general and the sex variance in particular.

Japanese universities are not the comprehensive institutions they are in Britain and other countries as we saw earlier. The limitations of a curriculum often limited to humanities and social sciences, is dealt with by Kida (1981). He expresses concern at the low numbers of graduate students (3% in some areas) and suggests a need for internationalisation as a means of developing the higher education curriculum.

In a discussion of a group of developed countries, in which Japan is included, Fulton (1984) makes an assessment of pressures on higher education, analysing the changing expectations of major groups affected by higher education, particularly employers and young people. A comparison is made with broader political economic community needs, in terms of investment and other functions.

Major developments in post-war educational policy in Japan is chronicled by Beauchamp (1985) who demonstrates how world events have shaped educational

practices. He stresses the wide consensus in Japan on the need for improvements to further economic development. Current topics of concern include school-refusal and drop-out and the emergence of an international youth culture. Beauchamp's treatment is designed to " *present a balanced picture of Japan's **educational enterprise** - its considerable strengths as well as its weaknesses.*" (emphasis added)

vi) Educational Reform in Japan

The Japanese as a people are very much given to self-criticism , and nowhere is this more apparent than in the field of education although outside Japan there is enormous respect for the achievements of Japanese education with its very high literacy rates and the highest participation rates in the world for non-compulsory education. Some comment from within as well as outside Japan, complains that this efficiency is at the expense of **creativity** and **individuality**. It is difficult to judge whether the Japanese actually believe this or whether as is frequently the case, it is a response to outside criticism, of saying to the foreigner what they assume the foreigner already believes. Evidence can be quoted however of voices raised in complaint about Japanese education from a wide cross-section of Japanese society including parents, employers and academics.

... Japanese observers who think that Western education provides rich opportunities for creative talent to bloom are perhaps indulging in wishful overstatement. In any case, they ignore the creative advantage provided by elementary education ... in Japan. How reformers propose to change schooling

to direct it toward greater creativity is still unclear". White (1987) (emphasis added)

The call for individualism is picked up by Kida (1981), a former director of the National Institute for Educational Research Hiroshima, who states,

*It is important to educate a new generation of children to be individual persons, rather than to co-operate with a group. The group model for work was excellent for **catching up**, but from now on, Japan's leadership in international interdependency is more important, and for this we need **individuals** ... we need individuals who can bridge the gap.*

Schoppa's work (1991) is judged as authoritative especially on the "immobilist" politics behind the reforms in Japanese education which have acted as a brake on attempts at reformation. Demands for reform in Japanese higher education are made by Kempner and Misao (1993) who describe it as a device for filtering students into powerful corporations and government positions. This has an impact on the nature of academic inquiry in the universities, as professors are limited by these utilitarian concepts of education. Many researchers and academics have investigated the need for reform.

Ohta (1986) saw Japan's education standing at a cross-roads,

" between the government's political speculations and the people's anxiety about a serious educational crisis.... youngsters are struggling to develop their qualities as human beings We cannot impose our ideas of the next century on children

today,... they must formulate it for themselves".

Horio (1986), highlights the fact that only some of the needs of a changing society in Japan are being met by the education system. Picken (1986) and Cox, S. (1983) point to the need for more humanity and less pressure in the years leading to university entrance, though more recent comment has been more strident in demanding an end to the "examination hell". Cummings acknowledges that the entrance examination system is probably the most severely criticised institution in the education system. He puts forward a series of considered and practical strategies available to the Japanese government which they might have implemented to further the cause of opening access to the higher sectors of education. *"However, the government has been reluctant to take the initiative in reforming the competitive examination system."* Cummings (1980).

The national objectives for educational reform are also set out by Suzuki (1990) in an analysis of the current activities in this domain. He too highlights individuality in contrast to standardisation as one of the means to achieve reform. Like "apple pie and motherhood" these desirable attributes are welcomed by El Agra and Ichii (1985) cross-referenced above, who support reforms to address inequalities in the system.

In 1988, *Educational Reforms in Asia* was treated by UNESCO, citing Japan's higher education sector among those in need of comprehensive reforms. Amano (1987), in a paper given in Seoul, described the changing structure of Japanese higher education, and at the same conference, the theme of curriculum and undergraduate teaching in

universities in Japan was criticised by Kitamura as being neither very rigorous nor particularly imaginative. Toru Umakoshi (1985) argued that without radical reform Japanese universities would not be able to survive.

Yano and Maruyama (1985) expressed disgust at the, *"scrap and build reform oriented policies of Japanese universities"*, seeing the problems of Japan as part of an age of, *"Adaptation sans Expansion."*

The immobilist response which has greeted the findings of the Ad Hoc Reform Council (which had the backing of Nakasone himself), after what Beauchamp and Vardaman (1994) describe as *"a logical culmination to a lengthy period of concern in Japan over a set of widely perceived educational problems and the future prospects for Japanese education"*, is a typical and curiously perplexing feature of Japanese educational policy making.

It seems that the effects of the rising yen has caused a number of problems for Japanese Higher Education and may indirectly succeed in bringing about change where purely educational promptings have been largely ignored. Ushiogi (1987), makes the point that inside Japan it has caused student financial hardship so that young people are now demanding more from a university experience and do not want to be on a campus where, *" education is absent"*.

Indirectly, the rising cost of Japanese education impacts on the market abroad including that of the UK. Where the price of the home-produced commodity rises to

such an extent that it adversely affects customer satisfaction it can price itself out of the market; customer choice is exercised and consumers elect to buy elsewhere. Even the cost of the entrance exam fee is prohibitively expensive in Japan and students often need to take it two (or more) times.

Finally, powerful feelings concerning the need to reform are not limited to professional commentators. A Japanese foundation course student at the case study institution, frustrated by his lack of preparedness for an education in English, despite eight years of study in Japan, was moved to write an article in the university international students magazine crying out for action, (Nishigaki 1992)

vii) The Internationalisation of Japanese Higher Education

The coverage of this theme in the literature is about equal in quantity to the reform issue to which it is not unrelated. It is thought by many observers of the Japanese educational scene (see below) that opening up Japanese universities to international influences across a spectrum of issues is the way forward to bring about change if this is what Japan wants. Much valuable work in the area is being produced in the form of published conference papers and the Research Institute for Higher Education in Hiroshima has provided a fruitful environment for such enquiry.

The themes of: Japan's educational assistance to other countries, the stimulus to internationalise occasioned by growing numbers of foreign students in Japan, the need for reform in Japanese universities which internationalisation can address, and the issues springing from exchange agreements, form the bulk of research interests.

Kida (1981) contended that Japanese universities are, and have always been, meant only for the Japanese. This is demonstrated by the fact that at the time he was writing there were only about 6,000 non-Japanese students throughout the sector (out of a total student number of about 1.5 million) and only about 940 foreign professors. This is one statistic however that the Japanese government is at pains to address and alter. Kida asserts, as other writers have recognised, that universities are simply reflecting the hereditary system of society that emphasises the common background of students and teachers in Japan. He advocates co-operation with other countries on research projects as a means of breaking down academic isolationism. In the decade since Kida voiced his concerns about the low numbers of non-Japanese enrolled in universities, there have been dramatic changes, details of which follow in Chapter 8.

The old trade and diplomacy argument, much vaunted by the British formerly is proffered by Best (1987) who examines the role Japanese higher education can play in the internationalisation of the country. He plays the economic card too which is commonly seen in these discussions, making the point that if Japan remains closed in this way she cannot keep her global markets. There is also what he sees as the ever present danger in Japan, which is rarely openly expressed, of a decline into narrow nationalism. The major concerns raised are the nature of the examination system, faculty and academic structure. He concludes that in fact, such is the severity of these problems, that it would be futile to expect leadership towards internationalisation to come from higher education which is thought to be part of the problem rather than the solution, and that perhaps guidance can come only from the commercial sector.

Ebuchi (1989) et al, includes important papers by Kawano, Spaulding and Altbach who look at specific measures to further the cause of development of a more global outlook in Japanese higher education examining the Japanese experience to date of internationalising their campuses and attempting to learn from the experiences of other national systems of education which have a longer experience of receiving students from outside the country.

Educational exchange programmes seen from the perspective of the partners in the arrangements, is treated by amongst others Hotta (1991) and Burn (1990), in her treatment of the provision made by the Universities of Massachussets and Hiroshima the difficulties of matching Japanese students to "regular" university courses in America.

It is being openly stated nowadays that as Japan is one of the world's most technologically and economically advanced nations it is time for her to take her place as a **provider** as well as **partaker** of international education. Yamamoto (1990) reported that the government's plan of international exchange was still at an embryonic stage. He held the view that Japan was at an important crossroads in attempting to establish a system which would be accessible and beneficial to foreign students, the results of which he awaited with anticipation.

A rather more sanguine view is offered by Goodman (1992) in a reminder that Japan has actually a very good track record in the harnessing of education to the development needs of the nation. The emperor Meiji has been associated with the

conscious seeking out of international influences to militate against the narrowness and conformism of many of Japan's national structures and organisations, as we saw earlier. In support of his argument that Japan has taken on the role in the world as pupil turned teacher, Goodman comments on the politicians on both sides of the Atlantic who have been urging their compatriots to imitate aspects of Japanese educational policy in the hope that this will effect an upturn in the long-term economic prospects of their nation states.

vii) Japan and Study Abroad

It is inevitable that interest has been shown in issues springing from the movement of large numbers of Japanese abroad. Flows of young people out from their own country, leaving behind a system of education with which they are familiar, to risk the uncertain rewards of a foreign education at a critically important time in their lives, is a phenomenon which has been much discussed.

As Altbach and Spaulding have commented, (1984) (1985) (1991), study abroad is very big business indeed, nowhere more so than in Japan where the private sector is much larger than the public in many areas of education. Education has long been a legitimate business, private secondary schools, *juku* and even universities, being handed down from father to son much as department stores and haulage companies are part of the inheritance in British and other European families." *Kawaijuku was founded over 50 years ago by my grandfather... The present Director, my father, has lived and worked overseas...". (Hiroto Kawai, Vice Chairman of Kawaijuku, 1990)*

The Japan-US axis has been much commented on by William Cummings who has also

investigated many aspects of education in Japan including the reasons why Asian students are drawn to the United States (1985). His view might have altered somewhat to date since there have been some changes in the trends of Asians going abroad as we have seen.

Cultural attitudes and adaptation to alien cultural environments have been explored by Hartung (1983) cross-referenced earlier. A number of case studies concern the Japanese abroad. Sugiyama, with Stitsworth (1990) looked at attitudinal changes resulting from international youth exchanges.

Many social anthropologists of Japan have investigated what some see as the *uchi/soto* world view of Japanese society and the inability of many Japanese to thrive outside it. Hendry (1989) explains how those who are beyond the influence of Japanese culture for any length of time are thought to have, "lost" some of their "Japaneseness" and become outcasts in their own society, a theme also explored by Dale (1988) in the *Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* and the seminal work by the psychologist Doi (1973) in the *Anatomy of Dependence*. An awareness of the discussion of these issues is important in terms of study abroad because these ideas will resonate through student testimony in the case study.

Kitao, after a number of studies (conducted in 1978, 1979a, 1979b and 1980) wrote, "*I have not found in-depth studies of the problems Japanese students have in US*", suggesting that the topic had not interested serious researchers. In 1988 he conducted a study of twenty newly arrived students at the University of Kansas, to identify which

problems they faced in American society. He expanded on his former research into the knowledge possessed by Japanese students about American culture using the instrument he devised for the purpose, "The Test of American Culture", in 1981.

The adjustment difficulties of a group of Japanese High School graduates were looked at by Hartnung (1983) with a view to preparing orientation materials for exchange students. She showed that for most students the most difficult aspects of living in America included knowing appropriate topics to talk about, understanding the way Americans showed emotion, American humour, making friends with other students, getting used to informal relationships between students and teachers. Her work indicates that there were few problems experienced by students with the host families but, where there were problems, it proved difficult for students to discuss them with the host family. The students view was that they had not had enough or appropriate training in communicative English, a problem the Japanese system seems to be intent in tackling at the time of writing (and see earlier in this section).

Stitsworth (1990) investigated personality changes in Japanese adolescents who travelled to US in 1989 for one-month homestays in 26 states. He attempted to determine the direction and degree of attitude and behaviour changes if any, in those who participated in the scheme, compared with a control group who never left Japan. It seems that the experimental group became more sociable, extroverted, responsible, spontaneous, self-confident, informal, independent, competitive, and individualistic; though for any adolescents, a period of absence from the parental home may be significant in developing a sense of responsibility and growth in self-confidence

together with the experience of travel.

A sojourn of one month's duration may not be sufficient to experience a full cycle of cultural adaptation. It seems however that a sojourn outside one's own culture has the potential for change to occur in the participants especially in relation to self-development and personal growth. The study does not specify exactly when the post test on attitudes was conducted. Neither does it say whether or not a follow up is planned to determine how long lasting are the perceived changes. It may well be that the period of retention of changed attitudes may reflect the duration of time of the sojourn.

The studies referred to above are thought to be useful in investigating the development potential of the study abroad experience in itself. A number of issues raised in the literature were pursued through the case study and student testimony was used to triangulate and seek out confirming and disconfirming incidents.

IV CONCLUSION

In surveying the education system of Japan in a national and international context a certain symbiosis seems to be emerging. The need for reform in the national system has been strongly expressed and the urge to internationalise equally so. Indeed the former is to a certain extent thought to be predicated on the latter. Part of the rigidity and over centralisation of the system is due in part to the stranglehold of Tokyo university and the Monbusho and, reports the Economist, the only hope for change is

if these two bastions are razed to the ground. A less dramatic solution is the aspiration towards internationalism, hope for which is coming, " *not from the suppliers of education but from its consumers*, who according to the Economist are forcing Japan to internationalise. "... *students are delivering a damning judgement on Japanese universities by choosing to study abroad instead*". (Economist 21/4/1990)

Despite obvious differences in teaching and learning styles, language problems and a range of culturally determined behavioural variables, Japanese students **in increasing numbers year by year**, are leaving the security of their nation states and the benefits of a very well resourced system of education, to face a multitude of challenges in foreign countries all over the world. These challenges are compounded in educational systems across the world by the lack of consensus on epistemological objectives of national systems of education.

These Japanese clients are very discriminating, coming as they do from a nation where education is an essential pre-requisite for the taking of one's rightful place in society and where it is seen as an essential good for which a price must be paid. Moreover, they bring with them a long tradition of using foreign education to meet the needs of the Japanese people both personal and political. They are **not** the captive audience that Britain had in the past. Neither are they in the same position as their near neighbours in Hong Kong, Singapore or Malaysia where individuals seek opportunities abroad which are unavailable at home either because of their financial position or because of their ethnicity. Or, as is the case in many Asian countries, where supply cannot keep place with demand.

From library research and data presented and analysed in this chapter, practical problems have emerged which the research community, including practitioners, can recognise as worthy of seeking explanations for and solutions to. The next two chapters will build on scholarship towards a more task-specific empirical approach. This means formulating research questions, defining research problems and devising optimum methodologies to reveal research answers. It is expected that interested participants in international education might use the findings to support their study abroad initiatives, thus completing the enquiry loop.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH ISSUES

I *RATIONALE*

i) Research imperatives

" Foreign study is a multi-faceted phenomenon - its impact is felt on academic institutions in both the 'host' and the 'sending' countries, on the economies of nations, and of course on the individuals involved. With more than one million students studying abroad, foreign study has assumed considerable importance in higher education planning." Altbach (1991)

Investigations into the activities of British institutions throughout the last decade in Chapters 1, 3 and 4, have demonstrated that international student affairs are assuming considerable importance. From an association with issues of welfare, international student initiatives have moved into the domain of strategic planning. As yet there has not been a corresponding interest in facilitating institutional research-based learning.

In the UK there is a dimension to international study which impacts on the advancement of research. Staff involved in international student operations heretofore have not been expected to possess specialist professional and academic qualifications. As institutions came to realise the importance of overseas fees income, international offices were set up in the absence of appropriately trained and experienced personnel. Internal movements within institutions of opportunistic staff who aspired to add an international dimension to their original remit, was commonplace.

Universities were on a steep learning curve and understandably made errors of judgement. Reference to the THES appointment pages will verify that institutions are now requiring international office personnel to speak a language, have inter-cultural experience or come from a background in a cognate field with some relevance to the work they will be doing, but this was not always the case. A predominance of staff at the interface with students who lack professional and academic "knowhow" (including theoretical principles and philosophy) to support practice in the area has had a detrimental effect on research. Staff preoccupied with "generic promotion" and recruitment, without interest in systematic investigation usually associated with professionally qualified practitioners leaves the field open to academic folk lore, heresay and anecdotal evidence with beliefs and assumptions remaining unchallenged.

Concerns that international student recruitment is becoming associated with low academic standards and unprofessional conduct are well-documented and academic staff under pressure to prioritise income-generating activities are concerned about reconciling commercial activities with professional ethics. Research data is not being used however to inform practice and it is widely believed that mistakes are being made.

Professional international educators need to face these fears and seek solutions through disciplined enquiry which includes descriptions of contemporary events, and the factors and forces driving them, in order to seek out explanations .

ii) Research Problems

From the literature, personal experience and direct testimony to the author a number of significant and inter-related factors have come to light:

- a) The continuing reduction in the unit resource in British higher education, set out in Chapter 4, has put university managers under pressure to obtain income from sources other than the traditional ones of the block grant and local education authority fees.
- b) The chief means of obtaining external funding, was to capitalise on the government's full-cost fees policy for international students. The implementation of this strategy of targeted recruitment resulted in an influx of full-cost fee payers numbers of which slowly climbed up to meet the pre-full cost fees participation rates for students from overseas. Growing numbers of individual institutions have adopted this stratagem. British Council, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), and other agencies have become involved in a range of schemes to support the notion of education as an invisible export. Their efforts are thought to have brought about a most profitable venture for British higher education. HEFCE data is available to report the shares of recurrent income represented by international student fees. These range from 1% at Anglia Polytechnic University to 42% at the LSE in 1994 (Greenaway and Tuck 1995).

- c) The search for students is predicated on a perceived demand for the university's goods and services, hence an intensification of university marketing activity in diverse countries. These countries have been identified as having prospective clients able to afford the said goods and services, in sufficient numbers to justify the expense incurred in mounting marketing missions. Less experienced (or less entrepreneurial) institutions follow the lead of those more established in the field. If X university is "in" Malaysia then Y university feels they must be represented there too. This has a knock-on effect of pushing the quest for students further afield into areas where there is little tradition of study abroad or study abroad in Britain. These previously unexploited countries principally form part of the emerging economies of East and South East Asia (the tiger economies), where growing numbers of the population have disposable income to use for education abroad. (British Council (1992) (1993)). It is further believed that students thus recruited have educational needs and aspirations different in kind and degree from international students of former times as Chapter 3 documented.
- d) A number of government agencies are working to support British universities in developing this lucrative export. Among these the British Council and the DTI produce market profiles to guide institutions in husbanding their finite resources to support marketing initiatives. The criteria for a viable market relate to the following:

- . per capita GDP
- . growth in GDP
- . real growth in GDP
- . population growth
- . growth in imports
- . private consumption

Source: British Council (1994b)

Institutions are not advised or encouraged to invest vast sums of money promoting themselves in Ruanda, for instance, or Cambodia. No ECS Fairs have been organised in Burma or Chile or any country which does not score high on the criteria spelt out above.

- e) A number of agencies who see themselves as a catalytic force in promoting and facilitating exchange facilities are specifically targeting Japan, which has long been seen as a fruitful market for British higher education goods and services. Although there is a tradition of Japanese students experiencing study abroad in America, this is seen not as a disincentive but as a challenge.
- f) There are all kinds of signs that the Japanese are not a passive harvest to be reaped. On the contrary, as Chapter 5 illustrated, they have much more experience in a number of education industries than the British,

and would-be marketers underestimate this particular client at their peril. If we examine the international landscape carefully, it is not always easy to distinguish the fishers and the fished - as shall be exemplified later. One unmistakable cue is that Japan is promoting the concept of "internationalisation" in all sectors of education. Evidence was also presented in the previous chapter that in Japan, internationalism is being seen not just as an aim in itself but as a means of bringing about reforms in a sector which has been intensely criticised from within and outside the country.

- g) An international student infra-structure is now a reality in both Japan and the UK. Chapter 5 outlined the presence of eight different types of agency in Japan (some of whom have branch offices in the UK). They operate as professional recruiters, educational consultants, Foundations supporting educational exchange, or similarly named agents and agencies. Their stipulated aims being to serve the international student cause, for example, UTS, Kawaijuku.
- h) Increased activity in international travel and other operations for recruitment and promotion, has led to the centralising of such projects away from the Academic Schools where students will be received, to Marketing and International Offices to rationalise budgets and resource what can be a costly operation. The personnel staffing these offices have vested interests in increasing the flow of international students

since the continuance of their departments relies on the flow being maintained and preferably intensified. There is a further danger of institutional conflict of interests with central staff making decisions on the suitability of students to courses. Personal tutors and course managers share the frustrations of their dissatisfied students, resulting in tensions within the academic schools. Experience shows that the central staff who "recruited" them are not available to take the fall-out.

- i) There is a growing need for staff who are in a position to observe the international student experience to re-appraise the popular assumption, on which International Office activity is predicated, that " Study abroad is really useful and a good thing" .
- j) It has also been said, Kenyon (1990) and Ashworth (1988), that the advantages of the full-cost fees policy, from the universities' point of view, have outweighed the disadvantages overall, a view disputed by O'Leary (1990) who saw the composition of the international student body transformed in character from former times. There is evidence that universities have become more responsive to market forces, even in respect of the curriculum, and that this is generally thought to be inevitable. The immutability of higher education provision is being assailed and has not been critically examined.

II RATIONALE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

The lacuna identified in the research concerns the impact of growing numbers of international students on academic departments within the host institutions .

There are a number of aspects to this:

- a) Concerns have been articulated earlier about the high numbers of international students proliferating in engineering, computer science, mathematics and graduate business studies. Baron (1979) looked at the impact of this imbalance on institutional planning but not much of significance has built on his work. Other related areas remain unexplored.
- b) The presence of concentrations of foreign students in certain fields may influence the curriculum directly or indirectly. University prospectuses show significant curriculum developments in response to the international student presence in Britain (in the fields of English Language/ for Academic Purposes, Bridging and Foundation work) yet, whilst interest in the effects of customised programmes on the students themselves has been considerable, there has not been a comparable interest in their impact on institutions.
- c) The educational press promotes the notion of an incipient consumerism amongst British students for whom competition from the producers is intensifying. The student clients of East Asia, epitomised in the Japanese student, have been developing consumer behaviour in respect

of education over many years. There are no examples of controlled experimentation bringing together the Japanese consumer and the British producer with the potential to generate hypotheses concerning international educational enterprises, the testing of which could prove immensely beneficial to educators in Britain.

III RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Five major areas of investigation have been identified as significant and are expressed in five research questions as follows:

#1 WHAT IS THE PROFILE OF JAPANESE STUDENTS IN UK AND WHAT DO WE KNOW OF THEIR CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR?

Business management concepts teach us to get close to the consumer to describe her behaviour, explore it and find explanations. Quantifiable data therefore must be collected to reveal as full a picture as possible. A profile will emerge of Japanese students in Britain indicating the ways in which they differ from British and or other international students. Student needs, learning objectives and career goals will be analysed with a view to ascertaining the relevance of standard provision. The degree of power of the overseas student as client lobby will be assessed as well as the factors that determine its magnitude and effectiveness.

Data will be offered on: ‘

1. number of Japanese in the UK
2. courses/subjects studied
3. educational background and history
4. changes if any in the patterns of Study Abroad
5. to what extent Japanese students conform to the hypothetical international student that is:

- . male and single
- . wealthy members of their communities
- . intellectual high-flyers within their own system
- . members of ethnic groups who are discriminated against in terms of opportunities in higher education
- . individuals who are experiencing insufficient opportunities in higher education in the home country to meet the demand.

6. or whether they differ in that they are:

- . "ordinary" middle class
- . social misfits/ rejects or refugees from the Japanese system (either because they are thought of as failures or because they are ideologically opposed to the Japanese system).
- . women and mature students who may be differently motivated

#2 HOW HAS THE DEMAND FROM THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONSUMER INFLUENCED THE DESIGN OF THE PRODUCTS OF BRITISH HE?

For hundreds of years British higher education has been recognised as embodying the

following characteristics: elite, minority appeal, specialist, theoretical, highly selective, exit oriented, inflexible in terms of pre-requisite educational preparation and organisation of curriculum provision, unsympathetic to anything other than full-time modes of attendance and standard age of entry.

It is commonly accepted that these characteristics have, in the past, acted as barriers to potential flows of international students. It will be argued that the new student clients universities are actively recruiting are demanding and often discriminating consumers for whom education in their own country has always been understood to be a marketable asset from the point of view of the consumer and the producer. To meet the demand from these new clients the producers in British higher education are marketing new products which will be described in Chapter 8.

Data will be presented on:

- . specifically designed courses
- . exchange agreements
- . contract courses

#3 HAVE THE DESIGN MODIFICATIONS COMPROMISED THE QUALITY OF THE PRODUCT AND HAS THERE BEEN A CONSEQUENT ASSAULT ON THE PREVAILING PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION?

This is actually a "how" and "why" question which begins by seeking to describe if and how product diversification has occurred in British HE then explores and analyses how, if at all, institutions are managing to keep faith either with the spirit of internationalism or with the quality which is believed to have characterised the educational provision of British universities in former days.

Patel, Fenwick, Chandler and Warnock, are reported, (op cit), as perceiving the rush for international students by British universities as unseemly and resulting in the tolerance of unprofessional conduct, lowering of admission standards, and a shift from a "classic" internationalism stressing ideals of mutual understanding, toward a frankly cash-benefit motive. It has been alleged by O'Leary that, in the absence of guidance and leadership from government, British higher education is seen elsewhere in the world as having subordinated educational goals to financial needs. A case study of one customised course, designed to specifications from Japanese third party recruiters will be examined for quality and academic rigour to ascertain if at all the stringent quality control issues of British universities are being met.

Chandler (op cit) claims that the most important changes are taking place in Britain at institutional level, which initiatives are sanctioned, indeed, encouraged, by a range of other agencies in the field. These will be examined and include:

- i) Government initiatives on behalf of the higher education sector
- ii) Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) enterprise on behalf of the HE sector
- iii) Voluntary professional bodies working to their own objectives
- iv) In-country professional agents working on a commercial basis

#4 TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS SATISFIED WITH THE NEW GOODS AND SERVICES?

The most common performance indicator used in determining the success of institutions in the international student market is, numbers enrolled, or converted from applications, percentage increases, proportion of market share and exponential growth. These are invariably measured at point of entry. There is a dearth of research on international student achievement overall or objectives met on exit. Those who have attempted to investigate failure have had problems obtaining co-operation from other institutions, Makepiece and Baxter (1990). Institutional arrangements in respect of customised courses tend to be set up by university managers outside the Academic Schools charged with delivering the programmes. This can cause problems for staff and students involved in the programmes. A case study will be offered to develop a conceptual framework simplifying and highlighting a very complex multi-dimensional social reality.

Data on the following are sought :

- . to what extent students are successful in realising their goals

- . the systems which have been put in place to help students optimise the educational experience
- . whether their experience is seen as valuable (by themselves, prospective employers, sponsors)
- . the personal costs/risks are involved in their goal seeking
- . whether the customised course is the best vehicle to deliver their needs
- . how student life in Britain compares with Japan
- . whether the educational experience has been a preparation for a career and whether it will be in or outside Japan (will they remain sojourners in a foreign land?)
- . the perceptions of the sponsoring families

#5 WHAT ARE THE FACTORS DRIVING INCREASING PARTICIPATION BY JAPANESE IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION ENTERPRISES?

Although the Japanese are thought to be very exacting business associates, and their problems relating to cultural adjustment and the mastering of English thought to be insuperable, British Council, DTI and other agencies are encouraging British universities to persevere in getting a foothold in the Japanese market. Japan is seen as a potentially lucrative market for British educational goods and services because of the extent to which Japanese consumers are prepared to pay for what is thought to be an essential good and because the client group is potentially huge, given the participation rates in higher education (exact figures on which were reported in Chapter 5).

The main question needs to be funnelled into a more manageable sub-set expressed as follows:

1. Why are increasing numbers of Japanese international students enrolling in British universities?
2. Who are the decision makers/ stakeholders in the Japanese international student market?

The literature and published research, statistical data and preliminary empirical investigation has highlighted what appear to be key factors which are likely to be stimulating the flow of Japanese abroad and are therefore worthy of further examination. These are:

- i) the current socio-economic factors operating in Japan
- ii) the work of professional recruiters
- iii) the need for reforms in Japanese universities

As a result of investigations carried out in support of this thesis it is hoped that successful strategies for recruiting and retaining quality international students will come to light. An adjunct to a rationale for pursuing possible answers to these questions therefore, relates to the supposition that if British universities are going to embark on costly, time-consuming recruitment drives it is in their own interests to investigate the forces behind the campaign to increase participation in Study Abroad. Curriculum innovations, resources and other university policy issues, can then be formulated on the basis of informed judgements which can take cognisance of the

many and interlocking facets of this phenomenon.

This study will draw on the educational context in which the writer is working, her professional experience, the wider policy and operational practices debate surveyed in Chapters 1-4, and aspects of the Japanese education system presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I THE CONTEXT OF THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

The research questions posed in Chapter 6 link directly into the issues dominating the international student decision-making nexus. These issues have been contextualised in a wide-ranging investigation into the political economy of international study supported by socio-cultural material. Documentary and library study has been underpinned by primary source statistical data. The multi-faceted nature of study abroad UK can be specified as follows:

i) The nature and importance of international student affairs.

Participation rates of international students in British higher education has been demonstrated to have reached pre-1979 levels and has therefore assumed pivotal significance in institutional strategic planning. It has been hypothesised that the international student presence impacts on institutions in such a manner that further investigation is thought worthwhile.

ii) International students and the economic imperatives in British HE.

With over one million students and more than billions of \$US being spent worldwide, these young people are being seen less as students, more as clients. Their consumer power, related to their purchasing power is changing the direction of British universities from the former producer-led orientation to a market-led direction.

Institutions are prepared to offer new products designed for new clients. How satisfactory and in tune with the tradition of excellence in Higher Education the UK has long enjoyed, will be systematically investigated.

iii) The international student infra-structure and its impact on professional ethics.

Personnel enjoined to recruit from the overseas market are operating in a quasi-business set of conventions and mores, dealing with international agents working with a quasi-academic code of standards and ethics. A serious study of the potential conflicts when these two worlds collide is being attempted.

iv) Educational experiences of academic staff and students on specially designed international programmes

Conflicting anecdotal evidence exists on the international student experience on customised courses with a corresponding dearth of empirical evidence on the subject. Institutions cut academic posts yet expenditure has increased on international marketing, substantial sums being paid to the British Council's ECS (£12 000 subscription + £2 500 extra to receive information about Japan + £2-3 000 to attend every fair...) and up to 25% of the first year's tuition fee paid to overseas agents for introducing international students. This kind of expenditure testifies to the staunch belief in the efficacy of international student recruitment to increase revenue through "Other Sources" as defined by HEFCE, which can range between 0% and 11.3% of the institutional total revenue (Greenaway and Tuck op cit). The effects on academic staff working in this environment will be a central thrust of this research project.

II RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

i) The Nature of the Research Questions

The purpose of the following is to arrive at optimum methodologies to achieve the objectives set down in the research questions. These objectives are predicated on a major concern that the heavy merchandising of British HE is affecting the professional mores of the academic world, and that reflective practitioners are in the best position to evaluate change and plan for future developments.

