OFFSHORE AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION:
A CASE STUDY OF PEDAGOGIC WORK