Key concepts from the wording of the research questions reveal an intention to : **identify changes, understand, evaluate, explain behaviour; influence and design.** Issues to be dealt with include: **conflict, confusion and quality, ethics and professionalism** and need to take into account **feelings, competencies and experience.** These can be difficult elements to hold still and measure. Although not concrete or material neither are they completely intangible and abstract.

Since the study is concerned with **people, policies and programmes**, qualitative ethnographic strategies were devised to facilitate observation, participation, investigation/enquiry grounded in wide-ranging multi-disciplinary scholarship encompassing the political economy of international study. Specific details of the range of methodologies employed follow below in **III.**

ii) Features of Qualitative Studies

a) Field focused and non-manipulative

In order to understand the international student experience it is essential that observation takes place wherever they interact. This includes the Halls of Residence, the coffee shop, the bar, the library and the computer room, as well as the classroom and the tutorial room. Fieldwork can encompass parties at the tutor's house and weekends away, whether in the Lake District or Lake Balaton, Hungary. This approach has much in common with ethnographic fieldwork, whether in tropical villages, metropolitan streets or prisons. According to Marcus and Clifford (1986) it requires, "*participating in activities, asking questions, eating strange foods, ... interviewing informants and hundreds of other things*".

One of the most famous case studies whose importance has endured for over fifty years is Whyte's (1945) Street Corner Society which is a classic descriptive case study. Just as he used a single case study of one neighbourhood and traced a sequence of interpersonal events over a sequence of time so this study follows the students lives over the period of one academic programme at a particular institution and required participation by the writer in a range of activities from *obento* lunchtimes to *karaoke* evenings.

b) Researcher as instrument

Features that are significant in an educational setting do not label or select themselves. The researcher recognises the meaningful or the pivotal, distinguishing between the profound and the trivial. The self is the instrument that engages the situation and makes sense of it given the frame of reference and set of intentions. This is not necessarily done with the aid of an observation schedule rather it is in terms of checking behaviours, perceiving their presence and interpreting their significance. (Eisner 1991)

Educationists distinguish for the purposes of a practical deliberative mode of enquiry, between the abilities of the expert and the novice in an educational setting. The special input of the expert who can see what counts when the novice cannot and most importantly knows what to ignore is the ability to recognise and interpret connections and relationships. The two to three year observation period of this case is grounded in expert knowledge distilled from years of experience in the field and of these subjects.

c. Positive exploitation of subjectivity

Clifford and Marcus (1986) observe that since Malinowski's time (Argonauts of the Western Pacific 1922) the "method" of participant observation has *"enacted a delicate balance of subjectivity and objectivity"* and although the distinctive voice of, for instance, Margaret Mead (1923) was always heard it is clear she was at pains to separate

her own subjectivity to the "*objective referents*" of her text. The self-reflective fieldwork account has been increasingly respected, yielding "*the rhetoric of experienced objectivity to autobiography and narrative*". These accounts provide a framework for the "*discussion of a wide range of issues, [particularly] epistemological ... and political*". Clifford and Marcus draw on a range of ethnographic researchers who counsel their peers to "*positively exploit their own subjectivity*".

d) Interpretive in character

Actions and events are reported with the ability to **account for** rather than simply **give an account of**. They are concerned too with what the experience means to those in the situation studied. "Meaning" is an elusive term which Eisner (1991) accuses many social science researchers of ignoring, though it is fundamentally the ethnographer's goal, that is, as Malinowski (1922) claimed, not to study people but to learn from them. "*... to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world*". Behaviourists are comfortable about describing or counting or even photographing what subjects **do** but avoid interpreting what that doing means to the subjects. This thesis will strive to decipher the motives and explicate the nature of the quality of experience undergone by those in the situation studied employing a reflective practitioner planning spiral to develop student centred operational practices.

Whilst Japanese students coming into the country can be counted, the rise in special arrangements universities are prepared to make noted, only the participant observer can represent the reality of the experience for all those involved, in this case, not only the Japanese students but the tutors, the agents, the residence personnel and the university managers. Qualitative enquiry penetrates the surface and does not stop at observation and description but employs what Geertz (1973) has termed "thick description".

e) Evocative Use of Language

This leads directly from the interpretive aspect of the study and is the propensity for expressive language to create a vivid account of events. Meaning is construed and the shape it takes is due in part to the tools people choose to use or are able to use to convey it. The educational researcher coming from what is an increasingly eclectic discipline has a range of tools at her disposal one of which is the ability to use language expressively to re-present the reality of the educational phenomena under inquiry. The readers of this study will, especially in the case study section, hear the voice of the researcher. The kind of detachment respected by the research culture is not a feature of sections of this study. This is a rejection of the false dichotomy which sees emotion as the enemy of cognition. Neutralization of voice, aversion to metaphorical devices, the use of the passive and absence of first person singular (particularly when it is obvious and logical who the

primary agent in the narrative is) are artificial devices aimed at creating a more scholarly aura. These rhetorical devices are used to pretend that the work was not done by a real person which is dishonest.

Education is about living human beings, their lives ambitions and dreams. It is about how real people, politicians, administrators and teachers, organise events, buildings and procedures to further the realisation of these aims and objectives. The inter-play of all these elements needs to be understood by the individual participants. It is not an easy matter to achieve this and there is not one way of approaching it. The use of expressive language is important in furthering human understanding and stimulating empathy.

A case is well argued by Eisner that if one reads of places and events that are emotionally powerful and receive an eviscerated account it is to have read something of a lie and been cheated of full discernment. The most dangerous and difficult task facing the cultural interpreter or informant is the avoidance of polemic and the requirement to "*render negotiated realities as multi-subjective, power-laden and incongruent*". (Clifford and Marcus op cit). The expressive language of the qualitative research project does not indulge in prejudice which really means prejudging the issues.

f) Particularities and Generalisations

Social scientists tend to use particulars to arrive at generalisations and it is well known how this is done by sampling procedures and inferential statistics. For statistical methods to be used quantifiable data has to be produced . If, however, the "how" and "why" questions are foregrounded more than the "what" or "how many" type, in other words if the questions are **explanatory**, this is likely to lead to a more qualitative approach, a history or a case study because the concern is with operational links needing to be traced over time rather than frequencies or incidences. When data cannot be reduced to statistics and corollaries writers have to explore other means of capturing the uniqueness.

The arrangements made for a particular group of students (the Japanese students in the case study) are by definition unique and how helpful it would be to look for other examples to compare and contrast is dubious. The interests of this case as introduced above centre around people and programmes who in many ways are similar to people and programmes we can find anywhere. In other ways they are unique. We are interested in them both for their uniqueness and their commonality.

The outcomes of reflective practice include the identification of the aesthetic features of a particular case. Just as connoisseurs in the art world are able to see unique features and make fine distinctions to which, what we have described earlier as the novice, is oblivious, so

the reflective practitioner can reveal in a particular situation, an awareness of its distinctiveness. At the same time, particulars exemplify much more than they describe directly. In the particular is located a general theme.

III DECISIONS ON OPTIMUM METHODOLOGIES

i) Multi-method Strategy

The single method approach that characterises much of the research in the physical natural and social sciences is not only vulnerable but of limited effectiveness when we move into the realm of human experience. Smith (1975) has observed that although research methods are designed to filter selectively the experienced environment,

"... they are never atheoretical or neutral in representing the world of human experience ".

Methodology is driven by the nature of the subject: in this case it has to be a triangulated multi-method process; a single methodology or anything less than an eclectic approach does violence to this robust cluster of inter-related issues.

Action research procedures of participant observation, focus groups, structured in-depth interviews, networking with participant groups was carefully balanced against quantifiable data collection including questionnaire surveys, student records, statistical documentation, historical material and archival information. Intelligence obtained and understandings reached were set within a context of specialist reading, demographic

data collation, scrutiny of mass media coverage and experiential knowledge of and professional contribution to the international discourse surrounding study abroad.

It should not be supposed that the boundaries between the strategies are clear and sharp. There are large areas of overlap despite the distinct features of each method of approach.

ii) Triangulation

Triangulation in its literal traditional sense was a method used by mariners to arrive at physical measurement, in which several location markers were used in an attempt to pinpoint a single location. Findings in this study need to be triangulated because the areas under investigation are multi-faceted and extend across disciplines. The intention was to study the phenomenon of study abroad from many standpoints and genres, and balance quantifiable and qualitative approaches. Social scientists using action research and participant observation advocate the use of multi- methods in combination or synchronisation in order to produce a fuller picture of human behaviour. Potential problems of bias, distortion, lack of representativeness and generalisability can be addressed by triangulation.

Extensive attempts at triangulation across the project are pursued. Issues can then be individually triangulated by actively seeking out contradictory data to test hypotheses. How this works in practice depends on the researcher. In this case, each time an issue assumed prominence, or an explanation of behaviour or attitude began to emerge, disconfirming incidents or opposing evidence was vigorously sought to test the

strength of the argument. This can involve re-examining data, re-interviewing participants involved in the project as well as searching out and consulting expert witnesses not personally involved.

iii) A Single-case Study

It was decided to place a case study at the core of the research and support it by quantifiable material from a range of sources, see above. The validity of the data, which is heavy in reality, is consequently strengthened whilst simultaneously acquiring a theoretical underpinning.

The researcher's own institution was a leading British HEI prepared to make special arrangements to attract full fee-paying Japanese who would, under the usual admission arrangements, not have been eligible for selection for the institution's courses. This involved a partnership arrangement with a Japanese educational foundation and is an example of one institution's response to the identification of a market niche.

The particular case study was determined upon because of the viability of the study, the potentiality of exploiting the resources of the institution, the opportunity to conduct a detailed examination of an event, or series of events, about which nothing had ever been written or research done. That is to say, a unique source of data in the context of a unique set of circumstances had arisen which hopefully would lend themselves to analysis and exploration. Moreover there were possibilities for longitudinal studies of the cohort through their undergraduate programme and after graduation, their career choices, and their life plans.

This study allows the possibility of observing policy issues from their inception and then, from an unassailable position on the inside, their consequences and ramifications as they unfolded. It affords the additional facility to be able to handle both historical and processual aspects resulting in "*an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context...*" (Yin 1989). It was intended to probe deeply and analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitutes the life cycle of a unit with a view to establishing generalisations about wider populations. This was to be discussed in the context of the wider national and international trends in international student recruitment and the student as client discourse.

iv) Features of Case-Studies

Yin (ibid) recommends the use of a case study when "*A "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events...*".

He defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that:

- . *investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when;*
- . *boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which;*
- . *multiple sources of evidence are used*

Case studies can be conducted into particular cases because there is a need to understand that specific instance, organisation, or individual unit of some kind. When a case study is undertaken because it is instrumental to accomplishing something other than an interpretation or evaluation of the case per se, which of itself has no intrinsic interest, the case study is said to be instrumental. This particular case study is intended

to be instrumental in understanding the effects on institutions, students, and academic staff of the commercialisation of the professional domain they inhabit, rather than as an aspect of Japanology, though the Japan context is considered to be significant.

Case studies have been especially successful as a means towards obtaining knowledge about the way students learn and the means by which they and their institutions achieve their goals.

Educational action research projects with teachers working on the inside can be explained as, "*placing an interpreter in the field to observe the workings of the case, records objectively what is happening but simultaneously examines its meaning and redirects observation to refine or substantiate those meanings.*" (Stake 1995)

There are numerous examples of single-case studies relevant to the present study one of which is Clark (1960) cited in Cohen and Mannion (1989), a case study of the first four years of San Jose Junior College;

They also discuss the work of Lacey (1966), a case study of Hightown Grammar, based on research conducted in the school between 1962-66; Lacey taught and observed the boys in the school to find answers to why working class students were under-achieving. Like many case studies reviewed in preparation for the present research, the emphasis was on describing in order to explain.

Pettigrew (1973) conceived a longitudinal design comprising a direct study of the

ongoing decision process and an historical study of the period preceding the investigation. The methodological principle underlying this design is Pettigrew's belief that theoretical concerns of a processual form require a longitudinal research design enabling the system to be explored as, "*a continuing system with a past, a present and a future*". He occupied a participant-observer role for a period spanning almost two years and alerted other researchers to the problems of bias and validity which take a high profile in this type of study. Pettigrew's principle of setting the study in a historical continuum and looking at the case study as a consequence of many factors, historical, educational, economic and political has been helpful to researchers who aspire to conduct similar research projects.

Pollert's theoretical concerns are interwoven with contextual material about the organisation she studied, as well as the women subject's experiences, which are extensively supported by extracts from interviews. In her study, described in Allan and Skinner, (1991) the unit of analysis happens to be women workers in a particular factory. What is significant to researchers following a similar approach is that there was no suggestion that hers was a **representative sample** of working women, just as there is no suggestion in the case study to be offered from the present research that it concerns a **representative sample** of international students (or even Japanese students). It may well transpire that, if it is **not** a typical initiative this case study by virtue of its atypicality, presents an opportunity for vivid experiential learning.

Goodman (1991), used an anthropological model of participant observation spending a year as a teacher in Japan at a school specialising in the education of the *kikokushijo*

(returnee children). This method is particularly helpful when the subjects and field or area of interest has a cross-cultural dimension providing a rich environment to learn from and with the subjects.

Stake (1995) centred his study of the Chicago schools reforms, on Harper School; in common with many case study, qualitative researchers, it is highly interpretive in character. What is not so common is that the interpretation is not saved until the end but is concurrent with the description.

Clammer (1997), also employed a participant observer role, in an eclectic approach to a study of Tokyo consumers. His naturalistic fieldwork procedures included talking, drinking coffee and shopping whilst he observed and recorded the women.

v) Multi-disciplinary Methodological Approaches

Over a period spanning more than three years the writer occupied a participant-observer role. The period covered the setting up of the project in February 1991 until April 1993 when the decision was taken to give notice to terminate the contractual relationship with the Japanese organisation.

Throughout the study the researcher draws on her education and training as a teacher of English as a second or foreign language in higher education. In addition, she brings her experience of advising and counselling international students in Britain so is able to demonstrate an awareness and understanding of a whole spectrum of behaviours,

ideologies, cross-culturally significant incidents and characteristics. She also draws on knowledge of Japanese literature and on education in Japan, and to a more limited extent on the social anthropology of Japan, as a means of understanding the life and motivation of the Japanese students .

An anthropological, insider view position consists of immediate observation and recording of incidents. In analysing **relationships, conflicts, and contracts**, a **conceptual model will be developed** to facilitate understanding and devise strategies for successful projects. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that sociological theories should be grounded in data that are generated by the act of research, theory following **from** research not preceding it.

This argument is germane to international student issues, often over-emphasised in universities, always under-theorised. Posing the questions as put here is in itself an act of theorising, that is, to put questions in such a way that meaningfully connects things which are difficult to conceptualise otherwise .

IV RESEARCH SCHEDULE

i) Time Frame

The activities and procedures listed below did not occur in a linear configuration but in a cyclical manner and often synchronously. Narrative is important to the appreciation of the study so the actions are described in chronological order though it must be understood that it did not follow a progressive, developmental research

design.

As noted earlier and for the purposes of the present study, a decision was taken to concentrate on the three years covering the delivery of the contracted special programme. For the first year or more of the project, the focus of interest was the case study of this particular initiative. This centred on the students themselves and highlighted epistemological and pedagogical themes as well as inter-cultural aspects. This was followed by a year of documentary research and scrutiny of the Japanese media to ensure current knowledge of trends in the Japanese education system and study abroad economy.

In April 1994 with the termination of the contract, the scope of the research widened to encompass other institutional responses to explore consumer demand and product modification throughout the sector. The following year it deepened the inquiry with a historical perspective charting government policies, institutional practices and NGOs and other agencies, seeing the series of events surrounding the case study, as a consequence of government and institutional planning from which lessons can be learnt.

ii) Organisation

In order to facilitate the exploration of a range of group, individual, organisational, institutional, cultural and societal, conditions, developments and trends, it was inevitable that a manner of working evolved and a schedule emerged which was

spiralling rather than a linear configuration. Whilst recognising the importance of different strands of interest a holistic approach was striven for. Working at times on one or more methods concurrently, the following gives details of the methods employed to consider each question.

V STRATEGIES TARGETED AT THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

#1. WHAT IS THE PROFILE OF JAPANESE STUDENTS IN THE UK AND WHAT DO WE KNOW OF THEIR CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR?

i) Background documentary study of the international student presence followed by a concentration on the Japanese student presence, set in a wider context of the Japanese education industry and the discourse concerning Japanese students as consumers.

Japanese students in the UK are investigated as an exemplar, together with historical and archival material to reveal information on the Japanese as purchasers of private education. Statistics on the Japanese presence in other countries have a comparative function; they also illuminate the composition of the student body in Japanese higher education. Evidence was obtained as follows:

- a) Documents from British government sources and Non-government agencies (NGOs) working in the field were consulted. These included the Department for Education, the Department of Trade and Industry,

the British Council, the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs and the Home Office, the UK-Japan Educational and Cultural Exchange and the UK-Japan 2000 Group. Specifically to take a view from agencies in higher education, HEFCE and CVCP documents were perused.

- b) Japanese official publications: from Monbusho (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan) and NGOs working from Japan including The Association of International Education, Japan.
- c) Third party official statistics from neutral sources, (Educational Information Service, The Japan-United States Educational Commission)
- d) Japanese (and British where appropriate) media, study abroad promotional materials and other published works.

Information was classified as follows:

1. International Students in the UK:

- . total number (highlighting numbers of Japanese)
- . level of study
- . percentage of UK international student population
- . percentage increase or decrease over period of 10 years
- . most important sending countries (including changes over time)

2. Japanese Students Worldwide

Demographic data from various sources Japanese, American, and third party

neutral agencies e.g. UNESCO, serve to establish an accurate picture of the destinations of Japanese students participating in international study throughout the world.

3. Japanese Higher Education Statistics

- . total number
- . courses enrolled on
- . percentage of age cohort
- . percentage increase or decrease over period of 10 years
- . Japanese government policies
- . international students in Japan

4. Japanese Students in the UK

- . total number
- . courses enrolled on
- . increases or decreases over period of 10 years

5. Japanese International Education Infra-structure

- . operational practices
- . business philosophy
- . relationship with student clients

The principal aim is to acquire officially sanctioned data to facilitate the composition of a reliable picture of the Japanese international student presence in this country from

an analysis of which data developing trends can be revealed. The objective is to analyse trends and patterns, shifting foci and changing roles.

#2. HOW HAS THE DEMAND FROM THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONSUMER INFLUENCED THE DESIGN OF THE PRODUCTS OF BRITISH HE?

i) Documentary survey of curriculum innovations and other special arrangements for international students in general and Japanese students in particular.

ii) case study of one product designed specifically for a particular market niche - how the traditional British higher education product was unsuitable and why.

Evidence was obtained as follows:

- a) The official government and NGO documents listed above were consulted together with;
- b) Individual institutions' publications i.e. prospectuses and other promotional materials.
- c) British Council Annual Reports, Market and other Surveys, triangulated with:
- d) Telephone survey

According to official data there were many universities in the UK making special arrangements. This information was spot-checked by direct recourse to individual institutions. Enquiries were made of correspondents as to what special arrangements, if any, were being made for Japanese students.

Questions asked included:

- . What special arrangements have institutions made?
- . What are the perceived difficulties?
- . What seems to be working?
- . How is the curriculum organised?
- . Any counselling/pastoral arrangements in place?
- . Any other agencies involved?

Information was requested on Foundation programmes, other arrangements made by institutions including special institution-to-institution arrangements to take closed groups of Japanese for a period of study abroad, a part of their university course abroad, or UK university courses from which credit could be earned towards their Japanese university degree. This material was documented and cross-checked against the published material.

3. HAVE THE DESIGN MODIFICATIONS COMPROMISED THE QUALITY OF THE PRODUCT AND HAS THERE BEEN A CONSEQUENT ASSAULT ON THE PREVAILING PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION?

i) documentary study

ii) structured interviews with key personnel

iii) examination of ethics in recruitment and the role of the third party recruiter is explored through the case study and structured interviews.

Evidence was obtained through the following means:

- a) A documentary study into British institutional policies and practices was required to answer this question which involved background study of the issues surrounding the international student flow which drew on a range of published material, historical and contemporary in book form, journal articles, newspaper and periodical commentaries, and institutional documentation. This was set out in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, drawing on similar material, there was a closer focus on how these issues were impacting on academic life and the complexion of British universities, post the institution of full-cost fees.

In addition to the above, documents from the following agencies were studied:

- b) British government sources and NGOs working in the field were consulted. These included the Department for Education, the Department of Trade and Industry, the British Council, the United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs, the Home Office, Association of Commonwealth Universities, World University Service.
- c) Specifically to take a view from agencies in higher education, reports and press releases from HEFCE and the CVCP were studied.
- d) Networking with other professionals yielded copious data of a quantifiable as well as qualitative nature. International recruitment fairs, exhibitions and seminars cultivate opinion formers in the field and practitioners who are pushing forward the boundaries of knowledge on

the subject. Much of interest on this theme is obtainable from conference proceedings, supporting papers from workshops and guidance sessions produced by the leading agencies in the field, in Britain these include UKCOSA, the British Council, BASELT and BALEAP, among others.

- e) Principal policy makers in international student affairs, advisers and key operators in NGOs were interviewed to test out hypotheses, develop or pursue areas of interest. They were selected using a number of criteria. These related to the extent to which they were representative of their peers, or their high standing among their peers. The Head of NAFSA in the US, of UKCOSA in Britain, of the Quality arrangements at the British Council, a Vice-Chancellor of a "new" university known to have positive perceptions of the international student presence, and able to comment of the CVCP position, and the Director of an NGO with extensive dealings with Japan, all consented to give interviews probing official attitudes to the issues covered.
- f) The case study also goes to the question of ethics and investigates to what extent an institution is prepared to modify practices when the prospective students are paying the full cost of their fees directly. Documentary materials are cited including institutional records, and papers concerned with the decision making processes which led to the setting up of the particular course which forms the backbone of the case study.

#4 TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS SATISFIED WITH THE NEW GOODS AND SERVICES?

i) student surveys

ii) student interviews

iii) structured interviews with key personnel

iv) (grounded in) the case study

- a) Whole population questionnaires was the preliminary method of data collection. These were distributed to groups of Japanese students on various study abroad programmes to see if common characteristics could be identified. One issue of initial interest was eventually dropped and that was the kikokushijo discussed in Chapter 5. As part of the early planning of this study a link was proposed between those Japanese who were educated in foreign systems of education as children and young adults who aspire to complete/supplement their education abroad. Early surveys of student enrolment data suggested this might not be a particularly profitable line of inquiry with this cohort.

The survey to probe student attitudes and motivation concentrated initially on the first cohort of Japanese students who were recruited to take the JFC course at the case study institution in April 1991. During the following year a second cohort was surveyed. Later, after the

demise of the course a third group of Japanese students on the then new, international foundation course which replaced the JFC was surveyed. A limited survey was conducted at Lancaster university of Japanese students on the Study Abroad year.

Questions asked investigated:

- . What students want, expect, get ?
- . Why they opted for a British university in preference to a university in their own country
- . What courses they are following - English language, EL Plus, Other
- . How the costs compare with Japan
- . How willing they were to travel abroad for the "right" education
- . How satisfied they are with their college course
- . How relevant they find the course for their employment prospects / personal growth

- b) In-depth interviews were set up by negotiation individually and in groups organised round a series of prompts and using a tape recorder. The information provided in the responses to the questionnaire formed the basis of the further exploration. Groups of students were invited to take part in these semi-structured group interviews. Emic issues, i.e. those imported by the actors were pursued in greater depth and

followed up in structured one to one interviews.

Questions asked strove towards a better understanding of the issues facing Japanese students and their educators.

- c) Empirical data from university records supported the broad brush demographic approach on student profiles on the one hand, and the qualitative data issuing from participant observation on the other. This is in pursuance of the triangulation approach described earlier.

Documentary evidence on individual students was enlisted in support of a more detailed description of the student profiles. This included Registry data, application and enrolment forms and other types of student records. Student records also provided reliable, objective data to trace and aggregate academic results over time which could have formed the basis for a longitudinal dimension to the research if it was decided that was desirable. This is thought to be a worthwhile research project in itself and is to be proposed.

#5 WHAT ARE THE FACTORS DRIVING INCREASING PARTICIPATION OF JAPANESE STUDENTS IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION ENTERPRISES?

- i) case study used to develop hypotheses*
- ii) investigation of professional recruiters*
- iii) study of publications produced by a range of agencies operating in the study*

abroad industry in Japan, and survey of the popular Japanese press in English

iv) documentary study of Japanese university reforms, socio-economic factors in Japan

v) structured interviews with key personnel

Etic issues which were emerging from the case study were probed; the activities of professional recruiters were becoming increasingly of interest. An examination of published material was conducted and individual strands of inquiry followed up in interviews. Factors in Japanese HEIs which were thought to be maintaining or stimulating the flow of Japanese students abroad were sought out in universities' own promotional materials and Study Abroad journals. Impressions and assertions were triangulated through interviews with key personnel.

These structured interviews with figures from key agencies in international student affairs were conducted to test out some of the emerging theories with highly experienced practitioners in the field who had responsibility for policy formation or advising.

VI JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This research design is a classic triangulation approach to a complex multi-dimensional issue. It has three major axes:

i) Documentary Study

This is the strong base on which the rest of the research is built. It provides access to the expert authority against which received wisdom the writer's wide-ranging expertise in the field can be tested. A global view is tendering testimony from various countries

in the world from which comparisons are made, patterns and forthcoming trends seen to emerge.

It offers a historical perspective in order to investigate policies and practices. This provides an element of development facilitating comparison, contrast, analysis, classification and interpretation. Understanding of educational issues largely derives from an awareness of the processes involved in arriving at what *is*; relationships, held attitudes and developing trends, practices prevailing, decisions reached, and conditions pertaining. Comparative educationists have striven to reconstruct the past in order to better understand the present. The search for objectivity in research and the desire to minimise bias and distortion, demands that all accessible aspects are *described* so that as much of the truth as possible is revealed.

a) Strengths

The availability of extensive statistical data can lend weight to documentary research. Government and NGO sources, those of the national and international educational press can assist the assembling of description and analysis of informed practitioners in the field, together with the most recent and current numerical data.

b) Weaknesses

It will be remembered that Chapter 3 warned of the difficulties of collecting numerical data on international student mobility and participation rates and it is universally accepted that agencies and interest groups of all types will use data for their own purposes and

audiences. It is therefore imperative to exercise vigilance . To militate against potential invalidity, documentary evidence of this nature should be cross-referenced as widely as possible. Wherever practicable it should also be checked against personal experience in the field and the perceptions of other practitioners.

Information on institutional responses throughout the higher education sector is obtainable through published surveys, and can be followed up by interviews with key policy makers and/or advisers to supplement and amplify these statistics with data which is strong in reality and very current. The merit of the supporting data however is only as valuable as the calibre of mind and experience of the respondents, the selection of whom is the result of the judgement of the researcher.

ii) Case Study

The case study is set against the documentary study and is offered as an instrumental case study to provide a real-life example through which the issues and research questions can be investigated.

The participant-observer role which has served social anthropologists well and is increasingly used by educational researchers was selected as the most appropriate modus operandum. The researcher was appointed to manage the programme, liaise with staff in both areas of the contract relationship and act as lecturer and personal tutor to the Japanese students. An opportunity had presented itself to exploit a unique

source of data in an empirical setting of which it can be said, *the best way to acquire reliable knowledge is the way of evidence obtained by direct experience*".

(Monly 1978)

The approach is practical and problem-solving in motivation and is an attractive option to the teacher-researcher who can harness and channel all the facilities of the institution, academic, professional and administrative, to support the work. The self as instrument is crucial in this type of inquiry, given the degree of specialism of the researcher and that required for the delivery of the project under investigation. Cohen and Mannion (1994) assert that, " *specific knowledge is required for a specific problem in a specific situation, or when a new approach is to be grafted on to an existing system.*"

a) Strengths

It has been noted that the researcher's own institution had created a post whose remit was to design and deliver a course specifically for Japanese students - a classic case of the production of a designer product produced in response to consumer demand. Since the project represented a radical departure from the traditional university curriculum, a rare opportunity existed to begin at the beginning and from a privileged inside position, chart the development and progression of a discrete social and organisational unit.

Typicality was not of particular concern. Whether or not case studies

are **typical** is not the point. It is possible that the **atypical** has more potential for analysis and explanatory power (Good 1972) found that case study research depends on the "*cogency of theoretical reasoning*" for the validity of any logical inferences. The goal of the investigator is to expand and generalise theories (analytical generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation). The resultant data is rich and interesting and has the potential to generate ideas and hypotheses for future research.

b) Weaknesses

Conducting research in one's own institution creates pressures as well as opportunities. The operation of multiple and potentially conflicting roles of teacher, administrator, and researcher requires, according to Bell (1987), a careful balance of responsibilities because of the two-fold nature of one's accountability. Data collection invariably involves co-operation of colleagues across the institution who have differential status and with whom close questioning on institutional policy needs to be sensitively handled, particularly if there are line-management relationships which need to be maintained (Bell *ibid*). In terms of student perceptions the role of teacher may be uncondusive to the development of intimacy. There are also issues relating to the discourse of control.

c) Problems

Conscious of the perceived weaknesses of single-case studies, options were considered to try a multiple sources approach with multiple observers and multiple levels of analysis. When decisions were being made about the most effective research methods, making a comparative study of the Japanese Foundation Course at SOAS was considered. To this end, the course leader and administrator were visited in 1992. It was the researcher's belief that the initiative for their Foundation course had been inspired by a rather imperfect understanding of the SOAS course and in a desire to achieve the (financial) success of that particular enterprise. A number of sessions with key personnel at SOAS led to the decision that the students there would not be ideal subjects. Positioned so closely to the University of London Institute of Education, the SOAS students were prime research targets for graduate students both in education and anthropology throughout London and at SOAS itself. The Japanese students were suffering from research fatigue syndrome. Would-be researchers had used a variety of incentives from free Cokes to sums of money, only to find the students were becoming intransigent and loath to sacrifice any time from their course work. With reluctance it was decided to sacrifice breadth of coverage for intensiveness.

iii) A Second Case Study of Junior Year Abroad (JYA)

The period of participant observation ended in April 1993 when the decision was

made to terminate the contract though students were monitored during the next two terms until their course was completed. As Cohen and Mannion (op cit) point out, however, an important feature of action research is that the task is not necessarily finished when the project ends. After this point it seemed that a secondary mini case study might support and elucidate some insights gained so far and certain concepts relating to the Japanese student presence. Exploring conditions in at least one other institution was thought to be advisable so a survey of current provision was revisited in order to identify a suitable project for a comparative study.

From a brief telephone survey of institutions, a Northern University's Junior Year Abroad (JYA) Programme for Japanese students emerged as a suitable case. In September 1993 a brief investigation was undertaken to challenge the data and observations gained to date. Precisely because of the unique set of circumstances surrounding the main case study, it was believed that much could be gained if a snapshot view of the operational practices of another university be offered as an example not necessarily of the logic of diversity but rather the logic of comparison (or contrast - only the study could show)

A number of visits was conducted to discuss the programme with key people involved in its delivery. These included the International Student Adviser, the Chair of the Japan Council, the Head of the International Centre for English Language studies, tutors with responsibility for the Summer School and the Study Skills for the JYA group.

Negotiating access into higher education institutions, to conduct investigations is notoriously difficult for a number of reasons.

a) The Sensitivity of the Data

Not all institutions are scrupulous about client after-care once students are in place and fees have been collected, since meeting international student needs can be a costly exercise. As a consequence, institutions are not on the whole enthusiastic about being evaluated against someone else's criteria. Student success rate, for instance, is a performance indicator some institutions would not want to publish.

b) Inter-Institutional Competition

Market research is expensive and difficult to arrive at and institutions are reluctant to reveal information and sources. It is not unreasonable to be reluctant to part with the benefits of what might have represented a substantial investment to potential competitors.

In all dealings with other institutions reassurance was offered to colleagues that confidentiality would be respected. Negotiations with professional counterparts in other universities were conducted, offers to share the experiences of not only the researcher's course but those of wider experiences of international recruitment and promotion as well as other projects led or managed were offered in return for obtaining information about theirs.

It was later decided to learn from but omit data from the JYA course mainly because of concerns about thesis length.

iv) Attitudinal Study

Student observation was supported and triangulated by survey questionnaire and structured interview. Statistics were collected and collated as described above, from a variety of separate sources. Advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires relate to the design of the questions, the timing of distribution, the character of the respondents, the familiarity of the correspondents with the methodology and understanding of the nature of data collection in research.

v) Problems

Students are not always ideal respondents in a research exercise of this kind, because of the many demands on their time and their frequent reluctance to engage in anything that looks like academic work and is not (or rather, does not bear credit). As will be demonstrated, international students, especially those from an Asian culture, make very poor respondents. There are a number of reasons for this. One is because they have not been acculturated to an egalitarian educational environment in which feedback, evaluation and appraisal is part of the territory. There is often a reluctance, indeed, inability, in many students to "criticise" their tutors and /or suggest how an older "wiser" person might improve his or her professional performance.

The issue of timing educational research with students in higher education is also a

significant factor. Time-consuming activities which are not self-initiated can meet fierce resistance. Many researchers have found it extremely difficult to persuade international students to take part in research exercises even when they would have been paid or received other inducements, if the students are trying to meet assignment due dates. Even at those times when there is no immediate pressure of work, students are unwilling to write or read anything which takes up time needed simply to survive on academic courses. Student, i.e. peer researchers have an even more difficult time getting their fellow students to co-operate.

VII CONCLUSION

Conscious efforts were made to maintain the openness and sensitivity with which the project had been approached. It seemed that a linear route could not be steered but that initiatives were spiralling and that ideas, documents, people and texts were revised and revisited. Similarly, chapters were written in layers being continually added to. Ideas were picked up and run with before they were fully formed. As the research progressed, ideas were developed about how the material was fitting together. Disconfirming incidents were sought in order to ensure that analyses were accurate. This meant seeking out contradictory evidence, sifting findings through the sieves of experience of colleagues in other universities occupying a similar position, including in universities in other countries.

The resultant findings, especially those presented in the following chapters, are "strong in reality", challenging to organise but attention-holding and harmoniously fitting with actual experiences. There is provided therefore a natural platform from which to base generalisations, make analyses, and propose hypotheses which other researchers can test. This study is a step to action. It moves from a position of activity to one of understanding; making contributions towards insights which will have direct consequences for individual and institutional development, and for formative evaluations leading to educational policy making.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MARKET FORCES IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION ENTERPRISE:

EAST MEETS WEST

I INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present data and arguments to address research Question #1 concerning the consumer behaviour of Japanese students in respect of the purchase of higher education in the UK, Question #2, on how the demand from these student consumers is influencing the product of British higher education and Question #5 on the push and pull factors and forces stimulating the increasing flow of Japanese students abroad.

In Britain, Higher Education has been described as being on the edge of massification. Student consumerism from the home market is incipient but in 1994 numbers for the second year in succession were capped by government (Scott 1994). This is resulting in more pressure to recruit from abroad to increase income from tuition fees and decrease reliance on Government funding. In Japan, as Chapter 5 made clear, education is and has always been a very profitable business, from expensive private kindergartens, to private universities and, sandwiched in between, the lucrative examination industry.

In terms of the worldwide flows of students, the in-flow to Britain from Japan has been very slight, about 2 042 in 1993, but with 59 468 Japanese students going abroad for part or all of their education that year,(Unesco 1995), British universities are keen

to divert some of that flow into their own institutions. The inter-actions between Japan and the UK along this commercio-academic axis will be explored to reveal who or what is driving the increasing participation of Japanese students in British higher education. Attention will be given to issues of quality and standards, of grave concern to the British academic community.

It is becoming clear that the emerging commodification of the relationship between providers of higher education and their prospective purchasers can be expressed as a move away from the historically producer-led education market towards one which is consumer-driven. Evidently, whilst the traditional supply-side, producer-dominated axis is weakening in the home market it is virtually collapsing in the international arena.

British Council English 2000 project issued the following rallying call to professional educators at a seminar on marketing in East Asia and the *Pacific Region in March* 1994.

Within the complex and diverse East Asia and Pacific region, impenetrable markets reside side by side with some of the world's most flourishing economies. The whole region is subject to rapid political and economic change. In many countries multilateral lending agencies, bilateral development agencies and commerce all work within the same fields. The region's demographic base and increasing economic strength suggest considerable potential for marketing [ELT] goods and services,

Britain's long-standing involvement with the region however gives no guarantee of future success. The dominant Japanese economy, the "paper tiger" economies, local and political sensitivities, Australian and American political and commercial interests, and the increasing availability of sophisticated communications technology all influence traditional markets and limit UK involvement in new ones.

It is a clear sign of the times that the above is accepted as part of the discourse of academia.

TABLE 16

THE EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC REGION IN FIGURES

	Population 1992	Annual population growth	Population under 15	GDP (1990)	Average annual GDP growth	GDP
BRUNEI	0.3	2.5%		3.3		
CHINA	1167.2	1.34%	26.5%	363.8	7.6%	320
HONG KONG	6.0	1.06%	26.5%	70.1	7.6%	12,000
INDONESIA	186	1.52%	35.7%	103.8	6.3%	570
JAPAN	124.6	0.46%	18.4%	2963.0	4.7%	23,970
SOUTH KOREA	44.5	1.41%	25.6%	239.6	10.2%	5,600
MALAYSIA	18.1	3.32%	38.2%	42.4	6.8%	2,450
PHILIPPINES	65.4	2.27%	40.1%	45.9	4.1%	740
SINGAPORE	2.8	0.97%	23.3%	34.6	8.0%	12,370
TAIWAN	20.7	0.90%		157.8	8.8%	7,800
THAILAND	57.3	1.35%	32.7%	79.7	9.9%	1,420
VIETNAM	70.2	2.21%		13.4		203

Notes: population in millions, annual population growth 1990/95, GDP US\$ (billions)

Source: British Council workshop papers adapted

The table above serves to make a number of important indications about the region designated as ripe for further involvement in the British higher education constituency.

Japan is far and away the economic leader in a region with a number of wealthy nations having a GDP of 2963.0 and a GDP per capita of 23,970 though her real average annual GDP growth rate is slower than that of her neighbours (with the exception of the Philippines). The dramatic increase in real average GDP growth rate

of 9.9% in Vietnam is against a very low base, furthermore, there are, and will continue to be, excessive demands on financial and other resources to put in place a much needed communication and other infra-structure. However, the country's leaders are committed to expand provision of educational services at all levels. They point to a correlation of investment in human capital and economic growth. [Head of the People's Committee during a meeting with the writer and other members of BASELT in Ho Chi Min City December 1995]. Such progress is believed to be realistic and achievable.

These figures indicate the opportunities for business in East Asia with Japan in the vanguard of the other rapidly developing nations.

II CULTURAL VALUES AND INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

Yau (1994) has pointed to aspects of consumer behaviour which are culturally determined and which include such issues as, levels of perceived product performance, expectations, willingness to complain and so forth. In order to increase market performance producers must explore the cultural contexts in which prospective consumers are operating in order more effectively to target the customer and position the product. There are a number of aspects of Japanese life and behaviour which can usefully be discussed and from which important insights contributing to an understanding of the Japanese customer can be obtained. Some of the following will resonate with points covered in Chapter 5.

There is a polarisation of attitudes concerning the role of the Japanese as protagonists on the international stage. It is not surprising to find conflicting views since foreign relations throughout Japan's history seem to have oscillated between two extremes, that is, from total seclusion from the West to receptiveness of almost anything Western, (Lehman 1982, Hunter 1989 and Goodman 1992). These political movements cause attitudinal shifts among the population which affect perspectives on international study.

The now familiar paradox in Japanese attitudes is that despite suspicions and fears of the outside world, the Japanese are immensely acquisitive of all the outside world has to offer. Thus, much of what is admired in Japanese culture is not indigenous, but has been procured by way of China, Korea, Germany, France and Britain, and, particularly since WWII, the United States.

The American frustration over their losing battle with the Japanese economically can be understood, not in terms of the obvious and long standing old foe syndrome, but in that it was they who had provided the Japanese with the economic weapon which they proceeded to hold against the Americans' heads. The work of Deming, the famous American professor of management, is highly revered in Japan. His vital lessons of *Total Quality Control* and *Just in Time* have been assiduously studied and applied more thoroughly and pragmatically by the diligent Japanese scholars than their American teachers could ever have predicted. The consequences for American industry are well known.

Growing up in a society which holds the views touched on above cannot fail to have some impact on the way young Japanese view travelling, living and studying abroad and could undoubtedly repress the ambitions of some to adopt the high-risk strategy of acquiring a higher education through study abroad. As a percentage of the Japanese student population numbers going abroad are small (59 468 as against 3 008 498 which is 1.9%) suggesting phenomenal latent demand and a vast potential education market. A better understanding of its mechanics could be very profitable.

III JAPANESE CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

This can be discussed in a number of ways:

i) The Acceptability of the Product

As Chapter 5 indicated, some years ago, aspirations of young Japanese to acquire degrees from foreign universities were subdued by the non-acceptance of foreign qualifications in Japan. Since the announcement of Monbusho's change in policy to embrace internationalism, the desire to acquire foreign knowledge now seems to be in a state of stimulation.

The Japanese university system, hitherto centrally and somewhat rigidly controlled, is showing signs of becoming more flexible . It is now possible for Japanese students to spend their junior-year abroad, and credit earned at overseas institutions can count towards their Japanese qualification. More than this, the Monbusho has proposed that certain Area Studies become part of the Study Abroad curriculum with pre-arranged credit with the home university to be supervised by the hosts. [*Miyazaki International*

College, private Japanese university, Study Abroad Director, briefing to international educators, Phoenix, Arizona, June 1996]

Further evidence of this "opening up" is the growth in schemes that signify the Japanese government's attempts to bring international teachers and researchers into Japan, (in addition to the Foreign students scheme) through the work of the Association of International Education, Japan, including the JET scheme which has been impressively successful. These schemes co-exist with the Monbusho's internationalisation projects to send teachers out of Japan.

There is evidence too of changes in the employment practices of Japanese companies lately. Traditionally they have always preferred Japanese university graduates (see Chapter 5) because those educated overseas seemed "pushy" and disturbed the "*wa*" that companies value so much. The merits of young people who understand both Japanese and American culture and are fluent in English has been appreciated of late although some economists dispute that this is the case. However, career fairs in London and the United States where Japanese employers can recruit overseas educated Japanese and Japanese speaking foreigners are becoming common place. In 1996, the Japanese press reported "*Japanese firms hiring promising foreign students*" (Japan Times Weekly July 15/21) referring to the practice of recruiting Japanese speaking Masters and Doctoral students from foreign countries hoping they will become managers of Japanese companies in their own countries, Malaysia, Thailand or parts of Europe.

The change in attitude of corporate Japan which now seems willing to employ people with foreign qualifications both at entry and at mid-career point is thought to be having, and will continue to have, an impact on study abroad numbers. Indeed, a manual for employees, produced by the Bank of Tokyo refers to the advantage of having had educational experiences gained abroad. It is thought that owing to the changing economic situation in Japan, certain small and medium sized companies are actively seeking out graduates from foreign universities in the hopes that qualities associated with foreigners - especially Europeans, namely, independence, rational thinking, positiveness, will inject new life into ailing companies. The powerful business lobby in Japan has been effective in raising issues of excessive homogeneity. The *Keizai Doyukai* (Education Council, Japan Committee for Economic Development) as long ago as 1985 made a plea for educational reform " ... : *In Pursuit of Creativity, Diversity, and Internationality*" calling for " ... 1. Revision of Personnel Evaluation Standards in Business Enterprises and Government Agencies, and urged companies to *"Positively accept those who graduated from foreign universities regardless of age or period of employment. The above would strengthen a company's ability to internationalize"* (Beauchamp and Vardaman 1994).

This opening up of attitudes is having a positive effect on participation rates including of non-traditional students. Opportunities in fields of study or levels of study the prospective student has previously been denied, in addition to providing a fruitful educational experience at the time, will have long term benefits. The foreign product is gaining acceptance and increasing its market value.

ii) American Domination of the Market

a) Tradition and history

There are deep historical precedents influencing the flow of Japanese students to America, though at the time of writing there are indications that these are about to change. Nevertheless, at the moment, the United States continues to remain the first choice for Japanese students. Moreover, the Japanese have recently overtaken China as the leading sender according to figures published by the US Institute of International Education (IIE) . This means that not only is the US Japanese students' most popular destination, the Japanese comprise the single largest group of foreign students in the States, which is itself the greatest receiver of international students in the world.

"Japan displaces China this year [Jan 1994/Dec 95] as the leading sending country for foreign students with 45,276 students in the US., comprising more than 10% of the total foreign student population while numbers from Asia overall have declined for the first time in twenty years.

... Despite this decrease, Asian students still comprise over half (57%) of the international student population in the US., with Japan (the leading country worldwide) increasing by 3% to

45,276 students." IIE (1995)

Since the end of the war Japanese have sojourned in the United States, often for only short periods, chiefly to learn English and American culture. Since figures have been systematically recorded there have been significant rises in the numbers of students at all levels going abroad. In addition to those seeking the benefits of higher education there have been countless numbers enrolling in high schools and colleges.

The Monbusho claims that there has been a 30% increase in students going abroad over the last five years, of whom 49.6% went to the States, a total of 82,008. However, UNESCO report a more modest total of 43,770 Japanese in the States in 1993.

The difficulty of handling data on international movements of students, much commented on, remains a problem of lack of consensus on nomenclature.

b) Accessibility

The organisation of higher education in the US is, and always has been, attractive to the Japanese. It is not too difficult for Japanese students to take a year off from Japanese university to study in an American university, because of the credit accumulation and transfer system.

Students are required to obtain a minimum of 124 credits of which only 76 are in the major, the normal four year undergraduate course in Japan can be extended if necessary. Chapter 5 showed that the period at university is the one time in a Japanese student's education that is not characterised by a great deal of pressure, so students can afford to be a little experimental. The difficult part has been entry not exit as the Americans summarise the difference in their systems as, " We take examinations to get out of school, Japanese take them to get in".

Various permutations exist on a variety of programmes since "transfer" from one university to another is rarely an option in Japan. Many students therefore opt to complete their education in the US after having done a couple of years in Japanese universities. Some post-graduates take time out in the US then go home to write up their dissertation. This pattern is becoming more common in the UK too.

The American producers' sensitivity to consumer needs is shown in the number of American programmes **actually delivered in Japan** a service not all providers can manage. There are currently 26 programmes associated with American universities falling into three categories; Intensive English Programmes preparing students for American academic programmes; programmes offering limited academic credits with the possibility of transferring to a US university later, and full degree programmes taught in English. Although these

programmes tend to incorporate American pedagogical principles **none of them is recognised by the Monbusho** and questions are being asked about their quality. *Do US schools in Japan make the grade? ... many students go to US universities for graduate studies. ... Since its entry into Japan in 1982 Temple University, a state university based in Philadelphia, has weathered a number of crises...* (JTW March 1996)

The graph below shows the increase in numbers of Japanese students in the US. The Study Abroad "boom" which took off in the mid-eighties seems set to continue.

TABLE 17

JAPANESE STUDENTS IN THE US

figures in thousands

40											
35											\$
30										\$	\$
25									\$	\$	\$
20								\$	\$	\$	\$
15							\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
10	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
0	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990

Source: Fulbright, Japan-United States Educational Commission 1992

Against this background therefore, it is particularly interesting to read the warning issued by Nana Mizushima Regur, former Educational Information Officer to JUSEC that educational interchanges between Japan and the US are now at a juncture. Relations between Japan and the United States have become noticeably strained over the last few years at every level, political, economic and cultural. The politicians in both countries are very uneasy. Ambassador Mike Mansfield is quoted as saying, *"This is the most important relationship in the world bar none."* (ALC 1992)

Insight Japan, the Japanese Embassy magazine, ran a headline, *"Japan - US Alliance being shaken at the grass roots,"* It seems that the outrage expressed when three US servicemen in Okinawa allegedly raped a Japanese elementary school girl is just part of a more pervasive anger at the security arrangements which are thought to bring unequal benefits. Sakanaka (1996) writes,

" When President Bill Clinton visited Japan this April (1996) he and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto hailed a new era for Japan-US friendship and closer co-operation on security matters. But behind these official positions of the two governments, a current of criticism is bubbling up in both countries." Moreover, it seems that there is a growing disenchantment among many Japanese students and, more importantly, their parents, with what is identified as the negative side of American culture: increasing violence in the community, much of

which is directed at the Asian group; lack of safety on campus, particularly in respect of women students; a general anxiety about the effects on the young people's personality and behaviour after the sojourn abroad.

The Spring 1988 edition of the Study Abroad newspaper Guidepost, published by ICS, ran a by-line, " *Safety, Low Cost, Homestays : Three Most Important*" (sic). Fears about personal safety abroad have been growing in Japan since the late 1980s. In the national press *Monbusho* itself expressed misgivings about the quality of Japanese students' lives in the US. Guidepost International (1995) reported these:

Violence and Racism: Prime Student Concerns. Various media reports from within Japan ... confirm that overseas students are becoming increasingly concerned at the rise in violence and racism in many English speaking destinations. The US in particular has witnessed a marked downturn in overseas student numbers following the 1991 murder of a male Japanese college student.

For all students "Japan bashing" is seen as a problem. Moreover, among many of the peoples dealing with Japan there is, it seems, a lack of understanding about the country, its culture, philosophy and psychology, and it would seem that the stereotypes regarding Japan continue to persist. In a paper given at the NAFSA Conference,

Chicago, May 1992, Jiro Takai said,

" The negative stereotypes of Japanese may have some amount of substance, but for the most part they are due merely to misunderstandings or lack of appropriate knowledge of the Japanese culture. ... those who suffer most ... are the Japanese who are residents of the countries that hold them. a likely target of hostile sentiments toward Japanese is the Japanese overseas student..they may be perceived as "rich brats": to a faculty or administrative staff of a university they may appear to be passive and irresponsible youth.

iii) The Emergence of the British Market

According to a British Council Market Survey (1989) Japanese students felt they had little opportunity to study in Britain, partly because there is a dearth of information about UK universities in Japan, partly a fear of what they perceive to be intimidatingly high standards, and a lack of tradition of coming to UK for advanced study. The latter is an extremely powerful reason since it is widely believed that the single most important factor affecting choice of university for international students is knowing someone who went there.

Chapter 3 noted that in the period from the mid-eighties to the time of writing, the

real costs of higher education in the UK declined. Greenaway and Tuck (1995) calculated that at times, costs failed to keep pace with inflation. This was not unrelated to the dramatic decline in sterling's exchange rate which fell to a low of \$1.05 in January 1985. In the case of Japan we can see how the purchasing power of the yen made an education paid for in sterling an attractive proposition. Growth rates for Japanese study abroad can be compared with the exchange rate fluctuation of the yen as the Table below shows.

TABLE 18

JAPANESE STUDENTS IN THE UK: TOTAL NUMBERS FOR SELECTED YEARS

(against sterling's average exchange rate against the yen)

YEAR	Total Numbers of Japanese students in the UK	Exchange Rate - Yen to Sterling
1982/83	369	370
1983/84	370	370
1987/88	829	230
1988/89	1 036	230
1989/90	1 445	220
1990/91	1 767	250
1991/92	2 316	225
1992/93	2 500	200
1993/4	2 726	160

Source: British Council, DfEE, (combined by the writer)
Exchange rate: Datastream.

The dramatic increase in participation in British education is clearly shown. How

significant the fluctuations in the exchange rate are is inconclusive but may well be weighty in combination with other economic factors and can certainly be recognised as an incentive.

Chapter 3 charted the movements in international numbers throughout the 70s and 80s showing an exponential growth after 1987. During the decade 83/84 - 93/94 there was an increase of 700% The table below shows Britain's chief markets for student recruitment, with Japan occupying tenth position.

TABLE 19

FULL TIME STUDENTS FROM OVERSEAS IN UK (1993/4)

Country	No.of students	Rank
Malaysia	10 450	1
Germany	8 837	2
Greece	8 264	3
France	7 702	4
Hong Kong	6 940	5
United States	5 588	6
Ireland	5 542	7
Singapore	3 795	8
Spain	3 719	9
Japan	2 726	10

Source: DfEE

iv) Japanese Life Styles: Internationalism and Conspicuous Consumption

Affluent Japanese are accustomed to making sophisticated choices as to how to dispose of their considerable wealth. Overseas travel as a symbolic good is one example of conspicuous consumption. Travel for educational purposes, whether personally or by facilitating that of one's dependents, carries a degree of kudos as well as the acquisition of cultural capital through international study.

In the past, and especially in the period after WWII there were, naturally enough, certain impediments to overseas travel, but as the Japanese economy achieved its "miraculous" upturn, so the flow of Japanese travellers abroad, renewed. Guidepost International, drawing on data from Japanese immigration statistics, claims that as a result of the Gulf war 1991 was the only year during the last decade to record a decrease in Japanese travel and that by 1993 the number going abroad climbed to almost 12 million. The "Study Abroad" category is a very small part of this vast industry representing only just over 1% of the travel market. Yet that also is growing steadily.

v) Destinations Overseas

In 1993 according to Guidepost, (1995) the number of Japanese going abroad for education and training was 136 162, a percentage rise of 4.4% (about 6 000 additional students) from the year before. Many of these are on "courses" of very short duration. Care must be taken in interpreting the numerical data of Educational Consultants, of whom one of the largest is ICS, who have a tendency to talk up the figures to portray the market as buoyant.

It is worth reminding ourselves that the two commodities being traded by ICS are world higher education, and Japanese youth.

The [immigration] bureau findings confirm ICS country order of popularity of the major English speaking countries. What is noticeable is the fact that ICS has become more competitive in promoting the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, with each of these countries gaining a much larger share of the ICS market in comparison with overall immigration bureau figures of the same period. [emphasis added]

With the growing awareness of internationalism in Japan, the Monbusho have their own interests to promote. They confirm the private sector's view that the number of Japanese attending foreign institutions of higher education has increased in recent years (Monbusho 1996a). According to the Ministry of Justice the number of Japanese going abroad for the purpose of "studying abroad, training and the acquisition of technique" was approximately 165 000, an increase of 30% from 5 years ago. About 80% of Japanese students study in American and European institutions, almost 50% in the United States. Most were studying without government scholarships or subsidies.

The UNESCO figures are more muted than those given by either the commercial sector or the Monbusho and are more reliable when making comparisons across the world. The following table is adapted by the writer from country statistics in the

latest available handbook 1995.

TABLE 20

JAPANESE STUDYING ABROAD 1993

DESTINATION	NO.OF STUDENTS	REMARKS
USA	43 770	aggregate numbers in US higher than in all other destinations English medium
China	8 526	increasing interest, largely exchange programmes
UK (1992 figures)	2 042	figures risen every year since 1981, major English medium destination after US
Germany (1991 figures)	1 236	historical links since Meiji period, present interest in technology and business
France	1 157	some interest in French language
Canada	774	English medium no serious threat to British market
Australia	675	English medium numbers thought to have peaked (mainly low-level courses)
Korea (1994 figures)	392	see reference to the "Look East" policy
Austria	251	minority / specialist interest
New Zealand	109	mainly English language courses - very small numbers
Others	536	Middle East, Africa, South America, the low standard of living a disincentive, specialist interest
TOTAL	59 468	Second highest in the world

Visiting student programmes for high school students account for significant numbers going abroad. Administered by Japan American Inc.(AFS), Japan Foundation Inc. (YFU) and other NGOs, participation is said to be increasing. In 1989, 2 096 Japanese upper secondary school students were sent abroad while 1 266 students from

other countries were accepted in Japan. (There is much more equity of numbers in this sector than at college level.) In 1992 ALC announced that 527 Japanese high schools had concluded sister-school relationships with foreign high schools representing a 25% increase over a previous survey.

vi) Teachers Going Abroad

Official publications (Monbusho 1994) refer to the Monbusho programmes "*to dispatch teachers overseas...*" the sponsoring of international study for teachers said to be a significant strand of the internationalisation policy, an essential aspect of which is the improvement of English language teaching. In 1993, 274 Japanese teachers of English, were sent to the US and the UK "*...training them so as to improve their English abilities*", 190 of whom stayed only two months, 58 for six months and 26 persons for a year. In the same year 3 497 English language teachers went to Japan for a year.

Programmes are administered through either the British Council or the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE). The latter, a non-government non-profit self-financing agency with a world headquarters in the US and a European headquarters in France.

The British Council administers six-month programmes on Monbusho's behalf for 24 high school teachers of English at Essex and Lancaster universities as well as a twelve month programme at Birmingham university for 15.

The CIEE is involved in a number of courses. In 1994/5 eight teachers came for one year to the programme at Edinburgh university, 20 came for six months to the

programmes at Exeter and Nottingham universities and 40 came for two months to the courses at Essex and Lancaster. The two-month courses consist of Intensive English to help the teachers develop their own competence in English Language and raise their level of fluency and a component of British Culture; the six-month and one-year programmes involve a significant amount of time spent on the methodology of language teaching , as well as the other elements mentioned. All teachers taking part in the scheme are Japanese teachers of English who have *been in teaching* for about six to ten years. The CIEE confirms that all course participants are selected by Monbusho on their merit and sponsored in full by a combination of funds from the ministry and the local school boards.

Japanese educators who fail to be selected for the Monbusho programmes have the opportunity to apply for the CIEE's own schemes, the one month course offered by Edinburgh and London (UCL) and a three week British Seminar offered by Warwick, the cost of which is borne by the participants, and which take place during the Japanese school holidays in summer. It is possible for a number of these courses to receive funding from the Monbusho, however all are endorsed officially by the national government department and the local prefectural boards.

Two one-month programmes of intensive English for specialist English teachers, and two three-week programmes for those teaching subjects other than English, including primary teachers, involve two weeks at a university (Edinburgh, London and Warwick see above). The CIEE reports that the seminars on British Society, the guest lectures and field trips to British institutions in the public and private sector are of particular

interest. Although developing proficiency in English is a universal aim, the desire to have an international study experience seems to be the driving motivation of participants.

vii) The Relative Costs of a Higher Education

Stephens (1991) reminds us that in polls in the 1980s, over 90% of Japanese described themselves as middle class. This had less to do with putative Japanese conformity and more that wage and salary differentials are much smaller in Japan than in either the US or the UK. The eighty to ninety thousand people classified as working class are not Japanese nationals but South Americans and others of Japanese descent, who come to Japan to earn x 5 the salaries they could expect in their own countries. The power of the yen in relation to other currencies is therefore enjoyed by the vast majority of the population and the ability of students to finance themselves continues.

The Association of International Education, Japan, publishes a guide to Japanese colleges and universities (AIE 1995). The average cost of first year education in a Japanese university, in yen per annum was given as follows:

National:	Y605 600
Local Public:	Y755 800
Private:	Y895 896 (<i>Business, Social Sciences</i>)
	Y1 637 254 (<i>Arts</i>)
	Y9 206 458 (<i>Dentistry</i>)

Private agents and educational consultants in Japan can make considerable sums of money simply by requiring the students to pay them in Japan then timing the paying of tuition fees to the British university when the exchange rate is most advantageous to themselves. Earnings can be further increased by charging what they describe as a university registration fees (though British universities do not levy such a charge) handling fees, application fees and similar. Agents can charge Y300 000 for sending on an application form.

The British Council's Marketing News, (1993) citing a private university survey, the average cost overall of sending a student to a private university in the Tokyo area for students living away from home was Y3,600,000 (£24,000) per annum. A year's tuition fee in London will perhaps amount to £6 000 with about £10-12,000 living expenses. So it actually could work out cheaper to study in a prestigious British institution than attend a university in Japan. The British Council's Annual Report 1994/5 confirms this view " *The strength of the yen continues to make study in the UK excellent value for money and highly competitive with studying at private institutions in Japan*". (British Council 1995)

The Japan Group's Mission to Japan report of 1993 was less circumspect claiming that " ... it was cheaper for Japanese students living away from home to study in the UK than in Japan, representing significant opportunities for British universities marketing in Japan ... dramatic increase in value of the yen, appreciating some 40% last year". (emphasis added)

viii) The Purchasing Power of the Japanese

Despite the increasing purchasing power of the yen, the Japanese are feeling the effects of the recession in ways other than the obvious, that is, being short of money. Attitudes are changing as one Japanese journalist reported in the spring of 1996 *"the sense of values changed ...with the first oil crisis.... the country faced serious economic woes for the first time and the myth of ever-continuing economic growth was shattered"*.

Expenditure on education within individual families however, always has been and remains high. (JTW April 1996) The Japanese are spending as much as ever on education but the difference is that now they are shopping around: value for money is becoming increasingly important. They may still be willing to pay top dollar for the Louis Vuitons and Cartiers of the education trade (SOAS, UCL, and of course Oxbridge), but outside the designer salons they are driving a very hard bargain in the High Street.

Push factors are operating with the effects of the economic downturn in Japan, thought to be exerting pressure to stimulate the in-flow of Japanese to the UK. For the first time in Japan, the ratio of job offers to prospective new graduates dropped below 1. The slowdown has resulted in poor job prospects for male graduates compared with former times being 1.3:1, worse for women at 0.6:1. In this difficult job market, especially for young women, it seems as though many students are looking at further study abroad as an alternative to insecure employment, or no employment at all in the short term.

Guidepost (Spring 1995) reported:

" In recent years working females have been a major market ... This trend continued throughout 1994, with a noticeable increase of 3.3% in this category. Although working women "OLs" account for 28% of counselling center visitors the number of applications has not risen proportionately. This reflects two phenomenon. (sic) Firstly, the affects (sic) of the economic recession in Japan have resulted in employer conservatism towards hiring new staff. This has made it difficult for OL's (sic) to ignore the security of their current employment. They have placed a higher priority on study abroad over reemployment prospects, when so few positions are available upon return."

The Centre for International Cultural Studies and Education (ICS 1994) reports that notwithstanding the above, women are planning ahead to something more than a fairly impromptu sojourn abroad for largely unspecified reasons and are ensuring that *"money is spent wisely on a positive experience, suitable to individual needs and long term further study or employment goals."*

In other words, study abroad is seen to be a symbolic good the price of which is not the most important factor though with the Japanese it is always a significant factor. In terms of the notion of "value added", the Japanese businesses have not escaped the notion that additional benefits of the European single market, to which Britain is a

gateway, could make study abroad in this country an attractive proposition .

This route towards self-advancement is one which is becoming increasingly important to women especially those in their mid-twenties and early thirties who want something more out of life than to be an OL in a Japanese company.

ix) Changes in the Consumer Profile

In Japan, informed observers are predicting that social extremes will become more pronounced during the 90s. Emmott (1989) cited in Stephens (1991) referred to a new emerging super rich class in Japan.

" ...there are suddenly a lot of rich Japanese. To a businessman, these new rich alone are a temptingly rich market. More important still, by leading a fancier and more visibly opulent life, the new rich are setting an example to the millions who have only moderate wealth. To an economist, this arrival of a new class is important because it implies not only a change in consumption habits but also a widening of the gap between rich and poor.(emphasis added)

" One reason [why Japan's egalitarian society is becoming less equal] is the high cost of education: the more you pay even for a kindergarten, the more likely your child is to get into the right schools and hence the best jobs. Those unlucky enough to be struggling to pay for housing will scarcely be able to pay for their children as well."

There has been much criticism expressed of Japanese youth that they are squandering the resources carefully built up by their parents and so forth. *"The youngest generation of job holders, products of an affluent society, might even be innately lazy. They are products of parental indulgence ..."* (Ohmae in Stephens 1991). For many years American educators have complained of directionless Japanese international students, and have tried every means to stimulate them. Many missed the point that it was not the despoiling influence of the United States that was causing this lassitude, but that students had brought these behaviours with them. Tamotsu Sengoku is head of the Japan Youth Research Institute. In an article for JTW he comments on the latest teenage craze in Japan of young women selling their used underwear to the *buru-sera* shops for large sums of money *"... these high school girls live only for the pleasure of the moment without plans for the future"*. Japanese commentators have named them *"event-oriented people"*.

The case study which follows will demonstrate that this "lazy and self-indulgent behaviour" can manifest itself in the classrooms of foreign institutions. Increasingly, having a son or daughter abroad is part of the conspicuous consumption that characterises the rich Japanese. Whether or not the son or daughter is benefitting educationally from the experience, the fact that they have offspring in London or Oxford increases the status of Japanese parents and in particular, enhances the mother's role as a true Kyoiku mama.

It has already been noted that there is a tradition of elite groups of Japanese studying abroad (the phenomenon of the ryugakusei is explored by Bennett, Passin and

McKnight (1958) Lehmann (1982) Hunter (1989) Goodman (1990) just as the British in the late 19th century engaged in the Grand Tour; acquiring a final polish in Europe after education and before settling in to marriage or a career. The connection with the Christian teaching orders, especially the Jesuits, in the past was part of this tradition, a dominant theme in the Foreign Studies of Shusako Endo, and note the presence of the Jesuits in Hersey's Hiroshima. For many of today's youth, Study Abroad is more of a kind of academic tourism for the mass market, a parallel to the British package tours to Spain in the sixties; a massification of foreign educational opportunities is being marketed in Japan.

Japanese higher education has one of the highest participation rates in the world in figures quoted earlier, though the current sharp decline in the number of 18 - 25 year olds is turning university education in Japan into a buyer's market. (British Council Annual Report 94/95) Japanese universities are vigorously marketing themselves and there is tremendous competition for a shrinking number of students. Yet growing numbers of Japanese are choosing to reject these overtures and enter universities abroad. Commentators have viewed this exodus of Japanese students as "voting with their feet" on the experience of a Japanese university or, in economic terms, a rejection of the home product in favour of the international. (The Economist op cit)

One of the most significant factors in the Japanese market is women's consumer power, which is spilling over into education. In Imamura's book Re-Imaging Japanese Women, (reviewed by Richie in the JTW September 30-October 6 1996), it is said that *"A degree of power is now possible. Some 80% of the Japanese consumer market*

is female - certainly occasion for clout". Previously under represented in Japanese universities the demand from female students is increasing with a record number of women progressing from high school to university and over 10 000 junior college graduates choosing not to enter the work force but transferring to the third year of university. This is an extremely worrying trend for the male dominated Japanese corporations one chief of which is reported to have said, *"Japan has already started on the road to ruin. Unless women awaken and take hold of themselves [they will] be made fools of by these new social trends."* (JTW September 30-October 6 1996) advice ignored by the Japanese study abroad participants who in Britain outnumbered the men in the academic year 1993/4. 1 294 Japanese women are currently enrolled in British higher education compared with 934 men. In further education there are 137 men and 361 women, in total 1 071 men to 1655 women. (Figures issued by the DfEE official statistics based on institutional census data). 69% of Japanese students abroad are female. Only America, with 56%, has close to that number of females participating in Study Abroad.

They are high school graduates, university students, recent graduates and mid-career professionals representing all sections of Japanese society. They have money to spend on their own education, or have parents wealthy enough to continue to support them. They are rejecting the roles traditionally available to them of "OL", "borrowed womb", "radiant housewife" or "Kyoiku mama", and they are a formidable force in the international study market.

x) Conclusion

Chapters 3 and 4 raised certain problems in viewing education as a commodity. It could be said that the consumer in education eventually becomes its end-product. This chapter has indicated that the market value of the product of international education is increasing in the employment market in Japan and in terms of the pay- back to Japanese society, a truth which is slowly being acknowledged.

IV BRITISH UNIVERSITIES : PROMOTION AND PRODUCT

i) The Promotion of British Universities

The first section of this Chapter has dealt with the demand from Japan for higher education in Britain, the following complement to that will examine the supply side.

a) The British Council

Only one organisation exists to promote British Higher Education institutions officially, besides individual university's international offices, and that is the British Council. The Council is not a placement agency and may not promote individual institutions. The impartiality of the Council is seen as a strength by potential clients. (N.B. At the time of writing this may be about to change with a number of Council offices in certain countries signalling a desire to pilot schemes along the lines of placement agencies). It works to promote generically, i.e. over the sector as a whole.

The value to the British economy of ECS Japan is around £60 million per year. Because operating costs in Japan are prohibitively expensive, most institutions are forced to use a third party. For many that would be the Council. However, doing business in Japan is expensive even for a Government agency, therefore it was decided to spread costs over a sub-group of those ECS subscribers who were keen to have Japanese business. The Japan Club consists of 41 institutions which each pay

a subscription of £2 500 in addition to their ECS institutional subscription. "Missions" are organised for, and open only to, members. The result is a single Japan-wide scheme conducting business through offices in Tokyo and Kyoto. The institutional membership fee has funded an additional member of staff in the Tokyo office. That officer's brief was the upgrading of statistical information and market intelligence. British Universities now enjoy a more visible presence in Japan.

The problem of information deficiency and misunderstandings of the British education system is being vigorously tackled with information centres on British education opening up in universities and international centres in all regions of Japan previously thought to represent minority interest. Centres as far apart as Sapporo and Hiroshima are attempting to meet the Japanese students almost insatiable demand for information. The British Council believes these steps have contributed to an increase in the total number of enquiries of sixteen per cent over the previous year suggesting that the steady increase of Japanese students into Britain will be maintained and even increased.

The following statistics as well as data presented above are collated from Council's Market Survey Japan, Annual Report, and Japan Club Report from the relevant years.

TABLE 21

JAPANESE STUDENTS ENQUIRIES TO BRITISH COUNCIL

TOKYO	1991/2	1994/5	KYOTO	1991/2	1994/5
in person	11 596	15 867		1 876	2 255
by telephone	6 981	10 209		1 906	1 852
by letter	1 831	1 942		448	453
TOTAL	20 408	28 018		4230	4560

Source: British Council ECS Reports, 1992, 1996

The chart below documents the most detailed "market information" available to British universities, other than that which they conduct themselves. Briefly, the figures suggest that Japanese students are not as interested in studying Science or Engineering abroad as in Social Sciences and Humanities, which have a certain enhancement taught in English (Literature and Language Studies, International Studies) or else by the Britain university methodology which emphasises student autonomy and student-centredness. Over the years little change is discernible with the preponderance of the market reflecting the pattern throughout Japanese universities, documented in Chapter 5, with the exception of Art and Design which is popular at all levels in Britain yet, in Japan, it is described by the Monbusho as, "others".

TABLE 22 JAPANESE STUDENTS INTEREST BY LEVEL OF STUDY

	Postgraduate	Undergraduate	Bridging	Vocational
1	Development studies	Art & Design	Art & Design	Art & Design
2	International Relations	Psychology	Psychology	Flower Arrangement
3	Economics	Music	International Relations	Hairdressing & Beauty Therapy
4	MBA	International Relations	Business and Management	Secretarial Studies
5	Art & Design	Business management	Sociology	Travel and Tourism
6	TEFL/TESL	English Language and Literature		History of Art
7	Law	Economics		Cookery
8	English Language and Literature	Law		Business Management
9	Linguistics	Architecture		Music
10	Architecture and Business Management	Sociology		Film

Source: British Council ECS Reports, Japan; various years from 1991; Annual Reports various years, latest 1994/5.

b) The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)

A number of government departments have begun to pay more attention to international students, for instance, the DTI's education and training export sub-group, chaired by Baroness Perry has been very active. She personally headed a mission to South America (Argentina) to raise awareness of the strengths of British education.

One initiative targeting Japan is *Priority Japan*, in whose spirit British

universities have been exhorted to, "... *maintain [their] commitment to growth in the market...*", because the Japanese are, " *a formidable competitor and market-place of great sophistication and affluence*". *Priority Japan* provides a range of sector-specific promotional programmes of seminars, reports and missions to assist organisations and companies seeking to expand their activities in Japan.

The *DTI Export Promoter Initiative* was launched by Michael Heseltine to encourage British businesses and help them become more competitive. They hope to add value to DTI services by getting UK businesses and government to work more closely. Through their capacity to conduct market research they are able to identify key market sectors where they believe the British presence could become significant.

British education and British EFL goods and services is clearly seen by the DTI as a commodity to the marketing and promotion of which it is prepared to lend its weight. Professionals and business people have been seconded to the DTI as export promoters from all branches of industry (one of which is higher education) for up to three years. These specialists act as conduits between the practitioners and their prospective clients. Their role is to respond to requests for help and advice and take whatever measures are required to originate new business opportunities. Trips abroad are organised, trade missions

exhibitions and trade fairs. Similarly, inbound missions of foreign businesspeople and other professionals are facilitated. They serve the function too of acting as a bridge between HMG and British producers talking to professionals in the business. It goes without saying that institutions have been encouraged to see Japan as one of the more lucrative markets for higher education in the East Asian region.

c) The British Tourist Authority (BTA)

The BTA has also devised specific initiatives in support of the Priority Japan drive including *Britain Welcomes Japan* promoting hospitality through the tourist and allied industries, of which education is one, providing an information service to Japanese visitors.

According to the BTA, students coming to Britain to study in the private language schools is also increasing, 19,000 in 1991. The Tokyo office of the BTA reports 30,000 to 40,000 students demonstrating once again the problems of data verification and the lack of consensus by the agencies on nomenclature. These figures, realistically, must include very short stays. The significant factor is the presence of young Japanese in Britain who are interested in staying on and forming a pool of prospective clients for British universities.

Outside education, interest in Britain shows in the growth in numbers of Japanese residents in the UK to 45 617 (20 522 of whom in the

Greater London area) compared with a total UK population of 13 400 in 1982.(UK Japan Educational Exchange 1994). Students researchers and teachers, as a group, account for 6 593 according to Japan Information and Cultural Centre, Embassy of Japan, London, (JICC). This testifies to the growing interest in and respect for British culture and traditions of learning. They are the second largest group only slightly smaller than the Private company staff who accounted for 7 426. Japanese visitors to the UK rose from 170 3000 in 1983 to 440 000 in 1991 and British exports to Japan have almost doubled in a decade. Japanese investment in the UK has quadrupled.

d) Non-Governmental Organisations

A number of these exist to stimulate the flow of Japanese students abroad - specifically to Britain including:

1. The Royal Institute of International Affairs working with the Japan Centre for International Exchange. It is thought that this group has done much to widen and deepen the relationship between the two countries since its creation in the mid 80s in response to a period of rapid and fundamental change in world affairs. The new era of the 90s however is seen to be one of uncertainty which notwithstanding

"...provides new challenges and opportunities for the two countries to work together to strengthen the ties that had been built up between them, and to seek areas for greater co-operation." Great hopes are

being cherished for a new relationship between the two countries in the twenty-first century, towards which " *Closer links in higher education will undoubtedly play an important part...*" (RILA 1994 [draft]).

NGOs working to further Anglo/Japanese relationships are involved in a range of endeavours including: Higher Education Exchanges; Co-operation in Science and Technology; Teacher Exchange; The Promotion of British Studies and English Language Teaching in Japan; Youth Exchange and Artistic /Cultural Exchange. An example of the latter is the 1998 British exhibition in Tokyo and the 1994 Japanese exhibition in London (Japan 2000 Project).

2. The CIEE as we have seen, operate programmes for Japanese teachers. They also run programmes directed at the public which involve stays in this country of a minimum of a month, maximum of a year. Hosted by universities and language schools they operate by individual enrolment and account for 30 - 35 students each year though a spokesperson reported that growth is certainly expected. Most of the Japanese coming forward to take part in these courses are young, already enrolled in university or junior college in Japan though some of them are in employment and taking time out to pursue personal development initiatives, enrolling on English Language and Summer School (English plus courses).

A new initiative specifically targeted at young Japanese in employment came on stream in 1995. Known as *KEIKEN*, thirty participants of undergraduate and postgraduate level were involved in work experiences of various kinds. The Director of CIEE, in conversation with the author, asserted that growth in this area is planned and that he is confident the internship will share the success of the other schemes.

ii) Sensitivity to client needs

a) Creating a climate for change

Since the mid-1980s when overseas students last enjoyed a high profile in British higher education affairs, the system which the present students are entering, has undergone a number of changes. Britain is moving from an elite system of low (15%) participation, towards a mass system enrolling almost a third of all school leavers.

International students have been unlikely winners in this change in that, with the sweeping away of the binary divide and with it the old university/polytechnic distinction, has come a need for a more open and democratic system in which 'more' is not a synonym for 'worse' but 'different' and 'varied'. The current climate and culture in British higher education is changing to one in which experimentation and innovation is much more likely to have at least a fair hearing than in the past.

Furthermore, the expansion of home student numbers has again been "consolidated" by the government (by which they mean "frozen"), which suggests that what appeared to be a lull in the expansion of the late eighties/ early nineties is looking rather more permanent.

The Chair of UKCOSA stated in the Annual Report "... *the recruitment of international students, who had tended to be elbowed aside by [the] home student expansion, is becoming a higher priority again in many universities.*".. (Scott in UKCOSA 1994). The buyers' market ambience of the industry is encouraging the producer to devise products which are more accessible, palatable, and consequently more marketable to the growing numbers of potential customers for whose business the competition is becoming cut-throat.

b) Governmental support

The British government is the major sponsor of British HE and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Further and Higher Education (in UKCOSA 1994) was keen to voice HMGs interest in international student recruitment to UKCOSA. In doing so, he too slipped into the business and marketing register.

"...international students returning home satisfied with their British educational experience are the best "ambassadors" for our institutions. Equally, a dissatisfied "customer" can do immeasurable harm, and reputations - once lost - are extremely hard to win back."

He went on to point out the sterling efforts made by HMG on behalf of international students. Given the amount of revenue which it has been demonstrated international students bring into the country, there is a touch of bathos in the report.

"In the past year even greater attention has been paid to international students by the Government..... . Only last month, all four education departments.... launched a new booklet aimed at encouraging even more prospective students to take advantage of the study opportunities available here." [emphasis added]

iii) Product Diversification

a) English language programmes

"The British English Language Teaching industry", as the EL Gazette reported in July 1996, "is adapting to the demands of its market. ...Not only are there more course providers and more agents ... than ever before, but other[s] ... are waking up to the importance of making the language student's stay as complete as possible".

(The reference is to the BTA and other agencies who also see business opportunities in international student concerns.)

The largest growth in course providers has been in the higher education sector. In Britain EFL has (formerly) largely been the province of the ARELS private language school system and some further education

colleges but, since the boom in international student recruitment, the universities have seen English Language provision as an incentive.

In the past, the welfare lobby linked English language provision with student support; later it became associated with the retention of international students. That is, the fear of failure and drop out (and consequent loss of income to the institutions which had spent sums of money in marketing and recruitment), stimulated universities to provide English Language Units to offer "remedial" language provision pre-course and on-course. These units were seen not as income generating, more a protection of previous investment.

Latterly, following a pattern well-established in the United States, British universities have moved into the development of EFL programmes within the university. Some follow the model of the IEPs in US institutions, others are credit-rated and students can study modules in English language as part of their degree provision. The IEPs are an accessible and non-threatening form of international education which provide an ideal "jumping-off point" for international students in general and are proving immensely popular with Japanese students.

Especially in the larger universities, or universities with a well-established programme, students can enter without having to declare in

too definite a form their long-term objectives. Initially, a desire to improve their competence in English Language is sufficient. As they become acculturated and grow intellectually and in confidence, they can apply to join the "regular" academic programmes either remaining in the same university or applying to an English medium university elsewhere. The danger of failure is not present since if students should not succeed in obtaining a degree place they can go back home having studied and presumably made good progress in English. Skilful and sensitive academic advisers and counsellors help students articulate realistic and realisable academic and career objectives.

The availability of English Language Units/Centres all over the country is acting as a magnet for Japanese students.

b) Customised courses

Often the English Language units, though not exclusively so, are the base from which universities have developed customised courses for international students who aspire to enter degree courses in Britain. Open to any non-native speaker of English whose secondary school exit qualification is not equivalent to "A" level, they are proving so popular with Japanese students, universities have been offering foundation courses exclusively for Japanese. (see below)

Rarely can Japanese students straight from high school cope with the

academic robustness and degree of specialism of a British university course. A foundation year is normally an essential requirement yet many Japanese have not reached a level of proficiency in English which allows them to benefit from a bridging or access course. The bigger the programme offered, the more chance there will be to operate at different degrees of proficiency in language so that the Japanese student will be able to flourish in the ideal environment. These preparatory courses have done much to make a British university an obtainable goal for Japanese international students, many of whom have achieved some spectacular results.

An analysis of course data from published documentation reveals customised or preparatory provision as follows. There is a proliferation of foundation (access, bridging) courses in the FE colleges who have a fine tradition of qualifying courses for higher education. The difference now is that some of these courses are being adapted for international students (though some are delivered as originally intended, i.e. for British access students) and seen as sources of much needed revenue. Previously they were predicated solely on altruistic precepts of opening up opportunities for non-standard entrants. Although this provision is being used to lead directly into certain university degree programmes through negotiation with institutions, this particular aspect of curriculum modification will not be considered here. Rather, the focus is on developments in the HE sector in order to address the

research questions. FE/HE partnership arrangements for international students would be a logical extension of this research.

When the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 abolished the division between universities and the polytechnics, amongst other effects, the former PCFC sector institutions believed the move had "levelled the playing field" in terms of international student recruitment. It is generally believed that the "old" universities, i.e. former UCFC institutions have vigorously defended the status quo of higher education provision and have resisted the temptation to make special arrangements for international students whereas the "new" universities, the former polys, have not experienced such qualms. Under the HEFCE arrangements there are 35 universities described as new and 47 described as old, if the London university institutions are counted separately. Innovations in higher education produced for the benefits of international students are listed below and classified according to curriculum design as follows:

TABLE 23

OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS:

ACCESS TO BRITISH HE 1994

I Regular Access course (not specifically for international students)

Old Universities (1)

New Universities (3)

normally subject specific e.g Accounting/Finance

II Named qualification (e.g. International Diploma...)

Old Universities (6)

New Universities (3)

(2) *general*

all general

(4) *subject specific*

III Foundation Year (i.e. no separate qualification awarded)

Old Universities (18)

New Universites (8)

9 subject specific, 9 general

6 subject specific, 2 general

There are a total of 25 different forms of special arrangements for international students in the so-called old universities and 14 special courses in the former polytechnics. The criticism generally held and often expressed that the new universities are prepared to change the rules of the game to accommodate the profit margin seem to be unfounded.

c) Post-graduate provision

The latest funding procedures in British higher education reward financially departments with a good research record, including in the numbers of graduate students being trained and educated. This is now seen as another area of expansion to be pursued. Although there has been no capping of post-graduate numbers, the freeze on numbers of home undergraduate students will have a knock on effect on graduate courses. Once again institutions are looking to the countries of the east, where the tertiary institutions are lacking in facilities and personnel to offer a range of graduate courses to meet the needs of modernising countries, for students. University Marketing departments propagate the notion that Thailand, for example, is a post-graduate market despite the fact that students, even English majors are barely at the level of Cambridge PET. The English Language units have seen the discrepancy between the clients desire and his or her ability to benefit from the provision. Thus a new product, that of post-graduate preparation or foundation is the latest initiative to appear in the prospectuses and

marketing brochures.

A survey of university documents reveals the following position:

TABLE 24

PREPARATION COURSES FOR POST-GRADUATE STUDY IN UK

I English only prep course

Old Universities (4)

New Universities (2)

II Qualifying Diploma/Cert

Old Universities (8)

New Universities (1)

III Bridging course (contains supplementary subject specific)

Old Universities (9)

New Universities (2)

IV Pre MBA

Old Universities (4)

New Universities (0)

All courses tend to last one year except for 4 (in old universities) which have a flexible period of study i.e. three, six, nine or twelve months according to need, and one old university which advertises that it makes "ad hoc" arrangements.

As for qualifications, on the whole the old universities tend not to offer any named award for their international student preparatory or access

courses, despite the fact that the full academic overseas fees is charged. Three of the new universities make special "tailored" provision which does not lead to a named award. More initiatives occur outside the former polytechnic sector than in the new universities.

c) Study (Junior year) abroad

Data presented in Chapter 5 show that a foreign degree is still eschewed by the vast majority of Japanese youth, Study Abroad being a minority interest despite aggressive marketing of overseas institutions. Many students in their home country's universities however, are being encouraged by their professors to take courses abroad purely for enrichment or to do research. An increasingly popular scenario is a year abroad doing IEP together with academic study. This is becoming a typical pattern in British universities, and institutions are modifying regular course provision to meet this demand.

The concept of a "year out" in a foreign university is less of a high risk strategy for Japanese students. It offers the opportunity of foreign study and language improvement without coming out of the Japanese system entirely. For the receiving institutions, provided they can ensure a regular supply of students through contracting or other arrangements with Japanese universities, JYA is a profitable venture involving only marginal costs and the possibilities of achieving other economies of scale.

Throughout the HE sector universities are welcoming "visiting" or "occasional" students. Since the students are registered at their own university in Japan they are not working towards an award therefore are no threat to "standards", nor are they likely to contribute to a raising of the failure or dropout rate, except to make local differences on specific courses or modules.

Attempting to map curriculum provision in HE is not the easiest of tasks since many institutions are attempting radical and rapid developments. Courses are dropped, extended or modified beyond recognition, re-named, modularised and semesterised, so monitoring this constantly changing field is a challenge. Difficulties exist too in that published materials produced by some institutions are far from detailed. There can be a gap between, on the one hand, what exists in reality and what appears in print, and on the other, what optimistically appears in print (Course x Subject to Validation) and the reality, thus leading to confusion.

That said, the promotional literature of **58** British universities publicise a total of **115** Junior Year Abroad formal arrangements of various kinds:

. JYA is an American concept so it is no surprise to find that the majority of agreements to accept students for one year are with America, that is, **43** in total.

. A number of universities simply promote JYA programmes open to students from any country provided they are appropriately qualified, a total of **16**.

. Predictably, because of the year abroad requirement of modern language courses one would expect a degree of mobility around the EC. **12** universities publicise a year's visiting student status for students from the EC.

. Of the other English medium countries Canada is targeted by **10** universities, Australia by **2**

. Beyond the Anglophone and EC countries JYA students are much less frequent. **5** universities took JYA students from Scandinavia (Sweden and Finland were mentioned), **1** from Switzerland, and from the East Asia region Korea appeared **3** times, Taiwan **3** and China **1**.

. Universities actively promoting JYA occasional or visiting students from Japan **19**.

d) Foundation courses for Japanese students

The really serious challenges facing British would-be educators of large numbers of Japanese cannot be resolved by enhancing the marketing and promotion of courses because they are fundamentally educational. For instance, there are grave chances of mis-match in a Japanese student's transfer to a British university, which both sides of the equation ignore at their peril. Japanese students' difficulties with English are legendary but that is only the beginning. It is universally

accepted that the Japanese exit qualification on completion of high school is not "A" level equivalent and there is a degree of supplementary learning which has to take place in order for Japanese students to benefit from the undergraduate programmes in UK.

More than this is the attitudinal shift necessary. The Japanese education system was surveyed at some length earlier to present a portrayal of the background from which these clients were coming, their experiences of education at secondary and tertiary level and the effects they would have on the students expectations. It comes as no surprise therefore that Japanese students entering British institutions, notwithstanding the arduous preparation for university they have experienced in Japanese high schools, are nevertheless unprepared for the pattern of learning and teaching in a British institution. Salacious stories have crossed the Atlantic of Japanese students who seem to want to play not work, who do not put in "seat time" and who seriously under-estimate the amount of work needed in order to succeed and this is not untypical of behaviours exhibited in the UK institutions.

As this chapter has demonstrated, enterprising British universities have devised a number of solutions in order to accommodate international students. Curriculum initiatives cover a range of measures to address language proficiency issues, inequality of high school leaving certificates, general educational background, students motivation and

expectations of higher education. A number of institutions, fearing that Japanese students need a cultural wrap around, have designed foundation courses specifically for them.

iii) Conclusion

This study has highlighted the place of international student recruitment in the strategic planning of British universities, by focusing on the drive to increase participation of students from Japan. This Chapter has looked firstly at the motivation and behaviour of the student consumers and at the forces in Japan driving them abroad. Secondly it identified the special arrangements in curriculum provision and other academic areas which British universities have been prepared to make to encourage the in-bound flow.

The next chapter will illuminate and particularise these findings in the context of a closely textured case study.

CHAPTER NINE

THE WEXFORD CASE STUDY

I *THE HIDDEN COSTS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT RECRUITMENT*

A recent report on behalf of the CVCP on the economic impact of international students on UK HE noted:

" There are in all likelihood few clearly identifiable non-economic costs associated with the presence of international students in UK HEIs. By their very nature these are impossible to quantify. They can however be identified and evaluated qualitatively." (Greenaway and Tuck 1995)

They go on to say:

"There are no obvious non-economic costs from international students. That is not to say there will never be. if institutional efforts to recruit international students led to a decline in entry standards... if inappropriate quality control procedures were adopted ... if in their zeal to recruit HEIs were to admit them in such numbers that the fundamental character of programmes were altered, this too could impose costs.

This thesis has striven to make the case that there are indeed costs which the report does not consider though its authors have the perspicacity to warn that,

" These issues have not been systematically addressed. Consequently there is no hard evidence ... They should not however, be ignored. ... In their anxiety to deal with short-run funding problems, institutions could damage their longer

term prospects".

The Case Study which follows contributes empirical data on the costs to institutions resulting from an in-flow of international students in closed groups, devised, negotiated and administered by the supplier: these include the damage inflicted on students and staff when commercial considerations outweigh the educational.

By the academic year 1990/91, the drive to form international links, become involved in international commercial enterprise, acquire international contracts and interact with professional agents instead of with individual students as formerly, had become part of the landscape of higher education. Ten years after the implementation of full-cost fees, international student recruitment was part of the way of life in British higher education. The dire prophecies of 1980 had not come to pass and the *decade* was being hailed as a great success story in education. This was the mood of British higher education in 1990; this was the ambience in which the Wexford Polytechnic was operating.

The Japanese students project on which the case study is based offered an opportunity to conduct a detailed examination of a series of events. It provided a unique source of data in the context of a unique set of circumstances which lent itself to exploration and analysis. It supplied an opportunity also to record policy issues from their inception and from an unassailable position on the inside to observe their consequences and ramifications. This case study is therefore seen as an exemplar of entrepreneurial international activity in the arena of Higher Education.

The case study helps to provide answers to the research questions as follows: Q1, the consumer behaviour of the Japanese students in the UK; Q2, how their demands have influenced the higher education product; Q3, the quality of these product modifications and the ethics involved in their promotion and delivery; Q4, concerning student and staff satisfaction. As far as possible proper nouns have been fictionalised to demonstrate that it is principles, procedures and policies that are seen to be significant, not places.

II A PROFILE OF THE CASE STUDY INSTITUTION

i) History

Wexford University originates from a School of Art, founded in 1865. It became a City Technical School in 1891, a College of Technology in 1963, and Wexford Polytechnic in 1970. A College of Education amalgamated with the polytechnic in 1976 to form the School of Education. *Changes in funding arrangements were initiated* in 1988 in response to the new designation and release from Local Education Authority control. After incorporation, a surge of funds strengthened its position financially. The polytechnic was one of the first institutions in the country to be empowered to award its own degrees indicating the degree of confidence in which the institution was held. In 1990 the Labour party called for the abolition of the binary divide which the White Paper of 1991 recommended, along with the demise of the CNAA. In 1992 the Privy Council approved new university titles for the polytechnics marking the disappearance of the binary division in higher education and Wexford Polytechnic became Wexford University.

In 1990 the polytechnic comprised two campuses, Hartford close to the city centre and Woodleigh, eight miles away in green fields on the former College site, housing the Schools of Business and Education. Other Schools, most of the Administration, Student Union and Student Services, were located at Hartford.

At that time there were 16 schools grouped for quality assurance purposes into five faculties. The Japanese students programme was located in a prefabricated building at Woodleigh though its administrative and financial base was with the rest of the School of Languages on the Hartford campus.

The majority of undergraduate students at Wexford follow programmes of study within a modular degree course. The course allows students to make guided choices from over 1 500 modules in more than 90 subjects leading to over 1 000 named degrees.

ii) Funding and Income

In common with most of the former polytechnics, Wexford derives the largest proportion of its income from the block grant which in 1994/5 was £24.251 million, and academic fees, accounting for £17 million. Research represents a small proportion of total income at £1.5 million. The proportions of funding from the different sources are as one would expect from an institution of this type, i.e. fees 32.3%, HEFCE grant 31.8% income from research grants and contracts 2.9%. A significant amount is raised from "Other sources" which in 1994/5 was about £20 million. Total income was about £66.8million.

The composition of the student body in 1994/5 was as follows: undergraduates 79.0%, taught post-graduate 17.0%, pure research post-graduate 3.0%. Overseas students (so defined for fees purposes), that is from outside the European Union, comprise 9% of the total, that is, 13 567 students in all. (Annual Report and Accounts 1994/5).

iii) Mission Statement and Strategic Plan

In the Mission statement of Wexford, as quoted in HEFCE documents, "internationalism " as such is not specified. When this study began there was no documented articulation of an intention to internationalise. During the period of the research, strategic plans began to incorporate references to the promotion of internationalism and, emerging over time, the conviction that increasing international student numbers was key to the future financial health of the institution.

The main thrust of the mission ethos identifies "diversity" as a characteristic of the university to be sponsored and promoted and the mission claims to focus on four key areas in this regard: student centredness, an emphasis on quality, the fostering of innovation and a commitment to serving the community.

iv) International Student Recruitment

In the early days of international consciousness in the institution, strategies for developing international initiatives had not been devised. When the polytechnic became interested in actively recruiting abroad to supplement its central funding, an International Student Adviser was appointed on a half time post in anticipation of a growth in numbers resulting from the extensive travels of the then Deputy Director for Academic Affairs. On that postholder's retirement his portfolio, including the interest in international affairs, was combined with that of one of the other Deputy Directors. The "Directorate" or Central Management Team, (CMT), consisted of the Director and three Deputy Directors supported by a Finance Officer.

In 1990 there was no International Office to support and direct developments and co-ordinate operations. No budget had been decided and international travel was undertaken by a Senior Admissions Tutor on secondment from an academic department, reporting to the Deputy Director. Guided by practice in institutions with a longer history of involvement in international recruitment, visits to countries already well established as sending countries were undertaken, local agents were engaged, and a presence at the large recruitment fairs organised by the British Council was instituted and maintained. There were no plans to be especially pro-active in the Japanese, or indeed any other market.

v) Established Procedures and Practices

In the spring of 1990 Wexford Polytechnic CMT was approached by two representatives (one Japanese and one English) of an organisation which they

described as an educational foundation, known in this text as the Japanese International Student Foundation (JIEF) with a proposal for a partnership arrangement. These men will be referred to as A-san (following the Japanese custom) and Mr B, to avoid confusion. At the time of the approach there was no named person in the institution to negotiate contracts. In the absence of a worked through set of procedures the CMT had to operate from first principles. The contracting arrangements were treated as an administrative affair without input from academic staff. The course details and other academic matters were to be picked up in time by the Head of the appropriate School in which the programme was to be based. The Deputy Director of Academic Affairs volunteered to take on a co-ordinating role in the absence of a designated individual to oversee the design and implementation of the whole scheme. A loosely associated group of people worked very hard, though in fairly discrete areas without guidelines, operations manuals or quality assurance documentation (see HEQC 1995 on off-shore collaborative arrangements for instance). There was little experience of contracting other than in certain academic schools with expertise in a different type of external operation, for instance, in the Schools of Business, Engineering, and Biological and Molecular Sciences.

No official policy on international affairs was documented neither was there a marketing strategy or business plan for this particular project. When the overture by JIEF was made the institution was in a position merely to react.

i) The Proposal Stage

The events to be related were reported to the writer in interviews with the senior staff involved and partly observed in the course of her professional duties in her role as an International Student counsellor.

The proposal was that the polytechnic would design and deliver a two-year programme of English and European Cultural Studies for Japanese high school graduates. It was to be validated and accredited by the institution and would be closed to candidates other than those directly selected and recruited by JIEF. The programme would begin in April in concert with the Japanese academic year. Applicants to the course would be recruited in Japan by JIEF who would charge the selected students a fee which would include tuition, accommodation and sundry other expenses which were unspecified. JIEF would then pay WP an agreed amount per student. The polytechnic was to provide accommodation, course manager, teachers, textbooks, welcome programme, opening ceremony and office accommodation for the bi-lingual counsellor which JIEF at their own expense were to provide.

The explanations given for the financial arrangements were that Japanese parents would prefer to pay in yen for all the expenses which their children were likely to incur during their education abroad and would be able to prepare for their financial commitments in advance. The rationale behind these arrangements was further explained in that the JIEF sought to supply to parents an all-inclusive service from

recruitment and selection to delivering the young people safely to the door of the foreign institution.

This was said to be necessary because Japanese people, it was explained, are very anxious about doing business with foreigners and it was essential to provide a Japanese cultural informant. The care of the Japanese students was to extend throughout their period of education abroad. To support this intention a bi-lingual counsellor reporting to JIEF would deal with day to day problems .

The JIEF promised that the figure of no less than 50 students per year could be expected and negotiated a discounted tuition fee, despite which, given the economies of scale, a better than reasonable profit was to be expected. The contract produced at the end of this process did not provide any safeguards in the event of failure to reach the target number.

The polytechnic was typical of many institutions at that time in needing to stimulate income to reduce reliance on Government funding, and was enthusiastic about the proposition. Certain anxieties were expressed at the level of pastoral care that was deemed to be necessary for Japanese students, and at the putative difficulties experienced by them in terms of cultural adjustments. A-san, the Head of the Foundation, assured the polytechnic management that the fee income would allow sufficient resources to be allocated and that JIEF's counsellor would be able to deal with any difficult situations.

A decision was made to go ahead and the project was given a certain amount of priority. A Course Manager was to be recruited eventually, but meanwhile the Head of Modern Languages became a more central figure. A Course Planning Committee (CPC) was set up consisting of the Head of Languages, the Head of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), the former mentioned Admissions Tutor for international students whose role had been re-defined as Head of International Relations, the Head of Continuing Education who was thought to have expertise in access courses, and a Modern Languages tutor.

The validation document for the course, named the Diploma in Foundation Studies, is in the public domain and available for consultation but all other details relating to the development of the plans were given orally by A-san and Mr B to the Deputy Director and the Head of International Relations. Initial meetings of these four were conducted in an informal manner outside the official polytechnic committee structure. Since there was no convened meeting, there were no minutes. The proposal was not presented in writing to the polytechnic therefore no position paper was offered in response for perusal by any committee in the institution. Documentation available consists, as far as one can see, of memoranda circulated by the Deputy Director Corporate Planning and Marketing to the Finance Director then to the Head of Modern Languages to hand over the project, and appears to be strictly on a need to know basis. The first official piece of paper was a contract.

A survey of files held by the various participants in the project at the initiation stage reveals no documentation whatever instigated by JIEF, everything within the

polytechnic was in the form of internal memos relaying JIEF's oral communication to institutional members.

ii) The Negotiation Stage

The JIEF was introduced to the polytechnic by an American described as a Professor who was involved in a Study Abroad organisation based in Washington DC and who was associated with one of the Wexford Colleges. His role seemed to be purely an initial contact and did not function as a mediator of any kind. He was not personally known to the polytechnic and since there was no International Office no one had responsibility for screening potential international links.

Open debate on the mechanics of the delivery of the project and/ or philosophical discussion of the implications of embarking on such a venture, was not possible in the climate that then existed and the available committee structure. The International Student Steering Group was the only forum for discussion of international affairs the members of which were not very senior and had no decision making powers or voting rights. The initial participants in the project operated on the basis of trust.

A body of specialist expertise on the culture and society of Japan existed in the polytechnic in the department of Social Science, had management thought to access it. The connection between the different facets of international student affairs was not then well understood and this would transpire to contribute to a series of inter-cultural difficulties later.

The institution had no knowledge of the background or experience of the organisation who had approached them. First impressions tended to suggest that the JIEF had not been in the international education business long, which caused some disquiet in the polytechnic. A relationship existed between JIEF and a distinguished Scottish university, also with a well-known College of Higher Education. JIEF's objective was to offer Japanese students a choice of three different programmes in three different types of institution. The polytechnic's Deputy Director continued to express concern about the unknown pedigree of the prospective partners. She appealed for guidance to the British Council who had never heard of JIEF but since they were new in the business it was possible the Council had yet to come across them. She also tried to arrive at an understanding of the financial position of the Foundation but was unable to obtain a banker's reference since the negotiators were unforthcoming about where their capital was deposited. JIEF did not volunteer any information about their financial or administrative capacity to deliver the project and the polytechnic did not push. A further indication that they were not (yet) well-established was the lack of business premises and the fact that they were operating from Mr B's residence at the parental home.

Initially, the motives of A-san and Mr.B were not well understood within the polytechnic. JIEF described themselves as a non-profit making charity. With the wisdom of hindsight it is to be regretted that intelligence was not gathered as to the feasibility of the operation. Had colleagues in the Social Anthropology Unit been consulted one might have learned that in Japan, it is a common practice to investigate one's unknown business partners and it is expected. The relatives of a woman to

whom marriage has been proposed would not shrink from hiring a private detective to investigate the background of the man who wished to become part of their family.

IV IMPLEMENTATION

i) The Role of the Participant Observer

By January 1991 the researcher had been appointed to set up and run the customised course. Personal observation began at this point. She had not been involved in the initial meetings with JIEF, the negotiations surrounding the contract, or the design of the course. As mentioned earlier, all information on events prior to the start of the course is based on documentary evidence of meetings, memos and other correspondence and oral evidence given in structured interviews with key personnel.

ii) The Japanese Study Abroad Promoter

The JIEF is an example of what Altbach (1991) recognises as the business operators of the "*foreign student infrastructure*", the private entrepreneurial recruiters who, Altbach suspects, create a built-in pressure to maintain and even expand international student numbers. It may be that such activities provide a significant force behind the decision of many Japanese students to go abroad. Push and pull factors directing the Japanese international student flow will be explored and analysed with the help of this case study.

The mid-eighties study abroad boom in Japan resulted in demand for more and more destinations some of which were untried by many Japanese. This opened up a

particularly lucrative market niche which potentially allows for business opportunism and maximisation of the profit margin of two sets of clients. On the one hand British universities eager to respond to offers of mass Japanese shipments, and on the other, students and their parents or benefactors. Although the motivation of these professional recruiters is naturally financial, (they are commercial organisations after all), increasingly it is cloaked in pseudo-missionary exhortations and phrases such as those below:

"Foreign students are uniquely positioned to develop a set of global, humanist values",

"The (environmental) solution must be a global 'give and take' all the way",

"We really hope our students will come back with a global outlook...",

"We are the world.....We are the students"

"When you start talking about the real meaning of an international education, you must address the problem of values".

(Source: Japanese private educational consultants' brochures)

JIEF's promotional materials had two thrusts well-tried and successful in Japan.

a) Brand name

Japanese consumers, (White 1991) are invariably seduced by what they perceive to be the classy designer labels of British (and other European) producers, Burberry, Max Mara, Gucci and so forth. So JIEF made much of the name of Wexford, teaming the

promotion with that of St. Dunstan admired throughout Japan for its golf, and elegant, middle-class Middlechester.

b) The Aristocracy

Despite the Emperor of Japan's image being low-key compared to former times, the Japanese public are fascinated by royalty, titles and the nobility. The Japan Times frequently runs articles on the topic. The JIEF brochure was endorsed by the most popular novelist in Japan, Lord Jeffrey Archer who was, allegedly, personally thrilled by the work of JIEF, and the Chair of the trustees who was another Conservative party luminary (said to be the godfather of Mr B), head of a prestigious private institution of education. An entire page was given over in the brochure to Jeffrey Archer.

13 August 1990

The Japanese International Education Foundation (U.K.)

I am delighted to hear of the developments being made by the JIEF (U.K.) - promoting educational courses for Japanese in Britain. As our links with our Japanese friends and colleagues grow stronger year by year, it is very important to ensure a greater understanding of European culture and tradition is available to Japanese students. The new programmes for the first year will undoubtedly encourage early recruitment for the very comprehensive courses.

My very best wishes to all the students.

The sentiments would not have been as important to Japanese readers as the magic of the name of this most popular novelist in Japan who enjoys the reputation of a great figure in the world of English Literature.

The promotional materials were produced by JIEF, at their insistence, in Japanese in order to appeal to parents. A-san explained that although the students themselves would (hopefully) be capable of understanding English, the real clients, the important people who would be paying, might not. By agreeing to this strategy the institution unwittingly relinquished control over advertising, recruitment and promotional activities which were conducted in a foreign language in a foreign country by untrained and untried mediators.

Although the contract asked for certain assurances to be made and required everything to be translated into English with prior agreement, this never happened. Reasons of time constraints and other justifications were given by A-san, in his periodic meetings with the Course Manager and other colleagues, offering approximate translations after the event but the polytechnic staff did not follow through, unaware of the serious problems of student mis-understandings this could lead to.

This departure from official institutional practice concerning external communications occurred by default rather than design. The issue of separate promotional materials for overseas use had not become policy in this, or other institutions, at that point.

iii) Recruitment and Selection

The arrangements were that JIEF would conduct an initial screening of applicants from whom the polytechnic representative would select suitable candidates on the basis of written and aural exam and interview. The Director of International Relations requested that the writer, [still in post as International Student Adviser] as a qualified English Language specialist, assist him, providing an opportunity to observe the international student infrastructure at work. The exam was devised by JIEF and conducted in Tokyo at the premises of an organisation which shall be known in this text as Hanajuku, and facilitated by some of their junior staff. There was no evidence of a JIEF office and the relationship between the two organisations was not explained. Other than that it ran a *juku* where students went after school and at weekends to engage in supplementary study, the polytechnic staff knew nothing of the business of Hanajuku. The selection process was conducted scrupulously until the final assessment meeting when the pressure was firmly applied by the Japanese staff. The following is taken from the researcher's notes of the selection meeting with JIEF and staff of Hanajuku, in October 1990.

She is the daughter of our benefactor, he would be very disappointed if

He is a special case - he has the recommendation of his principal please consider him.....

He has failed to get into Japanese university many times - you can give him a last chance....

You are like the social worker, you can deal with her.....

The pledged fifty students seemed impossible to recruit since far from selecting only

the best students for the course, the polytechnic staff were searching to find any who might be able to cope. The Director of International Relations wrote to the School of Languages:

Kyoto Japan,

October 30 1990

The examinations and interviews have now taken place and I am pleased to report that I am offering places to 11 male and 7 female students. They do not meet the suggested specification (90% female) and have a greater diversity of background and skills than we expected. The girls are generally close to the original specification. Possibly in future years they will make up the majority. So with 18 offers (and JIEF expect a 90% take-up) we are now running the Japanese course. We are looking at another trawl next year (early) to try to get closer to the target.

In fact, JIEFs predictions were inaccurate, as only 10 students accepted places and in February, just weeks before the course was to open, the second "trawl" took place as planned. Two more candidates (students from Hanajuku) were accepted. They were very keen to study in the UK with British and other international students. One had applied directly to the polytechnic for the International Access Course (IAC), had been refused a place and had reluctantly agreed to be considered for the DFS. (see student testimony later). The promised 50 students, on which all the costing had been based, had been converted to 12.

iv) The Student Profile

TABLE 25

STUDENT PROFILES

<i>Student</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Age</i>
1 (f)	High School Graduate	18
2 (f)	High School Graduate	18
3 (f)	High School Graduate	18
4 (f)	High School Graduate	18
5 (m)	High School Graduate	18
6 (f)	High School Graduate	18 *
7 (m)	High School Graduate	18 *
8 (f)	Junior College student	19
9 (m)	University student	22
10 (m)	Ronin	21
11 (m)	Ronin	22
12 (m)	High School Teacher	60

*** = second recruitment**

The course was expected to have wide appeal to high school graduates as an alternative to a degree programme, but the results of the first selection indicate how far below the target figure the recruitment effort fell. Of the twelve students accepted (of the promised 50) only 7 matched the stated profile of the DFS student. Student 8 was a continuing junior college student doing a year abroad and ought to have been working for transferable credit. No documents were provided in respect of her status and the student's ability in English prevented her from explaining her situation to tutors. Student 9 was in a similar position and had no intention of following the prescribed course having set his own personal agenda.

The *ronin* at age 21 and 22 had spent the last three and four years respectively trying

unsuccessfully to obtain places in Japanese universities. The 60 year old had retired from teaching and was taking time out at Monbusho's expense, to experience British higher education. It transpired very early in the course that he had not realised that Wexford Polytechnic was an entirely different institution from the ancient University of Wexford thinking it was at least a satellite of that distinguished institution and that he would be able to "transfer" without much difficulty. He arranged to have an interview with the polytechnic's Director of International Relations who judged that he met the requirements for a degree course and offered him a place for September on the modular degree. In fact this student did not meet the institution's English Language requirement but moved anyway.

v) Student Living Arrangements

The view was put forward earlier that allowing the promotion of the course to be handled by the *Japanese intermediaries was to lead to student discontent later*. When the internal professionals relinquish control to the external partner this can have deleterious effects on the project as the following example shows. JIEF dictated arrangements for student residence and catering to tie in with their commercial objectives of providing an all-inclusive "package deal" for Japanese parents. The arrangements they required were unlike those of all other students and militated against the Japanese students integration with the rest of the student body. It was said that terms governing living and eating had to be based on "Japan side's" superior understanding of Japanese students' needs.

The group was to be housed as close to their classrooms as possible; meals were to

be provided in Hall, even at the weekend. They were to be near one another for mutual support but they were not to be in adjoining rooms in case they spoke Japanese. They should be taught together so that their specific learning problems could be remediated.

Usually students in catered Halls tend not to buy full lunches - preferring to snack during the day at the pub or student bar, or eat "as they go" . Similarly at weekends, students traditionally make their own arrangements, many taking the opportunity to travel. Paying in advance for meals in Hall ties students to the campus or wastes their money. The catering and living arrangements for this group were costed on the basis of a group of 50 as the contract stated but the reality was that the Hall Manager had to provide as a minimum a chef, a dining room attendant and a cashier, on time and a half or double time, for twelve students, most of whom eventually didn't bother turning up. This was a constant source of frustration to the Catering department not least because of the financial deficit. This issue counterpoints the view expressed in Chapter 3 where it was said that good practice is good business (Kennedy in Smith 1988). It seemed that bad educational practice was also bad business .

vi) Responsibility of the Agent

In the following section, quotations in italics are verbatim from student interviews. The language has not been institutionalised so the students own voices can be clearly heard. It is exceedingly difficult to succeed in getting Japanese students to speak openly and frankly. It is an indication of how intensely they feel about the issues under discussion that they express themselves so vividly. This candour did not come

easily since the roles of teacher and confidante are potentially conflicting and control issues are hazardous to the building up of trust.

Agents are the first people we have contact with, its like a bridge - they give us information and an impression. When we receive that message we create an image by ourselves but when we come to UK our expectations turn out to be not realistic. They do influence us by giving wrong or not correct they influence the educators too - then they tell us certain things are guaranteed.

The discussion of Japanese private education in Chapter 5 encompassed supplementary education, the *juku* and *yobiko*, often family businesses developing from generation to generation, an example of which is the Hanajuku above. Though traditionally exam "crammers", due to the rising interest in Study Abroad and the strengthening yen, many of the big *jukus* have developed an international arm. A quasi-counselling meta-language in the promotional materials of these organisations communicates and attempts to foster a relationship of dependency between students and staff. Part of the expression of this is the desire to work very closely with the students, to accompany them abroad and to set up offices as near to them as possible. Many young Japanese eschew the idea of living in flats, preferring to remain in the parental home until marriage, (in former times even after marriage). Merry White (1993) explains this as a sign that they are less mature and independent than their European or American counterparts and that they are also less sexually active than Americans . A more likely explanation is that apartment rents are so high in Japan that the parental home is the

only option for many young people. Notwithstanding the enduring stereotypes, trusting and innocent young men and women, do provide ideal business opportunities for agents who can make money by exploiting the fears most Japanese have of the *gaijin*. The financial gains possible if their educational venture were a success, preoccupied the JIEF, " *We can make a money.....* " .(sic)

In Japan the education industry is like any other business in the sense that businessmen must earn their profits and the Japanese consumer as we have seen is sophisticated and demanding. According to John Clammer, Professor of Social and Economic Anthropology of Japan, in consultation with the author, the Japanese demand very high quality for services, and education is a service. Parents are resigned to paying a high price for their children's education. They willingly pay but they want value in return. Even the entrance exams for state universities are very expensive.

The Japanese refer to *oyabun/kobun* relationships that exists between young Japanese and elders who are in positions of responsibility towards them and who act as providers. It is said, (Doi 1981) to be a deeply satisfying relationship which is sought by many Japanese. *Sempai/kohai* is similar and is found exclusively in a school setting. This need in one person to rely or be dependent on another is known as *amae* and is characteristic of many young Japanese. (Please see student testimony). The role of agent can be seen as *oyabun* to the students *kobun* but in order to *amaeru* with someone the *kobun* role actor needs to be able to trust, and the *oyabun* role actor must have some special ability or knowledge in order to be the guide in the relationship. Observation of the manner in which A-san conducted his association with the students

suggested that he had a powerful need for them to *amaeru* but was unable to provide for the students the protection and guidance they sought as sojourners in a foreign land though he encouraged the feelings of dependency in the young people.

Even more than financial gain A-san actively sought the prestige associated with British higher education. He eschewed the term "agent" and "Educational Consultant" which is used by many middle-men in East Asia. A middle-man in Japan has ill-defined status without formal position in the hierarchy. The craving for kudos and status is aptly illustrated by A-san's behaviour at the Opening Ceremonies recounted below.

vii) The Student/Agent Relationship

Opening and closing ceremonies are commonplace in Japanese institutions but rarely if ever in Britain, so the polytechnic had to devise a suitable liturgy. An occasion resembling a mini-convocation was staged with academic staff invited to don academic robes and process into the hall. A-san arrived wearing what was recognised as an Oxford gown and, without receiving directions from the Master of Ceremonies, solemnly took his place at the very head of the procession next to the Vice-Chancellor. It is not the custom in Britain for those other than official members of the university (apart from the graduands) to wear academic robes. A-san's donning of academic dress was a symbolic action designed to associate himself with the university community and demonstrate to "his" students that he had equal rank with the most senior member of the university staff. Mr B. (equally qualified to dress in this way presumably) did not wear a gown and did not process, symbolising the

distance and difference in stature between the two men. The Japanese students educated in a high-context culture would have understood this message.

The carefully created dignified academic image, (initiated in Japan through the association with Hanajuku) was no substitute for expertise and specialist knowledge which the students with their poor English badly needed in their early days as they confirmed in interviews:

The other man, the Englishman, he's in jail now isn't he? I met him in Japan, typical English gentleman, easily stressed character, didn't know what's going on. We thought JIEF must be really organised and quite big and could expand to three colleges, we didn't know it's not big but we thought it was a proper organisation and serious. He's got a relationship with Hanajuku so it must be a good and stable company.

A-san came to the opening ceremony we thought he had power - we thought JIEF and the poly was one entity. Afterwards we realised he's just an agent - he can't do anything. He could speak Japanese. Japanese language is an important issue, especially for high school graduates. He had responsibilities, at least he should have.

In the absence of the power which accompanies the concept of "knowhow" which appeared to be absent, A-san attempted to form an *uchi* group with the students (*uchi/soto* = in-group out-group) which excluded the tutors. This behaviour was observed and commented upon by the staff and was thought to be inappropriate and worrying. It consisted of courting popularity by smoking with the boys, flirting with the girls and buying drinks for them all. When the students behaved as if they expected drinks to be bought, or when the joking and teasing was instigated by them instead of him, he sulked or flew into a rage. This *amae* situation was not working out because the students were not playing the parts he had assigned them. This psychology (pathology?) was irreconcilable with the duties he had assigned himself but suggested a motive for his involvement in a project for which he seemed seriously underqualified .

V THE FIRST YEAR'S OPERATION

i) Roles and Objectives

During the first term of this project, the Summer term, which was Term 3 in the university calendar, the educational/commercial, academic/administrative, Japan/UK interface was prone to a number of tensions. Largely these were to do with role and objectives.

a) The Counsellor

When JIEF requested a physical presence on campus the institution had no means of knowing the extent or nature of such an arrangement. An

office in the course building was designated for use of the counsellor. In practice, A-san, who had assumed parking rights, invitations to course development meetings, exam boards and annual reviews, moved in (as a temporary measure it was thought) until the counsellor was in post. In February 1992, after almost one year of the project's operation, a fax from a "Kwikprint" firm with photocopied business cards for proofreading, gave the address of JIEF UK as "Woodleigh Campus" and the official telephone number of the organisation as that of the room set aside for the bi-lingual counsellor. This incident indicates the continuing lack of infra-structure to the "Foundation".

It will be remembered that the provision of a counsellor was a contractual commitment. A professionally trained counsellor had been expected who would be able to deal with difficult cases of cultural dislocation and problems with English and with whom feedback channels would be discussed and agreed. On being challenged about the non-appearance of the counsellor A-san explained that efforts were being made to identify a suitable person. There was no evidence of formal means of recruitment and the preferred strategy of networking seemed unlikely to be productive since neither A-san nor Mr B appeared to know anyone in higher education other than the people already directly involved in the project. The concern was that the promotional material had clearly stated that a bi-lingual experienced counsellor would be provided at JIEF's expense. A fee had been levied

from every student for that purpose. To fail to provide a service the client has paid for is unethical in any area of business.

*We needed a counsellor parents wanted it they
worry about sickness, trouble. We had the
feeling that the agency was taking a lot of money*

Organisational failure theory contends that mis-representation, either by omission or commission, of any aspect of a transaction is hazardous to the contract (Williamson 1995). UKCOSA urges the necessity of providing full and frank pre-arrival information. This exhortation, enshrined in the British Council and CVCP joint document The Code of Practice, is standard procedure in any reputable university.

If facilities are **sometimes** rather than **always** available this must be clearly stated. If something is **intended** to happen rather than **guaranteed**, this must also be made plain. To charge separately for a service and fail to provide it is a very serious matter indeed. To what extent the institution's responsibility to ensure the inter-agents' promises were kept was not fully understood. The operating conditions were unique; no received wisdom was available. Contrary to good practice throughout British higher education where the student is the client (not the parent or guardian or any other agent) JIEF was the

client and the students were JIEF's clients. Such an arrangement was beginning to make it difficult for the institution to ensure that it was satisfactorily discharging its responsibilities in respect of the students' best interests. The difficulties were compacted by the fact that the partner appeared to be making *"selective or distorted information disclosures ...false or empty that is self-disbelieved, threats and promises"*. What could be described as opportunistic behaviour in the expectation of individual advantage (Williamson *ibid*).

b) Pastoral Care of Japanese Students

Experience has since shown that personal presence is a not uncommon aspiration of many companies who deal in Study Abroad. Researching publicity material of the major *jukus*' international operations reveals that a physical presence in the host country's universities is a generally held ambition as the following extracts show:

Who looks after the (Japanese) students abroad?

I am embarrassed to say that we have relied almost totally on the good nature and generosity of overseas colleges and universities in this regard.....we wish that there were some way for Hanajuku to maintain a local presence so as to help with the follow-up..... we wish we could

work more closely with more institutions..... It is a task that requires great co-operation and patience on both sides.

(We're Worried About Kumiko, juku brochure)

British institutions recruiting internationally have professionals dealing with pre-arrival information, orientation programmes, counselling and welfare, immigration and employment issues, and even social programmes and host family arrangements. Professional services delivered by professionally qualified dedicated staff are based on the need to recruit and retain international students. It is not "*goodwill and generosity*" as the brochure suggests nor is it "*a huge burden placed on busy teachers and administrators*" as the text goes on to say.

There is no evidence to suggest that Japanese students are seen as a burden to their carers and educators. They are the nationality most often cited by catering and domestic staff, and counselling and teaching staff, as courteous, diligent, and anxious not to be the cause of offence or inconvenience. Paradoxically, the "closed" groups of Japanese were characterised by all manner of difficulties as could have been predicted.

From the office in the building where the students were taught, the Head of the JIEF was able to inter-act with academic staff and share his views on what was best for the students. These included his

conviction that they would be unable to achieve independence, find their way around, cook for themselves, buy food, or make friends outside the group without a great deal of initial help from a Japanese speaker. Experience of international students' lives on a foreign campus suggests that this is not the case. Students in Wexford include those from communities which do not have electricity or running water in the home. Others, before coming away to university, had never had to open a door for themselves or pick up an item of clothing. Adjusting to a lifestyle of equal deprivation, which is the reality of life in Hall, is part of the student experience. Indeed, for many Japanese, student life in the west is a democratising experience they learn greatly to value. What is more, university staff express the view that Japanese students are rather more practical than many of the other international students. Female students seem especially competent at looking after themselves and others.

In conclusion, and of most concern, was that fears about the students' ability to cope were diametrically opposed to the long-term objectives of the course team. *These prioritised helping students develop* autonomy as learners and become active in the learning process, firmly exercising responsibility for their own success. Having in close proximity someone with a different view of what was in their best interests did not help the students, and later gave them an opportunity to play off one "side" against the other.

c) JIEF

The rationale for the existence of JIEF was not satisfactorily explained, and concerns about the uncertain financial and administrative base were referred to earlier. In the initial meetings (the substance of which was reported subsequently to the International Students Steering Committee by the Deputy Director) CMT had been led to understand that the money for the venture came from a beneficent Japanese businessman, a millionaire who wished to create opportunities for Japanese youth to benefit from a British education. There is no correspondence with this person. No senior representative of the institution was invited to Japan to meet him although this is fairly common practice. Once there had been a spectacular falling out with this alleged benefactor (polytechnic staff overheard loud arguments between him and A-san) this story was dropped and Mr X was never heard of again. It was then implied in personal communication to the writer that JIEF was financially reliant on the personal funds of A-san though what this capital amounted too was never disclosed. *One view expressed at the time was that his money came from the sale of a car park in London which he then invested in this operation.*

JIEF described themselves as a non-profit making charity (see earlier) and the personal notepaper of Mr.B did show a registered number. At the time the contract was prepared the polytechnic did not lodge a search with the Charities Commission. After the contract had been

terminated, the new Deputy Director attempted to corroborate the claim and found that although they were registered as a charity there were no records of any transaction in or out.

Had investigations been pursued into the background of this pair many of the difficulties experienced might have been avoided. Business organisations with a charitable foundation are not unusual in Japan. A large organisation based in Nagoya which JIEF may well have known is similarly described in its literature as a, " *Non-profit educational foundation*". Its motto is, "*Seek for Thyself*". They have 1 500 people working for them with 120 000 students on 39 campuses.

Mr B. seemed to be a sort of general all-purpose bureaucrat to whom A-san issued the orders but who was never seen to do anything at all. The two visited the campus regularly which disturbed and unsettled the students. Their visits often lasted a very long time. It was later learned (student testimony) that talking frequently went on long into the night in the room of one or other of the students.

We started to have distrust feeling for the agency - bad image - everything seemed wicked -in the very early days we didn't know which working bodies were doing what - didn't even have a clue how things work , we thought

JIEF and WP were one entity

Course tutors in Wexford were uncomfortable about A-san's unsolicited and always oral student feedback which was unhelpful and unsettling. It transpired that manipulation of students and course team was not restricted to WP but extended to the other JIEF courses. Whilst there were stirrings of discontent in Wexford, the "sister" project at the CHE was in much greater difficulty though this was not known. Had a mechanism existed for course teams to share experiences it would have been advantageous but the three institutions in the scheme were not encouraged to communicate. Information was offered about the excellent successes of the other courses and the need for WP to improve. Below are extracts from a memo written by the CHE counsellor at the end of the second term in November 1991:

Student A does not like the people in her class

Students B C and D think that the new teachers

Christine and Nigel are an improvement

*Student E thinks that Nigel is the only interesting
teacher and that Peter is boring*

*F can't understand the foundation lessons and
wants to take another class*

*G does not like her lessons as they do not push
her enough*

H and J say they paid a lot of money and are not getting what they paid for.

They feel that the College does not care for them. K told his parents he thought the College regretted having Japanese students.

L says they don't watch as many videos as they used to.

Student feedback is a critically important aspect of curriculum design and delivery and is actively sought by effective professionals. It is a characteristic of the student-centred approach and strengthens the bond of trust between teachers and taught when it is tactfully and efficiently solicited. The process can be abused by immature or inexperienced students and staff. Students from countries where student feedback is not customary need to be briefed and helped to structure their responses, if use is to be made of the data. The above serves to illustrate the trivialisation of the process in the wrong hands and the damage that can be done to staff morale.

The course at the CHE folded at the end of the first year when the college refused to continue the relationship. Wexford was told that JIEF had "sacked" them.

d) The Course Team

The course team initially consisted of the Course Manager and two part-time lecturers. They benefited from a dedicated secretary because of their physical separation from the parent school where administrative and secretarial arrangements were on a pooled basis. This was a "contract course" so defined by the polytechnic's Finance Department so arrangements for registration of students, payment of fees and so forth were different from those of all other students in the institution. The course was not modular and therefore outside the aegis of the modular course dean, meaning that the course team were not only outside the quality control arrangements of the modular course (which nevertheless the Japanese programme drew on) but the tutors were deprived of the expertise and organisational guidance available from the dean's office. There was a requirement to function as a small business but the financial affairs of the unit were decided by the parent school's finance assistant.

The DFS ran from April to March like the Japanese year, occasioning countless problems with the polytechnic's administration and personal problems for the Japanese students. Even had the Japanese students been able to converse easily with other students it is very difficult to break into friendship groups which have been formed for over six months. (but see student testimony later)

e) The Academic/Commercial Interface

In operating this customised closed group course outside the institution's regular curriculum, the School of Languages was performing a quasi-business role. By taking up residence on campus in an office in the "Japanese building", coming to meetings with academic staff having consultations with the students, attending exam boards and annual review, issuing instructions to secretaries and porters, the JIEF operatives were in a quasi-academic role. The memoranda between the unit and the school and the unit and JIEF together with a log kept by the secretary at the request of the course manager, reveals the ineptitude of the polytechnic's partners in this venture. The academic staff endeavoured to behave in a business-like way but the JIEF two-man team seemed to occupy neither a British nor Japanese business culture. An example of conflict was over communications. Routine office practices such as written agendas or the making of appointments, seemed to threaten A-san who preferred to work one to one with the course manager to whom he explained on many occasions that he preferred to do *honne*. (The Japanese distinguish between two kinds of talking *tatemaie* and *honne*. The former is typical of negotiations and business deals and refers to a kind of talk designed to maintain the status quo, preserve *wa* or harmony and toe the party line. *Honne* on the other hand is when the heart speaks to another person's heart). The secretary copied all correspondence to him to demonstrate unity and show by example how his "company" ought to be run, but he never to

her knowledge owned a file, a pad of writing paper or made an entry in an appointment book or diary.

He had a very old Filofax bursting with papers but he never opened it. He carried it everywhere and never removed the Japan Airlines sticker which confirmed that it had been checked by JAL security.

ii) The Curriculum

a) Course content

The teaching team responsible for delivering a course designed by others to the specifications of a third party, were ambivalent about the product. The validated course was originally named the Diploma in Foundation Studies, (DFS) but re-named by the course manager International Diploma ... (IDFS), "international" being well-known code in the business for a course for overseas students. Course content drew on the middle-class canon of literature and atavistic notions of key periods of British history and was neither an intensive English Language course nor an access course. It resembled a sixth form general studies course, though lacking both *current content* and *inter-disciplinary* approach. It was not modular but linear and without choice, although students were obliged in their second year to take a basic module from a prescribed list. JIEF described it as an alternative to a two-year junior college programme in Japan which, as Chapter 5 showed, caters mainly for a constituency of women, has a lower status

than the four-year universities, and the end qualification is seen as a qualification in its own right not as the first stage in a four year programme. Japanese like to make parallels with the two year liberal arts colleges in the US though a better comparison is with the community college two-year programmes after which sometimes, students move into universities. The Wexford course was aimed at students who would return to Japan after two years experience of British higher education. It was thought that only a minority of successful students would wish to proceed to a British degree.

b) Rationale for the course

1. *Demand side*

According to JIEF's market information there were students in Japan unable to meet British HE requirements in respect of English Language and academic background, who wished to enter British universities. There was therefore a significant market niche in customised preparatory provision specifically for them, Japanese students needs, allegedly, being greater in amount and intensity than all other international students. As noted above, the junior college programme is seen to be a successful product in Japan and the Wexford course was thought to have value-added. The product, JIEF believed, was price-sensitive and would require a discounted group rate (though to whom the savings would be passed on was not specified). The purchasing power of the Japanese was such that the cost would willingly be borne

by parents who saw expenditure on education as inevitable and worthwhile.

2. Supply side

The concept of a foundation course was not unknown. On the contrary, Wexford Polytechnic was at that time running a course for international students administered by the continuing education department and taught largely at a local college of further education, which also ran the poly's home access course on which the international (IAC) was based. As it happened however, the Japan side was not in possession of information regarding the other activities of its partner at the time of the drawing up of the contract and expressed dismay when it was realised that there were now two similar products. The institution asserted that the products were aimed at two entirely different client groups and could peacefully co-exist when their distinctiveness was made clear to prospective consumers. Within the polytechnic there were stakeholders with self-interest in each of the courses who would have been unlikely to give way to the other had a joint venture been proposed though it never was.

The relationship thus began in a state of disequilibrium because the very premise on which it was built was posed in a jointly incompatible manner. The organisational behaviour was not perverse and it was hoped that a common set of expectations would gradually evolve. It was hoped that sufficient numbers of students could be recruited to

both courses. Student aspirations on course completion were said to be different. The IAC would be guaranteed places on the polytechnic's modular course and the IDFS would go back to Japan.

The presence of the IAC with its multi-national group, even before the IDFS began, was a source of friction.

Student: How did I come to join that course?

Because I had applied foundation course (the IAC) by myself - and somehow A-san called me and asked me to join that (the IDFS) course because foundation course (IAC) is not really good for me. He said he had organised a course for Japanese people and it might be better for me and that's why I chose that course.

Interviewer: And you wanted to enrol on the IAC? You were planning to do that yourself?

Student: Yes. A-san told me the university had asked him to call me to join his course so I thought I was refused on the IAC cos obviously he doesn't know my telephone number so he must have got it from my application form, and

I thought that IAC doesn't accept Japanese any more because of the IDFS course but I found out some Japanese were in that IAC course I felt deceived.

iii) Student Satisfaction

I didn't know that course was only for Japanese people. I don't think I did.

Widespread dissatisfaction sprang from a clear mis-match between student expectations (based on information given to them in Japanese during "the guidance" as JIEF called their promotional meetings) and the reality of life at Wexford Polytechnic which the course team could alter only superficially. This mis-match related to students' interests and needs, and the stated objectives of the course. A major issue was the wide range of academic and linguistic ability.

The worst thing was the small group. Some people have ability, there was a big gap between the students. Some can speak English and some can't. I was afraid to make a mistake. They made me nervous and I thought I would never be able to speak in a bigger group. There was one room no choice.

The student profile, summarised at the beginning of this chapter, indicates differences in age and background. Yet disparities also existed among the ostensibly homogeneous

group of high school graduates, three of whom had a very low level of competence in English, about lower intermediate level. By a composite effort to communicate they managed to make it understood that they thought they were coming on an intensive English course similar to those offered by language schools. This would have been a more appropriate option for them. They were not university students, foundation or otherwise.

Student 12 briefly referred to above, lost no time in leaving the course for the modular degree. The teaching team and course manager were happy that the student had been placed in a course that suited his needs but their view was not shared by JIEF who were concerned about the financial implications. The repercussions of this move were felt in other ways, provoking responses from the other students. Student 10 believed that he too ought to be taking modules from the modular degree. His decision was closely followed by that of student 7 who felt the level of the Foundation course was too low and the idea of two years in this cohort was unacceptable to him.

When student 12 moved to a "regular" course, it was discovered that the discounted fee for the foundation course was not the fee paid by the student to JIEF, indeed was considerably more than the polytechnic's full tuition fee. When he attempted to pay the finance office a registration fee he learned that no such charge is levied in this or any other British HEI. Whilst it was understood that organisations such as JIEF charge for their services, the incident served to raise suspicions in the minds of students as well as staff. As one of the students was later to comment ruefully *"With Japanese money things always come up"*.

The students experienced great difficulty in forming out-group relationships. Housed according to the JIEF directive in the catered hall of residence at Woodleigh, arriving in the third term when the social relationships within the hall had been well established, it would have been a mammoth task for anyone to break in. For students with a low level of competence in English it was almost impossible.

Inevitably, within weeks of the course starting, pairing off had taken place with three inseparable couples established. Such behaviour is typical among Japanese teenagers whose interest in the opposite sex is usually strongly discouraged by parents according to White (1993). Indeed many teenagers impose a stoic ban on themselves until they feel secure in their studies. At university, discussed at some length earlier, students tend to take advantage of the lessening of pressure to start to party. Both kinds of behaviour were exhibited.

[1] The IDFS course was only for Japanese. I just spoke Japanese in class and at Woodleigh it would have been easier to speak to other foreigners. I didn't go to the class many times I didn't work seriously just copied from books. Relationships among the group weren't good. I felt lonely I was only 18. The others made couples always sticking together I tried to make friends with the Malaysians the others said, "Why didn't you tell me" there's something wrong in their minds always stick together and no one could speak English.

[2] When I got to the course I found it was fun. What we were doing in that course was what I was doing in my high school because I was in a special course doing English so it was a bit boring repeating work I had been doing for three years so it was time wasting but I had fun. But not with studywork

Student discontent was expressed from the earliest days, and as the comments above show, the most profound source of anxiety centred on being taught as a closed group and the consequent lack of access to British or any other international students.

The problem with the IDFS group was group of Japanese it was frustrating for some of us who take international study very seriously. It's difficult to speak English, easier to speak Japanese. It was good fun to be with friends, meet friends from different areas of Japan. We didn't speak English in the first year .

The feeling of the course team was that the unceasing complaints were directed at the service not because it was bad or inferior but that it was not appropriate and it certainly was not what the students wanted or more accurately, expected.

A-san told us we could experience international environment but we just brought a bit of Japan to UK. Our goal was to speak ENGLISH (gestures in air high up) the environment was

not suitable for the purpose - we were isolated - the course was not modular - we were asked by the Europeans "What are you **doing**?. We couldn't explain.

A-san urged that students be allowed to take classes outside the Japanese programme even if they couldn't understand what was going on. This would have been in contravention of the regulations on the required level of competence in English for non-native speakers, which state that a TOEFL score of 550, IELTS 6.5 or equivalent is the minimum with which international students can benefit from undergraduate work delivered in English.

This response to the students' grievance was felt by the course manager to be ill-advised and in the long run bad for the morale of the students. Furthermore, the commercial (consumer) side was already driving the educational (producer) side. A-san behaved as if he had the whip hand because he was paying. Later events proved that he was aware, before the polytechnic staff were, that the customers would give trouble if they weren't satisfied with the service.

Every effort was made to get students out of the classroom and involve them in extra-mural activities where they could meet students and other British people outside the institution. Activities such as pairing with students of Japanese Language, and study visits outside the region to the North of England were organised. They were invited to a Mayormaking ceremony and reception, and to the Houses of Parliament as the special guest of the MP for Wexford, but they continued to feel isolated.

We were like the EU - a fortress. We made a high wall. Some of us tried to network, do you remember Terumi, Teri? She was trying to network and the rest of the group isolated her.

Sadly, the students were unsure where to turn for help. A-san as their self-appointed counsellor was unable to provide the specialist help they needed and the students were aware that anything of importance had to be cleared with the course manager and that academic regulations and considerations overrode all others.

This understanding took time to develop by which time conflict was evident between the objectives of JIEF and the institution .

The second source of problems was the attitude of students towards their studies. Previous experience of working with Japanese students supported the commonly held view of the Japanese high schooler as a workaholic. In March 1991, as the first group was arriving in Wexford, as if by premonition, the Prime Minister's Office in Japan issued his annual report on youth, a small section of which is quoted below:

"A rapidly changing society is creating a generation of youths who are increasingly despondent and lacking in motivation and a proper sense of social responsibility...

At the centre of the problem is a change in personality of youths towards immature, self-centred persons who are languid and unemotional.

Great difficulty was experienced keeping on-task, to deadlines, and to specification.

... but we haven't paid directly, our parents have paid so we are half hearted about our demands. If I pay myself I will use all the facilities all the time (laughs) everything is half hearted, its amae to our parents ... we don't do any work on the course but we make a call " I'm studying hard, send me some money again" (laughs) that kind of stuff.

The phrase, "the off-the-leash syndrome", was coined to explain the uninhibited, ebullient, uncontrolled behaviour. One of the second group explained:

We get out of Japan we get away from the pressure . Academically the IDFS was a disaster for some of us . It was just a group excursion to Britain for a year. Posters for JIEF, the conference/ meeting, (what JIEF called "the guidance"), we got the impression that study in Britain is fun. Japanese students in university in Japan certainly have fun just drink after they got in (once they had succeeded in obtaining a hard fought for place) -this is the basic image of the college student - they, I mean we, brought it to Britain .

The throwing off of the shackles of Japanese life expressed itself in ways which took the course team by surprise. Having anticipated dutiful diligent students who would

need patient and supportive care to speak up in class and so forth they found themselves confronted by students who within weeks of being in Wexford had cut off their hair, permed it, coloured it and pierced their ears. And that was just the boys!

Students also had periods of lassitude and enervation. They encouraged one another in this regard, staying up late, sleeping in the day, missing classes, going off to London or Melchester to see Japanese friends or having friends from the other programmes at St.Dunstan's or the CHE coming over to Wexford. They were hard on their teachers displaying taciturn and even recalcitrant conduct.

*In the IDFS group we had **amae** but it was a bad atmosphere,
if we made mistakes the class still went on, the teacher asks
and we can't respond - teacher is too soft. We expect
leadership from teacher.*

iv) Summer School

JIEF were reluctant to allow recently arrived Japanese to have a hiatus of three months before taking up their studies again and wanted the institution to organise activities throughout the vacation. In the summer of 1991 summer schools were not standard provision as they are now, so the polytechnic could not make ad hoc arrangements at no notice. The programme JIEF envisaged encompassed a grand tour of Europe as well as organised classes. It was thought that they could keep down costs by putting together two groups of students from WP and one of their other courses. The CHE were prevailed upon to exploit their contacts in Hungary to devise a

language programme; a bus tour there and back was tacked on. Mr B. was entrusted with organising the summer. Although there was no way of knowing whether Mr B. had any experience, there was equally no reason to be confident that he could organise and care for young people, especially those with a limited knowledge of the language and foreign travel. This was a further example of the responsibility for students' well-being being delegated to unqualified personnel. There was a danger that student morale would be affected.

They demanded that JIEF justify the educational merits of a sojourn in a non-English speaking country and account for the financial expenditure. The course manager's alternative suggestions met with fierce resistance from A-san. One idea was to join an established summer programme, perhaps in the US, using her contacts. This would have occasioned considerable expenditure and financial considerations took precedence over educational concerns. A-san's unarticulated fear was that if students were to see the US they would not return to "his" course and unless he kept the Japanese students under his careful scrutiny they would escape. He did not express confidence in the acceptability of the programme and behaved as if, should students find out the truth, the game would be up. The details of the summer arrangements were drip-fed to the students to prevent their obtaining the whole picture though this did not stop them forming a view and making a stand against it.

Although teaching staff had been marginalised, to a certain extent, students continued to consult and take advice, talking over their concerns. Staff responded by offering information on language courses in Britain when asked. They were not in a position

to take a stand against JIEF yet could not in conscience marshal overt support. The students nevertheless mutinied, refused to go to Hungary and demanded their money back to spend as they saw fit, on educational activities to facilitate their language improvement.

Evidence that A-san had no personal authority with the students and was forced to appeal to the greater authority of the institution to bring them into line is clearly seen in this episode of open rebellion. He asked that the course manager and head of school be present when he held a meeting to explain to students the rationale for a summer school. In the absence of an agenda academic staff thought there was to be an open dialogue. It came as a surprise therefore when A-san requested that the students be told that attendance at summer schools was polytechnic policy non-attendance at which would result in credit being withheld.

The head of school was placed in an untenable position as arbiter in an invalid dispute now that A-san's dissembling had been made public. He was trying to demonstrate (as he did on the occasion of the opening ceremony) that head of school and the course manager and himself worked collaboratively in dealing with difficulties, which also served to shore up his personal esteem and position in the hierarchy.

This episode illustrates the importance of boundaries in a relationship where commercial and academic personnel interface. The quasi-academic machinations of A-san were pervading all aspects of the partnership with the institution and the students and were deeply injurious to the building up of trust. Such behaviour included, as the

narrative so far has revealed, misrepresentation of himself in deeds and words, written and spoken, through the withholding and distortion of information.

The meeting with the students was painful on all sides as the polytechnic staff took up a vaguely supportive stance towards JIEF but could not actually articulate the script as produced by them. The demeanour of the meeting was openly hostile and the students were intractable. The course manager felt foolish, dishonest and a little dishonoured since it was quite clear her behaviour was designed to maintain harmony. These events represented a further abdication of responsibility, though unintentional, because of the lack of clarity about who were who's clients.

The events also represent an assault on the professional ethics of the academic staff in that on principle, because their autonomy had been compromised, anti-educational decisions had been taken which were endangering the long-term academic health of the course.

In order for the contract with the students to be honoured by JIEF, the polytechnic had to condone what was detrimental to the linguistic progress of the students.

Hungary was really stupid in a small group everyday the same thing nothing to do or think about making you crazy, same faces, never another person.

It was a lot of money including Hungary, someone said they want to take A-san to court. It wasn't a successful experience.

VI THE SECOND YEAR'S OPERATIONS

i) Recruitment of the Second Cohort

It is an immensely challenging task, one easily underestimated, to represent to prospective clients who are unfamiliar with it, an educational course designed and taught in Britain. To do so in a full and frank manner is a responsibility which requires a thorough understanding of course structures and regulations and an awareness of the wider curriculum in which it is embedded, if it is to be satisfactorily discharged. It became clear that JIEF were unable to discharge this responsibility adequately as they prepared to recruit a second intake .

At a meeting in December 1991 the course manager requested that they formally present their stratagems, long term plans and financial forecasts for the second recruitment. A-san and Mr B demonstrated unequivocally that they had understood little if anything about British higher education. They had not grasped (or had chosen not to grasp) the structure of the course, the means of progression, the concept of auditing a module or a trial module, the modular course itself, assessment procedures within the course, the notion of "A" level equivalency, or university English Language requirements. It will be remembered that documents promoting the course had been produced in Japanese, it therefore followed that thus far the sole source of information on the course to prospective students, had been JIEF. The revelation of their abject ignorance on the subject was viewed by polytechnic staff as calamitous.

It was reported that at the time of the meeting only 10 students had expressed an

interest. There was doubt on the part of the course manager as to the viability of the course. JIEF let it be understood they were convinced **there was a market for the course** but that they **couldn't sell when the product was no good**. Not only was the product no good they opined but they had been lying about it in their "guidance" sessions since they had described to the prospective students, something quite different, and much better. This critical incident is offered as further confirmatory evidence of the commodification of international study revealed through the language used by the agents to express their view of the process.

From an international educator's point of view, a closed course militated against Japanese students' best interests. It had been believed that the Japanese partner was in possession of specialist knowledge despite logic, experience and educational theory saying otherwise. A danger inherent in tolerating the discourse of commerce in discussions of education, is the risk of seeing client and product (since the end-user in education to an extent becomes the product), as passive. When A-san's marketing seemed not to be realising his objectives, his answer was not a re-consideration of the objectives or demands of the prospective students but to exert more effort on his part (*gamberu*) to "get" them, "*I can get a twenty!*".

In March 1992 the academic side was drawn further into the business side to support JIEF in the recruitment effort, sending an academic to Japan to give lectures on British higher education and raise JIEF's profile. The inequity of effort in the partnership was causing further friction exacerbated by the sudden and inexplicable disappearance of Mr.B. The concern was that, ineffective as Mr.B had been, from then onwards A-san

would be running the company unaided. This was thought to increase further the efforts required of the polytechnic to make the project work.

In April 1992, as planned, the second cohort of 20 was recruited. The first group became Year II and were joined by two students from the St. Dunstan's programme, one from Melchester and one from a tutorial college in Wexford. One man from the first cohort, had joined the Modular degree course and subsequently dropped out bringing the sample involved in this study to 36.

ii) Reception of the Second Cohort

Inexperience of academic institutional procedures meant that A-san seemed unable to recognise the polytechnic as anything but a geographical location. His schedules tended to be predicated on financial objectives of which the following is an example. The students flew from Japan on a discounted group price over the Easter bank holiday when facilities on campus were inoperative and only a self-catering hall was available at JIEF's short notice. Week 0 of term 3 is a particularly difficult time to access support services and problems were exacerbated by the non-standard course commencement date. Temporary accommodation was made available to the students and, whilst adequate, it did not set the right note for the start of a new life. New beginnings are extremely important to the Japanese. A-san wanted academic staff to accompany him to Heathrow to welcome the students but the course manager chose to base herself at the hall to ensure arrangements were satisfactory. Food was bought and prepared in the absence of catering facilities and staff. The gesture was designed to create a good impression of pastoral care but was unsuccessful since A-san

appeared strained and under pressure.

The students were quick to seize the initiative and made problems, especially regarding financial issues. They appeared to be very conscious of their rights and of how much they were paying. They kept records of expenses incurred in the self-catered hall prior to their moving in to the catered hall at Woodleigh, chose a 33 year old male student to negotiate on their behalf, and handed the bills to A-san; a sum, allegedly, amounting to hundreds of pounds. (A student from the first cohort on observing this behaviour volunteered to the course manager " *They think he is the travel agent*".) A-san seemed anxious not to upset the new students and later added their spokesman to the JIEF payroll. Some of the teaching staff thought he was a paid informer and later events appeared to substantiate that view.

iii) Course Progression in the Second Year

In November 1992 severe difficulties arose with IDFS I. They had reached Term 5 of the 6 term course and not only could see the end in sight but were planning to remain in the newly re-named Wexford University. Modular degree regulations are detailed, specific and non-negotiable. The course structure, as explained above, had been given to students in a course handbook written especially for the purpose, in English, giving full details. A misunderstanding occurred when they began to entertain the idea that the basic modules they were taking as part of their foundation course could be counted towards Stage I of their degree. That the modules could not be counted twice proved to be the most profoundly obdurate stumbling block. A-san had never discussed progression issues, preferring to avoid those areas he did not understand. Not only

that, he appeared to have lost interest in the first group once the second group arrived. The two year duration had been specified by him but once the students were in the institution it was impossible for him to levy his own fee and they paid for their second year directly to the finance office, so he had no more control over them. They had learned that he was not in a position to provide any specialist help or knowledge so they had no use for him. They either appealed to the university to meet their needs or they coped by themselves.

In this instance, however, they appealed to him for help and he adopted the strategy explained earlier (*gambaru*) that is pushing and struggling and wearing the opponent down with talk. The course design had proved to be rather unwieldy and the validation document itself ambiguous. The course planning group responsible for writing the course had not maintained an interest in the way it operated so no help was forthcoming. Despite their low entry level, the small group with intensive tutoring had made impressive progress, and in their second year, started passing basic modules before they were expected to.

Heartened by success in the first module, they began signing up for more than the regulations allowed, and than were advisable for educational reasons. Inevitably they marginalised the diploma work to concentrate on what they saw as real university work. In the event, whilst they were **required** to have passed **two** basic modules to be awarded their diploma, even the weakest of these students had managed to pass at least **four** and began to demand that they were allowed to "count" them, by which they meant, carry them forward into Stage I. A-san was unable to understand these

matters and rapidly got out of his depth.

Pressure to alter statutory regulations represents an assault on university sovereignty. A-san asserted that the IDFS was **his** course and he intended to see that the students got their credit. Whilst not wanting to be seen to bow to external influences, academic staff conceded that the students had a valid point. The course manager decided to appeal to the modular course dean for a round table discussion and put it to him that arrangements might be made to count each module passed **in excess** of course requirements, as Accredited Prior Learning (APL) which regulations and precedents allowed, since there seemed to have been a genuine misinterpretation of course regulations on the students' part which could never have been foreseen. A firm purpose to be vigilant in the monitoring of the second cohort was made so that such a situation might never occur again. It was said to be a one off and the students gave the impression they were glad the tension was over and they were happy to get back to work. A-san had not been involved in the resolution.

Although IDFS I chose not to communicate much with A-san, they did tolerate Yuji (not his real name) the "go-between" for IDFS II, with whom presumably they discussed their meeting with the Dean which Yuji then reported to A-san. It was the opportunity he had been waiting for to restore his face which he had been losing little by little.

A-san asked for a meeting with the head of school and course manager. In response to a request for agenda items he offered only one, "modules" When pushed he

revealed that he would be bringing the JIEF trustees with him so that an account of the credit transfer incident could be given. The meeting was acrimonious and as expected the two trustees (never seen before or since) accused the university authorities of misrepresenting the course to the Japanese students and perpetrating fraud which, as trustees of this educational foundation, they were demanding be put right. They proceeded to re-write the modular course regulations and dictate to the School of Languages what policies should be in the future. It was not clear on what basis they were qualified to judge these issues as their professional expertise was based on their occupations of solicitor and off-licence keeper.

As it happened, it was all an academic exercise. This second cohort had not in any measure achieved the high standard of work of the first group and there was no possibility that they would have earned credit on more than the bare minimum of modules required to pass the Diploma course. What was graphically clear was that commercial considerations had placed the head of school in so vulnerable a position that the local wine shop proprietor could come into his office and attempt to bully him into violating the regulations of a validated course.

The course manager prepared a position paper on the health of the course recommending that the contract be terminated.

iv) Accommodation Issues

The behaviour of the second cohort has been commented on earlier. Whether their

boldness was as a result of their greater number, or the presence among them of an older man who had spent many years working in Japan, or whether A-san was becoming increasingly insecure and was accommodating their demands more and more is difficult to say. What was observed and recorded at the time was their treatment of A-san as if he were a tour operator. They requested his presence at the office where they were invariably represented by their "Course Leader" Yuji who articulated their complaints. After the episode at the hall of residence an incident of a similar nature arose at the occasion of their opening ceremony.

At the height of the festivities in the course building where the university guests were celebrating, they held a meeting with A-san in one of the classrooms to complain about facilities in their official hall. The secretary reported that tempers were becoming frayed, voices raised and so forth and A-san, clearly uncomfortable, had asked for the course manager to be sent for. On entering the room, then silent, the course manager was confronted with, "*Students do not know what is going on in the hall of residence* ", implying, what are you going to do about it? This whilst the Vice Chancellor was sipping wine next door. Many British academics would have no idea how the halls of residence operate since such aspects of student life are normally outside their remit, professional staff having been designated those tasks, but being aware of the singular circumstances surrounding the course and its arrangements, as well as having witnessed the students' mood, details had been carefully checked. Every room in the residence was provided with an information pack including a licence to occupy the hall, instructions for the changing of the bed linen, even a timetable of the room cleaning schedules. Times of meals were also given and these

were repeated in notices on the door of the dining room which students had to pass to go to the lift which took them to their rooms.

It was quietly explained to students that they were to take responsibility for studying the information the university had provided and ask any specific question if there was anything they did not understand and that that was how things were always and would continue to be done. The students behaviour was inappropriate and A-san's capability as a cultural informant either to staff or students was called into question again.

v) Course Duration and Design

In January 1993 the second cohort were entering their third and final term in Year I of their course. The first cohort were completing their applications for places on various fields of the modular degree, one or two were planning a few months of travel before they went on to other universities. The course manager took the opportunity of travelling to South Africa on a study tour leaving the two groups in the capable hands of two recently appointed Japanese speaking senior lecturers and the Secretary who had been developing a pastoral role.

Later the following events were reported by the secretary in her log. On the first day of the course manager's absence Yuji made numerous telephone calls to A-san and finally managed to talk to him. She could not report the substance of the conversation which was in Japanese. One morning some days later she saw A-san driving off campus looking unshaven and presumed he had stayed the night which he occasionally did, drinking the night away with the students. On unlocking the building there was

a smell of stale cigarette smoke presumably from the night before, in one of the classrooms. A-san was noted for ignoring No Smoking notices. The next day she received a telephone call from the Deputy V-Cs secretary to say the V-C had received a formal petition which had been signed by every first year student and that the Deputy V-C Academic Affairs would be dealing with it on the return of the course manager from South Africa.

This action was surprising since it is well known that the Japanese are among the least litigious societies in the world. There are fewer lawyers in Japan per head of population than in any other society - advanced or otherwise. Similarly a direct confrontational stance such as this was unprecedented.

Over the five terms that this small unit (by this time three full-time lecturers and three part-time and one secretary/mother figure) had been working together, all manner of difficulties had been talked through and dealt with by cooperation and discussion of the issue. Despite communication problems, inevitable misunderstandings, mis-use of a phrase heard and only partly understood, each remained open to the other and demonstrated a willingness to preserve harmony and a reluctance to sacrifice goodwill, over which much effort had been expended. Concepts such as duty and obligation were frequently drawn upon as were obligations of young to older, students to tutors, tutors to students. This was seen as part of the students' learning and they frequently expressed gratitude and pleasure when they recognised how liberally their own staff interpreted their duties, offering support far in excess of the academic.

It was not unusual for staff to drive students to important appointments, help them move house, store personal belongings, entertain them at home and cook for them. Over the period of the course they acted as advocates for students with the police, the vehicle licensing authority, the immigration authorities, customs and excise and the department of employment. They pacified landladies (landladies' irate husbands) exasperated domestic bursars and turned out at 1.30 am to the local hospital's casualty department.

On returning to the university on February 15 1993 the course manager examined the document carefully. It was expressed in pseudo-legal jargon outside the competence of the students. Close reading revealed that despite the bastardised solicitor-speak the signature in the text was very clear, expressing the fallacious and spurious thinking on progression issues on the foundation/modular course interface which set up echoes of the meeting on the subject with A-san and his trustees. The V/C and Deputy V/C devolved responsibility and authority to the school and asked to be guided on how to respond to the students after all deliberations had been completed.

A meeting chaired by the head of the school of languages was held on February 17 1993 attended by every student. The purpose of the meeting and its quasi-legal status was explained to the students who were clearly ill at ease. The head of school reminded them that they had uninvited, and without provocation, written directly to the V/C using such challenging language as **demand, immediately, insist, rights**, and accused a senior academic of lying to them and misrepresenting the duration of the course and means of progression. He concluded that, since these were grave charges,

they were being taken very seriously by the Vice-Chancellor in whose name he was preparing to hear the substantive points covered in the petition.

Yuji wanted to record the proceedings and was refused permission. Whether or not he had been hoping to (or had been asked to) report to A-san, who knows. The head of school began by asking for clarification on certain points in the petition and the meaning of certain phrases. No one was able to comment. He asked who had written it since twenty people cannot write a letter and Yuji said everyone had written it,

Each of the students was then asked to speak and the first two or three said exactly the same thing that the course to which they had been recruited had been described as a one year course from which they could automatically progress to a degree of their choice, but that on arriving at Wexford polytechnic they saw that it had been changed to a two year course during which they had to fulfill a number of requirements of an academic nature which they felt was excessive. As the proceedings ground inexorably on, they appeared increasingly emotionally fatigued. By the time the last four or five were asked if they wanted to speak they shook their heads and looked wretched.

After the open meeting they were given the opportunity to speak in confidence to the head of school at which point they were reduced to tears. Some girls were sobbing, *"Teacher is not our enemy."* Others admitted that the reason they had not understood the extracts from the letter which had been read out to them was because they had not written it. Eventually a distraught female student admitted that A-san had written it and Yuji had told them all to sign it.

After the head of school had departed one or two students came into the office to apologise. " *I don't know what we were doing/ ...it went out of control/ ... I'm so sorry/... we were acting crazy*".

The students were informed by the V/C by individual letter that he had made a careful deliberation of their dispute and had found that there was no case to answer therefore the university would not be taking any action. He advised them to get on with their studies and earn their progression to the modular course.

Before A-san came to the meeting we thought he had power - we realised he's just an agent -he can't do anything - what did he do for his money? We wondered if JIEF paid the staff - we felt the staff were also cheating us - if I worked on the IDFS I would worry in case the students ... they were on a dodgy course - we talked a lot about responsibility - once we discovered about the money (that they were paying more than the regular university course fees) you don't know who to trust - we asked him about the money he was able to justify himself I don't know how he explained it but he did. He had responsibilities, at least he should have, but he had no power. We demanded solutions to problems but he couldn't do anything. The frustration was building up.

VII THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT INFRASTRUCTURE

i) Hanajuku

When the polytechnic began its partnership with JIEF it was assumed that JIEF was a reputable company and in the absence of any information to the contrary, this belief persisted. The involvement of Hanajuku had never been understood. The selection exams and interviews had been held in Tokyo and Nagoya, at the premises of Hanajuku. At that time inexperience of the commercial educational activities in Japan led staff to believe that JIEF were hiring the Hanajuku facilities since running a permanent office in Japan is expensive, the property prices being so high. However, it was learnt that the Hanajuku organisation owns and runs a chain of educational establishments including a publishing section, Japanese language schools abroad, English language schools in Japan, *jukus* preparing students for a range of subjects, university entrance full-time courses (*yobiko*), TOEFL preparation, study abroad guidance and placement service. Hanajuku's International Office were providing JIEF with access to their computer database of prospective student addresses, and, it seemed a kind of *poste-restante* presumably in exchange for a fee. There were no visible signs of a JIEF presence at Hanajuku.

It had never been considered that JIEF were actually representing another company and were not only middle men between the institution and the students but that they were sub-contractors of an organisation in Japan. The following incident was at first bewildering. On 25 February 1993 a fax arrived from two of the most senior people at Hanajuku, one of whom was the Managing Director. It was marked URGENT and

expressed alarm and disappointment to hear of the,

"sudden changes of the system of your foundation course for this year . To us, some new ideas for the course made the program totally different, such as the period of the course (1 year into 2 years), no credit transfer to regular university course for this year and postponement of moving up to ordinary course for current students." (sic)

This was the first time Hanajuku had been in direct contact with the polytechnic and their intentions were not fully understood. It had formerly been believed, as stated earlier, that any arrangement JIEF had with the *juku* was of a practical nature between themselves such as for the interview arrangements as we have seen. The fax went on to say " *As you know, in order to recruit the prospective Japanese students in Japan, Hanajuku was given its responsibility by A-san of JIEF in 1991. Since then, we have been making a lot of efforts on promoting the program and sending young Japanese students with no experience of traveling foreign countries to Wexford Polytechnic.*"(sic)

The Managing Director of Hanajuku came to Wexford on March 3 1993 which gave the impression that the operation in Wexford was seen as important.

Research into private supplementary education in Japan suggests that a relationship in which JIEF directed Hanajuku is unlikely. The very big *jukus* are powerful organisations as we have seen, with extensive overseas operations. Hanajuku are very

big indeed in the US. From observation of events it seems likely that JIEF were given a franchise from Hanajuku who might have agreed to let JIEF "test the water" for them in the UK with nothing to lose since JIEF were based in the UK (the fact that they didn't even have an office would not have been realised) and probably presented themselves as being knowledgeable about UK education. They also passed themselves off as UK graduates but there is a lack of certitude on their academic credentials. In Japan small people can get a franchise from a *juku* so for example an individual can teach in his or her own home under the auspices of a *juku*. A current example is Kumon, a *juku* specialising in a new way of teaching maths which is being franchised in London. From JIEFs point of view, they could make a lot of money just by being the middle men. Viewed this way makes sense of the relationship and explains many of the operating difficulties.

It helped to explain the alleged misconceptions regarding the duration and progression arrangements of the course. If JIEF were working between two organisations with the students thinking that they were the main provider, it is not surprising that when difficulties arose which they were not equipped or qualified to deal with, blame was passed back and forwards. When students were not coming forward for a two year course in sufficient numbers it is reasonable to assume that JIEF modified their description of the course to imply a flexible duration and less onerous progression requirements, framed to be very accessible or achievable.

It follows then that they had to try to brow beat the institution into ignoring the validated course and substituting something that more closely resembled what they had

promised the student clients. When the Poly refused to budge JIEF's dissembling was exposed. If, as seems likely, they were accountable to Hanajuku for student (dis)satisfaction, the fabrication of course changes and distortion of information from the course manager was offered in explanation.

That students had been studying in the same building with the second year students on the course means they could not possibly have believed the course structure was other than what it clearly and demonstrably was, a two year foundation course for Japanese students. They saw that on their first day in Wexford. Bearing in mind that the "petition" had allegedly been written by A-san and that the perverse description of the course purported to have come from the course manager, more closely resembled his own misunderstanding of the course regulations, there can be no other explanation for the memo which arrived after the final attempt to bully the university authorities into making changes had failed.

The response of the academic staff had throughout been to accommodate misunderstandings and requests for more (and more) information by rational explanation especially in relation to gaining the confidence of the students. British reserve and politeness characterised all the transactions with JIEF who, unknown to the institution, were in fact answering to Japan. Problems concerning the course began in Japan, and in Japan they continued to have ramifications.

The meeting with the students seemed to have achieved a partial result in that a number of things came to light which had not previously been understood. One was

that the university was charging them a lower fee than all other international students were paying despite having more contact hours. Many students were unaware of the financial arrangements since, as has been commented on many times, the clients of JIEF were the students' parents. One student at the course manager's request faxed home for a list of charges levied by JIEF and the results were shocking to the students and the staff. The list of charges in yen in Japan included poll-tax, which the students were not required to pay, police registration normally paid by students in person at the local police station, and requested at the discretion of the Immigration Officer (set at £30 in 1992). The students were charged the equivalent in yen of about £100.

The students were as unaware as the staff of the true nature and extent of the organisation, its size and sphere of operations. Had they done so the relationships might have developed differently since image and brand name, as we have seen, is highly significant in Japan. The emphasis on the English and aristocratic connections of the company were further exploited in the hyperbolic title together with the coat of arms they had specially designed for themselves and reproduced on the *meishi*. It consisted of a highly elaborate heraldic shield with dripping garlands and latin mottos.

Foundation is a word which, when used in Japan, is very difficult to define what it really is. It is ambiguous and would never be used if a totally legitimate alternative could be found. An example is the Sasakawa Foundation thought to exist as a means of laundering black money from the yakuza. The legitimate front is profits from speed boat racing! Consultant is

a word with a similar function. A "consultant" is a go-between without social recognition because of not having a fixed position in Japan's vertically oriented society.

(anthropologist of Japan in conversation with the writer).

On the *meishis* A-san's name was suffixed by PhD. One of the brochures described him as having studied an unspecified course of studies at the London University which seemed not to be consonant with the Wexford gown he carried in a plastic bag. It was clear that it was not in the university's interests to continue in this relationship and head of school drafted a memorandum to the CMT on 11 March 1993 to request that the contract be terminated but that if there were students "in the system" efforts would be made to accommodate them.

On March 30 1993 during the Easter vacation in which the new students, if there were any, were to arrive, a letter from the "trustee" solicitor reported.

"I have managed to speak briefly with A-san who is in Japan. He tells me that the Hanajuku Group Students have cancelled their applications to come to Wexford. I have not spoken in detail with him regarding this but I believe it is as a result of the uncertainty regarding the length of the course and the opportunity to shorten it".

ii) The Itani Project

In addition to the customised course recruited from the public, JIEF had proposed another project for September 1992 raising issues which further illuminate operational practices and develop themes raised in Chapter Eight. For the sake of clarity and continuity of narrative it will be treated separately as follows.

The recruitment strategy for the IDFS, discussed above, was judged on its results to be defective, devised as it was in conditions of environmental uncertainty and predicated on insufficient or distorted information. Observation of the leading figure in the operation, that is A-san, led the institution to conclude that his professional behaviour was characterised by opportunism rather than strategic planning. These two factors fused in the Itani project aimed to recruit students from a Japanese junior college, thought to be a more captive audience than the general public which was proving a challenging task for JIEF. This involved further sub-contracting. A former business associate of A-san (to be referred to as X-san in this text) could "bring" twenty girls from a college in one of the large industrial cities in Japan. The Principal of the college was a friend of X-san. The negotiations with the institution were to be conducted by A-san who would then negotiate with X-san to try to accomplish what had been promised to the polytechnic, X-san would then negotiate with his friend in Japan to try to organise the recruitment of students, the Principal would then promote the idea to the students. The circles of obligation turn then anti-clockwise with the students paying their college for the experience in Wexford; the Principal would pay X-san; X-san would then pay A-san who would pay the institution.

The requested programme, reported by A-san in a document cannibalised from one of

the junior colleges's own, simply described their own curriculum, that is an EFL-plus arrangement, with some form of cultural studies or British studies as an add-on to the language work. Students were to stay six months including over the Christmas period and were accommodated in families, providing unlimited scope for every conceivable disaster. These girls could barely conduct a simple conversation in English so A-san assumed the role of counsellor again. In terms of this project, A-san was accountable to X-san who received the student evaluations at the end of their course. Although written in Japanese and not offered to the course team, they were translated for the writer by a Japanese colleague. Summaries are not offered here since, in common with students of this level of maturity and communicative competence, responses were uniformly bland and non-committal, the relationships and organisational practices such that mutual trust necessary for such a procedure to be beneficial was absent. More than a few however contained negative criticism of A-san's inter-personal behaviour such as that which had been witnessed by and with the students on the other programme.

When the Itani students returned to Japan in March 1993, the head of school had already served notice to terminate the university's contract but had felt obligated to receive any students in the system, as well as a second group of junior college students previously committed to, whilst the contract was being worked through. The third cohort did not materialise, it will be remembered, and when the third term of the 1992/3 academic year (Term 1 of year III in the JIEF calendar) opened without IDFS III, the following communication arrived from the Principal of the junior college:

"....we have been trying hard to find enough number of students who would want to study in your school. So far our effort seems to turn out to be in vain....."

I was surprised, at the end of the recruitment for the study-abroad programme, to hear from our staff that so few students, actually only two, applied for the study at Wexford that as a matter of fact JIEF cannot organise even one English class at Wexford.....

I cannot understand why so few students applied for studying at Wexford..... judging from the reaction of the students who came home from you very happy.....

The principal concluded by wondering if cost was a factor.

The tuition fees and homestay cost set by JIEF is nearly 40% higher than other programmes."

The School of Languages had agreed with JIEF a discounted fee group rate amounting to about half what any other JYA student in the university was paying as an incentive and necessary loss-leader to obtain the business which it was hoped would be profitable in the long term. A-san suggested raising the IDFS fee for the year II cohort (for whom he did not receive a cut) to subsidise the junior college course which it was in his commercial interests to protect. He therefore bought the JC course from the university at almost 50% discount and sold it on to his clients in Japan with something like a 40% mark-up on the **full** cost.

The savings allowed by the university did not benefit, as intended, the student clients and their sponsors. The self-interested opportunism which motivated the JIEF's partnership with the polytechnic, had degenerated into profiteering and was damaging to the institution in a number of ways. Regrettably, the complex and unwieldy organisational structure of this project is not unique. Profit making acts as an incentive for involvement in the project and for the franchise to be sold on (and on). A case in the UK reported widely in the press concerned a university which franchised a course to an institution which delivered it in a collaborative arrangement with a third institution. Problems occurred when the course was bought by an institution in another country. Questions arise when responsibilities are devolved to second third and fourth parties. For instance, who is the client? who is the producer? the supplier? the distributor? what is the nature of the product? and most important of all, who is accountable. Whether or not the nature of the original contract is open to hazard is also debatable.

In a professed student-centred university the institution has an obligation to further the cause of greater transparency in course design and the communication of its objectives, assessments and quality control to students. This responsibility is made difficult to discharge when the layers of involvement obscure direct accountability. This issue is at the heart of the difficulties with the Japanese programme and its satellite programme. Accountability for standards in all aspects of the programme, academic and non-academic, is due to the stakeholders, the most important of whom are the students themselves, those who teach them, and the families who have sponsored the endeavour.

VIII STUDENT FEEDBACK

i) Background

The difficulty in acquiring meaningful empirical data from international students by means of questionnaires was explored in Chapter 7. In the course of this study many questionnaires were piloted and trialled with different groups of students over the years. So much of the written responses was predictable, superficial and non-committal. "satisfactory", "OK", "average", "not sure" made up the bulk of many of the responses. Questionnaires sent out were not returned. Those distributed in class time were completed in a particularly bland manner.

Student satisfaction was investigated to an extent through the routine university evaluation documentation, confidential reports of which are communicated to course managers. These responses were used to inform and structure student interviews. Student motivation for participation in study abroad was investigated through a form of questionnaire using a pseudo-narrative format involving gap-filling exercises on the part of student. This proved to be the most useful design in that it seemed to catch the imagination of the students who recorded their responses thoughtfully.

ii) Summary of questionnaire responses

A. Personal data on the cohort

. 36 students enrolled for the special Foundation course for Japanese students in April 1991 and April 1992, 18 men and 18 women.

. The age range predictably fell in the post high school range with some exceptions.

age of students	no. of students
18 years	13
19 years	10
20 years	4
21 years	5
23 years	1
32 years	1
60 years	1
TOTAL	36

. Previous domicile was requested to see if any pattern could be detected. The largest number of students came from Aichi prefecture either from or very near Nagoya where Hanajuku headquarters are situated.

B. Educational background

Junior college graduate - 1

Junior college year abroad - 1

University (Japanese) year abroad - 2

Transfer from Japanese course in UK - 3

Already in UK - 1

Japanese university graduate - 1

Attended university in Japan (no qualification cited) - 1

High school graduate - 21

C. Student wastage/ transfer in

Dropout, transfer and non-completion was recorded at the end of the first year of the programme.

Transfer to the modular degree - 2

Transfer to the Japanese course at SOAS - 1

Transfer by JIEF to local secretarial college - 1

[JIEF organised the move for this young woman who was deeply unhappy with the arrangements being not in the least interested in secretarial work - she later appealed to the writer to arrange for her to be admitted to the university on the international foundation course which subsequently replaced the original]

Returned to Japanese junior college - 1

Returned to Japanese university - 1

[the university had never been informed that these students were not seeking the award of IDFS]

The remainder stayed the course though not all qualified.

Three students entered the course in its second year from Japanese special courses run by two other institutions with whom JIEF had an arrangement. A fourth was studying elsewhere in the city and applied directly to the course manager. JIEF insisted that her parents apply on her behalf in Japan and pay the company in yen.

D. The Sample : 22 students completed the questionnaire.

Q1-3 The first three questions were "lead in " personal information.

Q4 Students were asked to judge whether their high school equipped them successfully for university entrance exams.

13 said successful (1 qualified with "it depends")

8 said it was unsuccessful

1 didn't want to answer

14 of those who answered said they went to private schools. The question did not probe the different types of high schools in Japan.

Q5 asked about their attendance at *juku* and *yobiko*.

17 answered yes but the question did not invite specificity, therefore, it was not clear whether they had in fact studied at one or both.

5 answered no (presumably neither)

8 had studied non-academic subjects and 15 had studied academic subjects.

7 had done preparatory courses for university

1 didn't want to answer

The open ended questions following, elicited personal and frank responses. The students own words are faithfully reproduced here. As before, the language has not been institutionalised but the conventional *sic* has not been used out of respect for the students, in their foundation stage, working in a foreign language.

Q6 The reason I wanted to study in a British university is -

- . I want to study English more
- . I wanted to leave from the family. I didn't want to go to university attached to my high school and I liked UK
- . I wanted to study English and Art things at once [*meaning art and English combined, not just EFL*]. I knew it would be difficult but I wanted to try
- . Yearning to go to Britain and wanted to struggle to study English
- . Because I would like to study English in Britain's education
- . I wanted to extend my own world
- . I have been interested in England education
- . *I heard the British education is high level and good to study academic subjects*
- . I need advanced study about my subject
- . I want to study English and to study with foreigner
- . First, it was my dream since young to live and study in England. Second, it is not so popular as American universities (America is overcrowded with Japanese) and I thought it is not as dangerous as in America
- . English is important in my future
- . Very simple. I wanted to speak English fluently
- . I thought Britain had a high academic system: a lot of chance to debate in a small class - creative research assignment etc
- . Because I would like to study English in the British education

- . To get experienced
- . I was interested in Britain very much and it was, I thought, the last time for me to go to another country and study something for the long term [*student was ronin for years*]
- . Because of the high level of many subjects
- . First of all I wanted to learn English
- . Because in British university it is more practical study than Japanese universities
- . The entire educational process depends on the individual
- . To have a global point of view
- . Because I'm going to use English in my future life with business

This student testimony confirms the demand factor for English language learning reported in Chapter 8. The ability to use English fluently is cited most frequently as the reason for studying in Britain one student referring to her preference for England over America. Chapter 5 proposed the theory that the lure of America for Japanese is weakening. The next most frequently cited is the ubiquitous though still elusive desire to be "international". Phrases such as "global point of view", "go to another country", "get experienced", "extend my world", echo the government's and Monbusho's exhortation for the youth of Japan to become "*kikoritsu*". Goodman's view expressed earlier that education in Japan cannot be divorced from hardship is illustrated in the phrases, "*yearning*", "*struggling*", "*it would be difficult*",

Some students have a vision of British education as a system which encourages individuality and enjoys high standards; others operated from a kind of negative regard for the Japanese system. These insights lend weight to the view expressed in Chapters 5 and 8 that dissatisfaction with the Japanese education system, is a factor in the decision to study abroad and that internationalisation is thought by many Japanese academics to be key in the accomplishment of that aim. This inference should be qualified by experience of Japanese *tatema*e in dealing with the foreigner, that is to say, self-criticism consonant with the *gaijin*'s world view and conviction.

Q7 The possibility of study abroad students formerly having been *kikokushijo* was investigated.

8 students had studied abroad

3 in UK, 1 Australia, 1 US, 1 Norway, 1 Kenya, 1 Thailand

Respondents did not specify at which time in their life the sojourn took place. The probability is that their parents went abroad when the respondents were children since no-one declared participation in any exchange or study abroad scheme. Statistically of all Japanese of that age it is rather high and suggests that further evidence of a link might be pursued.

Q8 Students were asked if they had been influenced by friends or relatives who had themselves studied abroad .

3 said friends had studied abroad and had recommended it
3 mentioned relatives. 2 said no, noone had recommended it. 1 said
people disagreed by which it is probably meant that people raised
objections to the idea. The others did not answer this question.

Q9 These are some of the things I believed about Britain before I came:

8 students said they knew nothing, 12 said they knew some things and
2 did not respond

Many of the ideas students held were very positive - if not idealistic.

- . British people are kinder, the character of British people is more
cheerful, people work harder, young people are more fashionable, food
is better taste
- . most people are taller and larger, more handsome guys and beautiful
girls
- . People is gentle, police (*polite?*), eat English breakfast
- . They are gentlemen
- . Fog in London, nice weather, nice food, cheaper products (compared
with Japan)
- . Strict, sophisticated, elegant
- . I believed that British people are friendly
- . People in Britain are kind friendly and clean
- . Strong labour unions, good politics

Others were more concerned with the benefits of a British education:

- . British people are conservative, not friendly, level of education is high
- . Small class. Nice relationship with tutor and so on
- . High quality academic system in certain universities, people are more friendly

One or two implied a degree of disappointment:

- . I thought I'm gonna have wonderful school life but not anymore
- . I thought Wexford has more ancient and respective buildings

Others were conscious that what they thought they knew was a little superficial:

- . I knew some things but not much political stuff
- . I thought I knew something which means stereotype of Britain but when I came here I realised that I almost didn't know anything
- . very little

The putative hardship associated with the Japanese educational experience is echoed in the statement:

- . I had no ideas. I just wanted to put myself in a difficult situation.

Q10 I didn't want to study at a Japanese university because:

- . I wanted to continue to study English by native speakers
- . I wanted to go to another country (Britain)

- . not because I didn't want to it's because I thought that it might be a good idea to study abroad
- . I'd like to study in a Japanese university but it is necessary for my life to go abroad and experience.

Whilst responses on British education were both negative and positive, the judgments on Japanese universities was almost unrelievedly negative other than those which maintained that it was a question of preference for Britain, and the rather enigmatic responses:

- . various reasons
- . no reason

Otherwise there were some fairly strong condemnations of the Japanese system:

- . I thought I would be flashy and playful woman
- . Students don't study hard
- . To tell the truth, I wanted to study at a Japanese university however I failed the entrance exam
- . The English education in Japanese universities isn't practical and students just go to university to get a better job not to study
- . Japanese university is just playing, I can't get anything from study
- . It is a waste of money, no interesting subjects offered, anyway, I failed entrance exams! . Not "didn't want" but "could not"
- . It doesn't contribute anything to me
- . It is sort of amusement park (a place to play and have fun for most

of the students)

. Since I didn't graduate from Japanese High School I didn't learn some of the compulsory subjects *[after a year in a US high school returned to Japan and did not complete the last year of Japanese High School]*

. I don't care to study in Japan or Britain

. *[I don't care whether/ I don't want to/ study in Japan or Britain?]*

. I wanted to study at a Japanese university *[indicated that he/she had failed in Japan at least three times - wouldn't acknowledge M/F - forged the signature of a student who was not in the room at the time]*

. English in the university (in Japan?) is not good enough

. I hate it *[refused to give any written response to those items which required one. Wrote only: secret, secret, I don't want to answer, and so forth]*

. I think study at a Japanese university is actually fun but that's useless for my future. There is no time to waste for me

Q11 Asked how they would advise prospective study abroad candidates to find out information about the host country. This was to discover how well they felt they had been prepared for the experience.

14 students said they would consult the British Council in their country but one respondent volunteered,

There are only two offices in Japan, in Tokyo and Kyoto, very inconvenient for people living in other regions but I myself don't know

much about BC

Only 2 said they would ask their high school counsellor and one person underlined that item with the phrase,

- . doesn't know anything

2 said they would talk to the counsellor in the *juku*

9 selected Student Study Abroad magazines although someone commented

- . full of untrue stories but it helps a little

This was surprising since it is widely accepted that Japanese students and parents research thoroughly before committing themselves to considerable expenditure on such important life choices and there is a huge readership of these magazines in Japan.

7 said they would consult a specialist Educational Consultant

Most respondents felt that others who had had a study abroad experience would be the best source of advice and information,

- . ask a person who has got experience in studying abroad

- . ask friends studying abroad

- . ask some advice from someone who actually has experience of studying abroad

- . ask somebody who was or is studying in a foreign country

- . ask someone who has experience of studying abroad

Others were more concerned about the university itself, the courses and so on

- . send a letter to UK and ask for a prospectus
- . confirm or consider well what he/she wants to study
- . just language is not good I think
- . read a tourist guidebook
- . I advise someone to go there before starting to study it is the best way to find out the country and I did it
- . visit the country he wants to go
- . I can't give advice
- . If you do want do it yourself

Q 12 asked about orientation

- 9 didn't attend orientation 9 did and 4 didn't answer
- 3 said they had been to a guidance session
- 7 said they hadn't read anything about Britain before they came.

Q13 The following were cited as having been read before coming to the UK

- . many books about Britain but all of them were published by Japanese publishers
- . many guide books about Britain
- . successful study abroad in Britain
- . many (sorry I don't remember the titles)
- . some guidebooks for travellers and for students who study there
- . How to work the world

- . several books in Japanese
- . one guide book of London and Britain and some newspapers
- . ? guide Riyugaku
- . I used my imagination

Previously, when asked why they had chosen not to go to Japanese universities, push factors seemed to emerge much more strongly than the pull to Britain. Japanese universities were said to be a waste of time, a waste of money, too much play not enough work, teaching is bad and so forth.

Q14 probed whether or not a Japanese university place had actually been an option for these students.

NO. OF RESPONDENTS	TOTAL NUMBER 22
5 students	declined to answer
6 students	claimed not to have applied
2 students	admitted to applying but not to how many times
2 student	applied twice
2 students	applied 3 times
3 students	applied 4 times
1 student	applied 7 times
1 student	wrote "secret"

Of the 22 who returned the questionnaire, 6 refused to answer this question though they answered others. 6 claimed not to have applied and 10 admitted to having been rejected (some, repeatedly). Of the 6 who said they had not

applied, at least two were ineligible to do so because they had been out of the country prior to the final year of Japanese High School. A case can be made for concluding that only four out of 22 Japanese students at Wexford came here as their first choice or as a result of pull factors rather than push. It is unfortunate that responses were not received from the whole group but that in itself is significant.

Though numerically limited, the questionnaires are very telling with strong conviction behind the views expressed. Acknowledging that some students might have been uncomfortable about what they could have perceived to be an uncontextualised judgement on their academic ability, the theme was taken up some time later in an informal and supportive end of term progress tutorial by a Japanese speaking tutor. Students explained their reluctance to answer Q14 as follows. The general consensus was that they had applied to so many universities, or applied so many times, they actually couldn't remember the detail. This is probably true.

Observing the students over the period of the project gave rise to the deduction that most of this group were indeed *ronin* with a history of educational failure (by Japanese standards) raising certain important implications for receiving institutions. One thought with which to leave this section is that the overwhelming majority of these Japanese students were in the UK because it had been put to them that it was a chance of getting a respected higher education which otherwise was outside their grasp.

IX FINDINGS FROM THE CASE STUDY

i) Summary

Data presented in vignettes, documentary materials, and direct testimony of students and staff, revealed major issues facing universities in their international partnership arrangements. These encompass: contracting arrangements, production of information and promotional materials, *recruitment and selection* procedures, curriculum modifications, exit possibilities and progression regulations.

Problems centring on these issues include: opportunistic behaviour of the partners and the effects on morale of academic staff, inter-cultural difficulties in respect of communication and operational practices, experience-rating problems in inter-sectoral and international organisations, and the identifying and ensuring of accountability. A review and analysis follows:

ii) The Consequences of Commercial Priorities

When commercial considerations drive academic ones, whether perpetrated by the institution or the external agency, there is a danger that students' best interests are not served. Further, that particulars are actually anti-educational, that is to say, they stand in the way of students' achieving their own and the course objectives. A number of aspects of the design and delivery of the Japanese students' course was clearly working against their development needs. Student behaviour explicitly demonstrated a lack of trust; trust in the course, in the course team and in one another. The Agents, professionally limited and demonstrably lacking in confidence themselves, failed to

inspire trust in the students or the academics. In time, the experience of a number of disasters (summer school, student transfers) demonstrated a pernicious problem between the service supplier (the university) and the service procurer (the agent). The problem was transferred to the client (the student) which is inadmissible in a business which professes to be client-centred and premised on client satisfaction.

iii) Aspects of Accountability

In their desire to recruit students from Japan the institution accepted specifications from an outside party in exchange for that party's taking responsibility for recruitment and selection. In doing so the institution was able to distance itself from financial risk-taking in this regard which, presumably, they regarded as prudent management. They unwittingly, however, put themselves in a dependent relationship with unknown and untried partners. Neither partner was fully knowledgeable about the environment in which the other was making decisions. When transactions are conducted under such conditions of uncertainty it is almost impossible that a complete decision tree is visible (Williamson 1975). The result is that each partner was working with inadequate data. The long term difficulties in respect of promotional materials is apposite and has been shown to have made a fatal contribution to the erroneousness of student expectations in terms of course design and progression. Such affairs encapsulate our understanding that education is a culture bound activity. It follows, therefore, that there is a requirement on each side to conduct their affairs in the full knowledge of the operating conditions and professional environment of the other. In other words, dramatically asymmetric distribution of information between the partners led to distorted, withheld or only partly disclosed information.

iv) The Culture of the University and University Sovereignty

It is now acknowledged best practice that institutions transmit to potential clients their goals, statutory regulations and so forth which can be expressed through a mission statement. On the other hand it has long been realised that the market for education is one which suffers badly from imperfect information (Greenaway and Tuck 1995). It is not practicable to "sample" the product before contracting to purchase, especially when the potential consumers and producers are separated by vast distance. Yet somehow institutions must meet their obligations to signal product specification and quality by whatever mechanisms they can devise. In particular, what is negotiable and what is immutable must be transparent to students and agents for whom a meta-language for receiving this information is imperative but all too often, not in existence. Responsibility for what UKCOSA terms full and frank pre-arrival information, is a responsibility which institutions devolve to in-country agencies at their peril.

This responsibility satisfactorily acquitted, the institution avoids the bartering and negotiating which characterised much of the behaviour of the Japanese students and their Japanese mediator which stemmed from ignorance of the prevailing culture and student entitlement. This behaviour was taxing to academic staff and led to a build up of frustration and obdurance which compounded relational and communication difficulties. The crucially important issue of university sovereignty (including academic freedom and authority of teaching staff) is subject to potential hazard in partnership arrangements with non-university organisations and goes to the research questions on the impact of international student projects on the institutions which engage in them.

v) The Suitability of the Partners

The above leads logically towards the key reason for the relative failure of this project, namely, the unsuitability of the partner, itself a result of lack of preparation at the contracting stage. Had the organisation been credit-rated and experience-rated, systematically, their absence of expert knowledge, inadequate "know-how", insufficient knowledge of changing market circumstances, deficiency of financial and administrative backup, and insecure position vis a vis staffing, would have come to light.

The events surrounding the organisation and delivery of the summer school serve as a microcosm of the bigger picture illustrating contractual difficulties in respect of: course duration, course components, fees and discounts, credit and assessment, student choice and staff responsibility.

Overall limitations can be identified and analysed as follows:

- a) Absence of marketing strategy: it is almost certain that Hanajuku was the lead body franchising their data base, and other aspects of their infra-structure, to JIEF. Wexford may have been one of hundreds of institutions Hanajuku were promoting. This custom is common in Japan as we have seen in the *juku* industry. When the franchise operators are in a different country and managing their transactions in a different system and culture such arrangements damage and obscure accountability.
- b) Lack of knowledge of UK HE on the part of staff working at the interface

with potential students, leading to the giving out of false information and misrepresentation of courses.

c) No infrastructure to facilitate the "partnership" arrangement

d) Unprofessional and unacceptable behaviour towards the students to cover their absence of sapiential authority; this included browbeating, cajoling and attempted indoctrination.

vi) Curriculum Developments

There is plenty of evidence available, as Chapter 8 reported, that these students and others like them are continuing to provide a stimulus to course innovation. This can be one of the greatest benefits to an institution aspiring to an international profile. Caution must be counselled to ensure curriculum developments are based on the expertise of professional educators rather than the often mis-guided or partly understood assumptions of commercial operators in the home country, even when they represent themselves as conduits of student demand.

X **CONCLUSION**

Whilst the academic side of the partnership strove to maintain quality and order, as the project evolved it transpired that neither side had experience of dealing with what Williamson (1975) describes as *"the developing complexities"*. He describes what happens as a result of the partners becoming *"exposed to opportunism hazards"* which occur when parties act independently. Such *"instrumental behaviour"* is *"premised on individual goals and gains"*. From the students' side, their expressed ideas in terms

of their academic aspirations, were not inherently perverse, but seemed so. The timing of their requests and especially their revolt, illustrates the deeply unsatisfactory outcomes which result from transactions conducted under conditions of uncertainty and provides further evidence of the necessity to describe the complete decision tree. The persistent problems, resulting from ignorance of the environment in which the partner was working, stem directly from insufficient effort at the planning stage of the project, beyond the practical and the immediate, for which all participants must accept responsibility.

Epilogue

In August 1996 a THES headline ran:

Malaysia investigates franchise bribe claims Government facing inquiry.

On December 20 that same year the THES delivered:

Overseas franchise warning, relating details of burgeoning multi-billion pound overseas partnerships and franchising markets in which a number of HE institutions were becoming involved. The Higher Education Quality Council had been taking a close interest in the HEIs latest wave of commodification and were exhorting the institutions to **tighten their controls on quality**. Areas of operational practices giving cause for concern included, **consistent assessment ... rules for controlling promotional material ... arrangements for identifying responsibilities**.

They went on to say that collaborative arrangements had been entered into by institutions, based on "modest" information about the prospective partner.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to review the main findings of the research, comment on the effectiveness of its methodology, and indicate areas for further research, organised around the research questions.

1 THE PROFILE OF JAPANESE STUDENTS IN THE UK AND THEIR CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

The literature and other documentation presented and analysed in Chapters 5 and 8, together with secondary statistical and other data, revealed the continuing yet changing use the Japanese have made of the goods and services of international education. There have been times in Japan's history as we saw, when there was a fear that education gained abroad was contaminating and debilitating. Chapter 5 related the paradox of the Japanese's creative use of foreign knowledge and experience to further the cause of modernisation and development. Chapter 8 identified a continual increase in the participation rates of a much wider social and academic spectrum of Japanese going abroad for study and training. Trends show growing numbers participating in undergraduate and post-graduate courses, in addition to the traditional year abroad or shorter duration of stay (statistics cited in Chapter 8 Monbusho 1996) (Guidepost 1995) (IIE 1995). A higher number of "mature" students are in evidence and women are beginning to dominate as increasing numbers use study abroad to prepare for careers in professional/vocational areas.

Evidence has been presented to indicate the coincidence of the economic boom of the mid-eighties with the explosion in numbers going abroad, and the numbers of students entering British universities was shown to reflect the rise in purchasing power of the yen against sterling. A longterm trend of United States dominance in the Japanese market continues but is weakening, with Britain's market share increasing at US expense.

Historically, there has been a highly visible asymmetry in Japan's out-flow and in-flow of students. This has given rise to some criticism of Japan as an exploiter of the education systems of other countries. The Monbusho, sensitive to the need to rehabilitate Japan's image on the international stage, has implemented the "100 000 foreign students plan", which, as Chapter 8 demonstrated, is enjoying more than a little degree of success. Goodman, (1990) has made a convincing case for viewing the *kikokushijo* as an elite rather than a problem group. The effects of this new thinking are reverberating on the Japanese concept of internationalism with an opening up of views on the subject. The reverberations are also felt in Japanese universities which are beginning to notice the effects of growing numbers of international students in their midst. The internationalisation of the campus in Japan is fast becoming a reality. Japanese universities are actively seeking out university partners in (especially) the English-speaking world, to enhance their own curricular offerings and compete with one another for the shrinking pool of student consumers who are returning a verdict on the home grown product by continuing to go abroad in increasing numbers.

The case study in Chapter 9 showed that Japanese recruitment must be carefully

managed. If the commercial motivations of institutions are blatantly transparent, students' behaviour may come to resemble that of package tourists. For example, the behaviour of the students in the second cohort was entirely commensurate with consumer behaviour in respect of the purchase of services and invisible goods. As an illustration, the package holiday makers complain to the tour operator that the resort "rep" is too boisterous and familiar (or else unapproachable and aloof). They report that the bar is open too late and is noisy (or that the complex is dead in the evenings and there is not enough night life). They will certainly refer incessantly to the amount of money they have paid and that they are not getting value for money. Such was the behaviour of the Japanese students to their "tour operators" JIEF. These attitudes can be traced back to the recruitment and marketing operation in Japan and to assumptions made by students about the relationship between Wessex Polytechnic and JIEF.

2 *HOW THE DEMAND FROM THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONSUMER HAS INFLUENCED THE DESIGN OF THE PRODUCTS OF BRITISH HE*

It is being said in the Japanese press that some parents see study abroad as a form of conspicuous consumption, but that other parents have spoken out against pressure on their children and spoken up for an education which is student-centred and which will equip the young for the 21st century. Chapter 8 offered evidence that corporate Japan is also demanding education for flexibility and creativity.

Demand from Japan is having an effect on the supply side in Britain, though it is often communicated through mediators rather than face to face as is customary in the

UK where the student is the client, not the parent or sponsor. Fears expressed in Chapter 3 that the fee-paying international students would be in an exploitative relationship with the Mammon and Mercury of British higher education, were unrealised. On the contrary, it would seem that students have been *unlikely* winners. Despite the blatant mercantilism of certain institutions, changes in the HE curriculum, greater flexibility of entry requirements, the notion of alternative equivalents (further stimulated by falling home student numbers and the requirement of institutions to recruit non-standard entrants) the acceptance of Accredited Prior Learning (APL) and so on, has created a climate in which curriculum and other innovations are much less likely to encounter opposition. This augurs a move towards massification from elite selectivity. Education is acknowledged as a commodity so it therefore follows that consumer power can be harnessed and exercised in pursuit of the opening up of opportunities for clients. Educationists have commented on the problem of seeing education as a commodity in that it places the student in a condition of *passivity*. This view can be challenged in the light of experience with international students who are increasingly focussed and dedicated to clearly specified objectives which they are confident their academic advisers can facilitate.

The conditions currently prevailing are advantageous too to the institutions. Creative and perspicacious universities saw business opportunities after 1979. Much needed income from external sources has made organisations more flexible. There is a requirement to think business, be accountable, and produce what the client wants and needs, not what is "off the peg" and can be sold with a minimum effort.

A crucially important aspect of curriculum development has been a realisation of the commercial potential of English language. This has inspired a plethora of English Language Units dealing with external contracts, internal servicing to other departments (including home and research students), foundation and access programmes for international students, even foundation courses for international students for whom English is a first language, Americans for instance or Cypriots.

The Japanese have consistently formed the most numerous group in every English Language course in the case study institution as students seize the chance to get onto the first rung of the ladder into British higher education. This pattern is reflected in Japanese participation rates throughout the country.

Universities reacted, as Chapter 8 demonstrated, by providing more suitable, that is to say, relevant and accessible courses for Japanese, particularly English programmes and other bridges into higher education. Japanese long-termism tends to encourage students to stay in an institution once they are there so radical curriculum designs ensure staged progression. The new generation of study abroad is coming to do **something** not **anything** and British universities are beginning to respond. "*I am so lucky - I came here to do an English course and I found I could move on to the foundation programme where I would be helped to apply for a degree course. I can't believe I'm so lucky*". (Japanese student to the writer, December 1996). It is not luck, of course, but design, based on reflective observation of the consumer drives of the prospective Japanese students feeding into product diversification such as: English Language Improvement Courses, Junior Year Abroad (JYA) or similar, Foundation

Courses, Post-graduate Foundation Programmes, Modular Degrees with flexible, associate status built in and Accredited Exchange Programmes with Japanese universities.

3 *DESIGN MODIFICATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION*

A course of study is like a play. The dramatist's task is accomplished when the script is written on the page. In order for the play to become a production however, the actors, the producer, director and technicians bring together their effort and talent in the theatre, to work towards achieving the full potential of the drama. Similarly, the course set out in the validation document is impotent until academic and other professional staff engage with students in a suitable environment, sustained by well-written supporting materials to *work towards the realisation of mutually compatible* goals. The "product" in the case of higher education has to be seen as much more than the course and the programme but also its delivery, and the execution of related services. It is along this axis that the professional ethics of university staff are vulnerable to assault.

Should the sovereignty of the institution or the autonomy of the academic be interfered with by outsiders, the consequences can be dismal as the case study illustrated. The repercussions which occurred when academics abdicated responsibility for students' welfare to overseas operators driven by obviously cash-benefit motives, had a demoralising effect, not only on academic staff but the students themselves who

had been deprived of the quality service they sought in a British university.

Professional ethics are formidably difficult to maintain in the face of unsuitable partners whose professional conduct, experience, or specialist expertise the UK institution has mis-judged, or failed systematically to evaluate. Professionalism is further assaulted when contracting relationships are initiated in which the whole decision tree is not visible, when it is not clear who is accountable, to whom, and for what. In an environment characterised by complexity and uncertainty it is not possible to put quality assurance arrangements in place, let alone police them. In such an organisational configuration it is not possible to know who is taking decisions, who is empowered to make decisions, where the financial and administrative base is and what its nature is. Academic and professional staff in the host university are inevitably compromised when information is withheld or distorted in such a way.

This thesis has developed the metaphor of education as a commodity and identified the inherent dangers in so doing. When money can be made it is an incentive for others to want to buy in to the enterprise, and further, to sell on the franchise. Under such arrangements it becomes increasingly difficult to determine who is the producer, who the distributor, how many middle men there are and who they are. The most important question is, who are the clients of whom? All the above goes to the contracting stage and the imperatives of careful planning and patient investigation of the partner organisation. It is essential that contracting institutions are able to have confidence in the agency with whom they are dealing, have access to full and frank information on the partners' qualifications to deliver the contract, their expert

know-how, specialist market information and relevant contacts.

All is not lost, however, for in a buyers market (for all students) the emphasis above all has to be on quality and relevance, and this imperative is starting to affect every aspect of international education from promotional and informational materials, extending to building maintenance and the recognition of the importance of first impressions. Client satisfaction is paramount .

Profits from proliferating English language units are making an ever greater contribution to the academic and financial health of the departments and schools in which they are located. Walker and Sample in a conference presentation at NAFSA in New Orleans in 1995 paralleled the position of English Language Units in US and UK universities in "Cash Cow and Golden Goose". In some institutions, for example that of the case study, *income from EFL subsidises the school overall and ensures the* continuance of minority languages which would otherwise be lost to the curriculum.

Far from assaulting professionalism, international student operations can stimulate the professional enhancement of academic staff in the following ways. By creating opportunities for external work; for experiencing the inter-play of cultures within the university and by travelling abroad; for growth in inter-cultural awareness; for developing an understanding of other systems of education; by inter-relating with foreign academics thus increasing the potential for joint research projects; by developing information bases; by cultivating course design and delivery techniques. All of these have direct in-put to teaching. Furthermore, operating as a part of the

international student infrastructure refines one's abilities in terms of strategic planning; working with agents in-country, hones negotiating skills.

In summary, from the experiences analysed in this study, despite the growing and teething pains of any evolving organism, the re-conceptualisation of what are the products of British higher education has ended in a win-win situation for consumers and producers.

4 *SATISFACTION OF CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS WITH THE NEW GOODS AND SERVICES*

Evidence presented through the case study showed that the Japanese students were not satisfied with the customised foundation course designed specially for them on the basis of major input from their compatriots, who were negotiating and acting, it was alleged, in the Japanese students' interests. This dissatisfaction was expressed in student testimony and powerfully demonstrated through their actions, reported by the participant observer. Actions culminating, it will be remembered, in a petition directly to the V-C.

That episode, which was reported in detail because of its significance, was an expression of deep frustration at being treated as different, and by implication less, than their British and other European peers. This was summed up in a student's comment, "*We don't come from Mars - only Japan.* "

The lesson learnt was that students must be seen first as students, then international students, and only then, **Japanese international students**. The key, to reiterate points covered above, is that the curriculum and students' educational needs are best decided by academic practitioners. The international student curriculum must be re-claimed by the specialists.

In contracting arrangements, supererogatory involvement by parties outside the staff/student interface sows dissension. At the contracting stage, lines must be firmly drawn and roles clearly defined. The obligation to generate external income imposes a particular kind of stress on practitioner managers, moreover, student dissatisfaction impinges directly on the professional and personal health of the academic body. There is a palpable danger to professional educators when universities enter into arrangements which put them in positions where it is almost inevitable that they will be expected to compromise standards and beliefs. Such outcomes are deeply unsatisfying to committed academics and create a stressful environment which is infinitely hazardous long and short term.

In operational terms, if the generation of external income is an objective of academic schools, which requires units to work as contracting organisations, it is advisable for the school to devolve responsibility for budgets and the evolution of organisational and transactional procedures to that unit. Managers or operators should not be restricted or hampered by school procedures designed to facilitate other purposes and objectives.

Levels of satisfaction of students and staff are to a certain extent mutually inclusive. The case study showed that student dissatisfaction was deeply injurious to their tutors. In like manner, personal and professional satisfaction were seen to be obtained through involvement in curriculum projects which are well-planned and operated such as those which replaced the original course.

Enlarging the capacity to work as consultants by directing educators and other professionals cross-culturally, developing competencies as effective professionals in particular areas of curriculum evolution and the management of change, are among the personal and professional competencies to be gained. Opportunities exist for the comparative evaluation of perspectives, of policies, and of performance in international programmes. The new producers are able to become aware of education as the expression of the values and ideals of nation states and the organisation of education in a changing social, economic, political and moral context through their increasing knowledge of comparative education. Practitioners develop an awareness of their ability to impact on policies and practices in institutions of higher education and have the power to make a vital contribution to research and enhanced professional practice in the contemporary university. Despite difficulties and dangers, such possibilities should actively be sought.

5 *THE FACTORS DRIVING INCREASING PARTICIPATION BY JAPANESE IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION ENTERPRISES*

Surveying the literature, academic and general, including that of the press in Britain

and Japan, documents, statistics, and other data from Britain and Japan, interview evidence and professional experience, the following is believed to be an accurate synthesis of the push and pull factors driving the Japanese student flow.

PULL FACTORS

1. Japanese students are attracted by the availability of programmes of study in English. Of the 59 468 Japanese studying overseas in 1993/4, 47 370 were in English-speaking countries. Statistics presented in Chapter 8 showed the vast majority chose the US but, in 1994/5 the rate of increase slowed (IIE 1995) whereas Britain's numbers have risen annually since 1981. There is a general consensus that Britain's market position is threatened by Australia and New Zealand (British Council Marketing News July 1996) (Greenaway and Tuck 1995) but the numbers are so low they are unlikely to constitute a serious threat. Australia experiences an even greater degree of market concentration in respect of East Asia than Britain, and this will ultimately act as a disincentive to the Japanese. (Because it is known the Japanese avoid institutions where there are large numbers of them.) Marketing News op cit reported that in any case numbers of Japanese in Oceania have already peaked and that the courses taken are fairly low-level)

2. The Japanese consumer buys brand name goods and the UK has still the aura of quality which Japanese feel is the quintessential characteristic of English. London, Oxford and Cambridge have a cachet which Australian and Canadian brand names lack. This cachet permeates through to all the other British institutions large and small. Quality in British education is thought especially to extend to academic rigour and

there is evidence from DfEE statistics as Chapters 3 4 and 5 showed, that serious students are starting to come to Britain with long-term educational objectives and not simply to take "time out". The growing number of Japanese undergraduates currently studying in Britain is likely to convert to high numbers on post-graduate courses.

3. The power of the yen against sterling is making British education an affordable option for growing numbers of Japanese and evidence has been presented that Japanese parents see education as an investment for which they have customarily paid and are prepared to continue so doing. Data showed the comparative cost advantage of university courses in Britain and in Japan.

4. A preparatory curriculum now in place in British universities (Chapter 8) is the "safe house" students have long needed to acculturate and orient themselves to what has been categorically evidenced as a profoundly different system of education into which Japanese students require careful mentoring.

5. The fear that foreign qualifications and experience would not be accepted is no longer an impediment to study abroad reinforced by the opening up of Japanese universities to the issue of credit transfer from abroad. The UK is seen to have the value-added feature of being a gateway to Europe.

PUSH FACTORS

1. Evidence has been presented from the research literature and the Japanese press, of the dissatisfaction expressed by the young and their parents with the Japanese

education system, including the higher education sector. In particular, they reject the "examination hell" and the lottery of university entrance exams, which the Economist, on April 21 1990 described as "*a game of Trivial Pursuit writ large*". Failure to obtain a place (after two, three or more years of trying) is a strong motivator to study abroad, evidence of which was presented through the case study.

2. Data from the Monbusho demonstrated the lack of opportunity, choice and level in the curriculum of some Japanese universities. Marketing Surveys by the British Council conducted at the Higher Education fairs in Japan were presented in Chapter 5 to indicate the desire of Japanese students to study those subjects not available to them in Japan.

3. The motivation of growing numbers of women participating in study abroad has been explained as a rejection of traditional roles in favour of a more eclectic life style aimed at more fully developing their potential. The impact of the recession has been felt more acutely by women as indicated in Chapter 8.

4. Evidence was presented in Chapter 5 that young Japanese are conscious of the need for Japan to become more pro-active on the international stage. Students' testimony was quoted to reveal an ambition to repair Japan's image as a xenophobic nation to which end they wish to take on the role of ambassadors for Japan in the foreign environment.

5. Expressed largely in the Japanese press, but evidence has also been offered in

student testimony, is a growing reaction in Japanese society against what has been described as the empty materialism of Japan, and a desire among the young and others to acquire alternative value systems.

6. The presence of an international student infrastructure is acknowledged to be a stimulant to undergraduate and graduate student mobility in Japan just as the *jukus* serve to encourage demand from high school and junior high school students. Indeed, we saw how the *jukus* are moving in to international placement and counselling because they see the potential for profit.

7. At much higher levels of Japanese society, however, is the desire for "internationalism" expressed. The Japanese government itself espouses the goal. To what extent they are making these pronouncements for the benefit of the *gaijin* is not possible for an outsider to gauge. It seems true that they are at pains to avoid the criticism that Japan is self-seeking, has little global awareness, and is failing to take her place alongside the other economic giants of the world to act as benefactor to the less fortunate. Yamamoto (1990) has argued that Japan is reacting to the realisation that her image is tarnished and her reputation abroad is in need of rehabilitation. Japanese participating in study abroad are being exhorted by their government to use foreign travel as a means of more fully appreciating the value of their putative unique culture.

Notwithstanding, international student exchange might yet transpire to be a euphemism for Japanese economic exploitation of foreign systems of education. Long term

observation of the " 100 000 foreign student plan" may yet repudiate this allegation, but so far the numbers of students enrolling in Japanese universities are from the poorer Asian countries and the internationalisation of the Japanese university student body by encouraging participation by westerners has not happened yet. The position of Japanese universities themselves in the study abroad market is also a key factor. Individual Japanese universities set on enhancing their own position in the buyers market of higher education in Japan, are offering international programmes as an inducement. They further develop their commercial potential by operating as agents. Japanese university Study Abroad directors buy places on British universities' courses, and sell them on with a marked up price to their own students. More and more representatives are profiting as the numbers of Japanese students going abroad increases.

CONCLUSION

International students in Britain are now reaching record numbers. This thesis has underlined the importance of seeing the UK as part of a global market in study abroad. When a student, Japanese or any other, elects to study in the UK, he or she does so in preference to studying in one of the other host nations, so there are compelling reasons why institutions would want to consider the wider context in international student affairs.

In international student recruitment, the UK experiences a significant degree of market concentration as we have seen, with 27.7% of students coming from Japan and East Asia (Greenaway and Tuck 1995). The UK's main competition for Japanese students

are the other English speaking suppliers, the US, Australia, Canada, increasingly New Zealand, and now trying to break into the market, South Africa, all of whom experience the market concentration mentioned above.

Alone amongst the East Asian countries however, Japan is experiencing a metamorphosis from sender to supplier, 6th in the world in 1992. The success of the foreign students scheme may well impact on the study abroad aspirations of Japanese students, though the effects are not easy to predict.

VII FUTURE PROSPECTS

1. It is safe to assume that demand for the commodities of higher education will continue to rise world-wide. Both Japan and Britain will be responding to this challenge, though how they choose to do this remains to be seen. As established producers and providers UK universities must institute ways of learning from past mistakes and building on present product diversification and modes of delivery.

There are a number of indications of anticipated growth in demand across the world:

- a) demand for HE is "income elastic", that is to say, as per capita income in countries grows, so does the demand for tertiary education.
- b) Despite dramatic growth rates in HE enrolments in many parts of the world, in the case of the low and middle income countries this is against very low bases indeed, which indicates tremendous latent demand in those countries.
- c) Rising female participation in higher education is a bi-product of economic

development so this trend is set to continue.

d) Particularly in the middle income countries there will be an increased supply of students into tertiary education from the developing secondary education sectors.

2. This anticipated increase in demand must be balanced against possible changes in supply:

a) Certain middle income countries including Mexico, Malaysia, Brazil and Thailand are committed to developing tertiary level education, so a significant increase in indigenous higher education can be expected. This could have a knock-on effect of increased demand for post-graduate places abroad from students who have completed first degrees in the home country.

b) Pressure for expansion of externally funded educational projects in-country at the behest of World Bank, to a lesser extent British Council, World Council of Churches and so forth is set to increase.

c) The development of franchising and other off-shore collaborative ventures will continue to divert the stream of students away from the UK institutions but will open up other opportunities for international educators in consultancies, training of indigenous staff and a range of peripherals associated with the delivery of a programme of studies in-country.

3. An unexpected and nationally significant issue has come to light in the course of the writing of this thesis. Against the background of global issues raised and the

specific local micro-issues relating to a particular bi-lateral arrangement, it is becoming increasingly clear that international student affairs and those of home students cannot be seen to be mutually exclusive. Comprising 10% of the student population in British universities, (CVCP 1996) international student policies are a vital element in educational policy making as a whole. The challenges and changes affecting university staff, as they aspire to bring about a worthwhile experience for the international students in their care, are more than often indicative and representative of the wider challenges facing British higher education. This thesis has demonstrated the profound effects international students have had, and are having, on British universities and how they can be seen as harbingers for developments throughout the sector.

Now, almost two decades since the full cost fees furore, the educational benefits of international students are evident. Good practice evolved for these students is beginning to be noted as best practice in the academic community. Though to varying degrees in individual universities developments are emerging in orientation programmes, academic support including study skills and IT training, and academic writing courses, which are becoming available for the benefit of the student population in general. It has already been conceded that these movements have coincided with a general expansion in the base of higher education, nevertheless, fewer assumptions are now being made about students' qualifications on entry. Pedagogical initiatives such as explicit statements on core and transferable skills, profiling, and the use of student self-assessment, are becoming *de rigeur* and are indicative of the acknowledged importance of the development of learner autonomy from which home

and overseas student are benefiting. The spotlight which fell on the need to support international students exposed the questionable assumption that all home students could cope with the linguistic demands of an undergraduate course, an assumption which hithertofore had been unchallenged. This synergy seems set to continue and develop as international students are becoming harbingers of student policy generally. International students have been shown to bring impetus for change and innovation, and with the bid to impose tuition fees on home students, the debate has turned full circle.

Evidence obtained through this study suggests that in future years, windows of opportunity in respect of further business, and future professional enhancement, will be available to participating academic and professional staff who have demonstrated that they can learn from mistakes and misadventures. This thesis is therefore highly relevant to the development of institutional procedures and practical arrangements for the reception and retention of Japanese and other international students in British Higher Education in respect of:

- i) understanding the dynamics operating within international student movements;
- ii) being aware of the tensions present when producer-led, traditional professional observances, come up against consumer-driven, commercial and monetary operational practices;
- iii) ascertaining the dynamics of push and pull factors, monitoring trends and profiles, synthesising past policies with present practices, ;
- iv) realising that an understanding of the phenomenon of Study Abroad must

be grounded in historical, economic, social, cultural and anthropological data.

FURTHER RESEARCH

1. It was necessary to set the primary research interests of this study in a fairly eclectic framework of historical, comparative, pedagogical, political and general educational context to demonstrate the multi-faceted nature of international study. Only by doing so was it possible to understand the entire context in which international educators are operating and be able to work with the movements to our advantage. This breadth of approach has laid down foundations for penetrating a myriad of themes for further research.

2. Moreover, the multi-methodological approach (naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic) has suggested a number of ways of working on international student themes each of which has the potential to yield valuable data. The ethnographic approach was highly productive but had to be forcibly curtailed in the interests of thesis length but has revealed further groups of potential respondents illustrative of other areas of interest which could not be pursued in the present study. Groups might include: Japanese women, men (who are now a minority group), mature or mid-career professionals, university students on year abroad, teachers or professors. Topics to include: objectives for study abroad, employment possibilities after study abroad, cultural adaptation, re-entry issues, comparative evaluations of Japanese and British universities.

3. The question of how and to what extent the international student infrastructure is

stimulating or creating student mobility has only just been touched on in this work and is an entire field requiring systematic investigation.

4. The single case study offered the chance to investigate the life cycle of a project and the model could be used for smaller or larger curriculum initiatives particularly when interests centre round people and programmes. The limitations of this approach are axiomatic in that the main actors are similar to those in any English Language Unit anywhere. They are of interest for their commonality and their uniqueness. Educational ethnographers define the case study as a bounded system, an object not a process. This project was not offered as an intrinsic case study rather, it was instrumental to accomplishing something other than understanding or evaluating this particular programme. The research questions which puzzled us - for instance, we wanted to consider in what ways this urge to generate income was affecting our professional conduct as educators - could only be understood by analysing the history of the project. The initiative, with all its difficulties, nevertheless represented a radical departure from what was going on in other institutions, and, what is more, provided a powerful learning experience for the academic staff involved. It served as a precursor for a quality, enlightened and balanced programme of study which now stands as an example to colleagues, leading towards best practice in international education.

5. The latest wave of commodification in British higher education is the franchising arrangements undertaken by the universities. Primary sources could be actively sought to identify and evaluate qualitatively, though by the very nature of such operations

their success would be difficult to measure. The hazards faced by the protagonists involved in delivering programmes in other countries include those of the operating conditions, partners' expectations, lack of symmetry of information and unequal knowledge and expertise bases, all of which are remarkably close to the difficulties experienced and explained in this case study. It should be possible to build into another project, some of the insights gained in this.

6. Longitudinal studies of the Japanese students in the first and second case study cohorts will offer invaluable data for further study as would a comparative study of the Japanese in the international programme which replaced the customised course.

7. A comparative evaluative study of this foundation programme and another comparable one would yield copious information on curriculum design and the possibility of arriving at a design paradigm which would help satisfy student demand at the same time as maintaining quality curriculum provision.

8. A study of success, failure, drop-out and non-completion amongst international students is long overdue.

9. Opportunities for exchange agreements with Japanese universities should actively be sought and focus on the exchange of faculty rather than students, though need not preclude them. Joint research projects with field work in both countries would facilitate data collection on any number of the themes expressed in this work.

10. Finally, comparative educationists will benefit from a careful monitoring over the next few years of the Monbusho's 100,000 foreign student plan. How that develops will explain a great deal about the Japanese intention to internationalise their universities, their commitment to reform, as well as, in some way, though we cannot say how at this stage, the impact on the study abroad objectives of native Japanese.

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WHY DID YOU WANT TO STUDY IN BRITAIN?

Below is a list of reasons. Circle A if it was an IMPORTANT reason. Circle B if it was NOT IMPORTANT. Circle C if it was neither important nor unimportant.

1. Learn and experience British culture. A B C
2. Make contacts with various people. A B C
3. To have better learning opportunities than in Japan due to the variety of educational programmes in UK. A B C
4. To study in specific fields not offered in Japan. A B C
5. To improve English proficiency. A B C
6. Because my parents suggested it. A B C
7. To improve my employment prospects because of study abroad. A B C
8. To become internationalised and acquire a broader view. A B C
9. I don't like the Japanese education system. A B C
10. I want to get a degree. A B C
(if you answered A please circle the qualification you want)
Associate, Bachelor's, Master's, PhD
11. It was my dream to live in UK. A B C
12. I could not enter the Japanese university of my choice. A B C
13. Someone who had studied in UK recommended that I study there. A B C
14. There are better programmes for my favourite subject. A B C
15. I want to use the study abroad experience for my future career. A B C
(if you answered A, what is it you want to do?)
16. I think I can express my individuality in UK. A B C
17. I want to work for a company overseas or a multinational. A B C
18. I think there is less pressure on students in a British university. A B C
19. I want to enjoy my life before I commit myself to a career. A B C
20. Other. Please write down ANY other reason you would like to give as to why you wanted to study in UK.

Thank you very much indeed for taking the time to complete this form.

Tricia Walker June 1992

As part of my work as a teacher in Higher Education I am trying to find out how prepared Japanese students are for a period of study abroad. It would help me very much if you would kindly take the time to fill in this questionnaire.

To fill it in, simply cross out those things which do not apply to you. I have left spaces for you to write in any other points that I haven't covered. Add anything you think I may have forgotten or should know about.

1. I am Male/Female, my date of birth is _____ 2. I graduated from High School in _____ 3. 4. My High School was very successful/not very successful in preparing students for university entrance. 5. It was a Private/State school. 6. In Japan I Studied/Didn't Study at Juku/Yobiko. 7. I took classes in Non Academic Skills (sports & arts)/Academic Subjects (Maths/English)/Preparatory course for university entrance/other (please specify).

8. The reason I wanted to study in a British University is

9. I Have Studied/Haven't Studied abroad before.

10. I studied in _____; My parents worked abroad and I went to school in a foreign country; 11. I went on Junior High School/High School Exchange; University Exchange.

12. Someone I know recommended that I study abroad, it was a Friend/Relative, He/She studied in_____.

13. I didn't know anything about Britain before I came/I knew some things.

14. These are some of the things I believed about Britain before I came:

15. I didn't want to study at a Japanese University because

16. If someone asked me how to find out about a country before starting study abroad I would advise them to

Visit the British Council in their country

Talk to High School Counsellor

Ask the Study Abroad Counsellor in a Juku

Read Student Study Abroad Magazines

Consult a Specialist Educational Agent

Or

17.I Attended/Didn't Attend orientation to Britain/Guidance
before my study abroad. I Read/Didn't Read any books which give
an introduction to Britain. I
read_____

18.I took the entrance exam for the following Japanese
universities

Name

Date

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear International Student,

As part of my work as a teacher in Higher Education I am trying to find out a number of things about the attitudes and motivation of international students in British universities.

It would help me very much if you would kindly take the time to fill in this questionnaire.

To fill it in you need to do two things:

A. Where appropriate cross out the things which do **not** apply to you.

B. Fill in the gaps where appropriate.

This questionnaire is a **pilot** which means a sort of first draft and I am probably going to have to make some change until I find the right questions to ask to get the information I need.

Please indicate at the end any difficulties you had in understanding or responding. For instance, was it a horrible bore to complete or was it reasonably interesting?

I appreciate very much your efforts in helping with this research project.

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.

1. I am male/female
2. I am years old.
3. I graduated from High school/ Junior college/ Technical college/ University/
Other
4. I went to a Private/ State High school
5. In addition to my normal school I attended lessons at a private school/
evening school/ afternoon school/ private tutor
6. I took extra private lessons in

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE

7. I have travelled to the following countries outside my own
.....
8. I have studied in the following countries
.....
9. The reasons I was studying in a foreign country was because:
 - a. I went on a Junior High school /High school/ College/ University exchange.
 - b. My parents were working abroad
 - c. Other
10. Someone/ no-one suggested that I study abroad
11. It was a relative/ parent/ friend
12. He/she studied abroad in

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT STUDY IN BRITAIN

13. Before I came to Britain I knew a lot/ just a little/ really not very much at all
/ absolutely nothing about Britain

14. I gained my impressions of Britain from:
TV/ films/ newspapers/ magazines
15. I read/didn't read books about Britain before I came?
I read the following book(s).....
16. I attended/ didn't attend orientation or guidance in my own country
17. The orientation programme was conducted by.....
18. These are some of the most important facts about Britain which I believed
before I came.....
.....
19. I have now found out that some of these things are not true, for instance
.....
.....
20. I imagined, assumed, the following things about Oxford Brookes before I came
.....
21. Certain things seem not to be true, for instance:
.....

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE AND THE STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE

22. I would/ would not recommend another person to study abroad.
23. If someone asked me how to find out about education in another country I would advise them to :
 - a) visit the British Council in their country
 - b) discuss ideas with the High school counsellor/adviser
 - c) take advice from a private educational consultant, for instance.....
 - d) read a Study Abroad magazine
 - e) other

THESE QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT THE APPLICATION PROCEDURE

24. I heard about ~~Oxford Brookes~~ from

25. Brookes **was/ was not** my first choice

26. I also applied to the following universities in this country

.....

27. I applied to the following universities in my own country

.....

28. I applied to the following universities in another country.....

.....

29. I didn't want to go to university in my own country because.....

.....

30. I **regret/ do not regret** my decision to come to ~~the UK, Britain~~ **the UK, Britain** because

.....

I would like to thank you very much for taking part in this survey. Students throughout the university on many different courses have taken the time and trouble to respond. To maintain confidentiality you can hand this form in unsigned . If however you would like to take part in a follow up interview write your name, address, course or telephone number and I'll be in touch when I'm ready to proceed with the next phase of my research.

Many thanks also to your tutor for allowing me to disturb your programme .

Tricia Walker
International Centre for English Language Studies
September '93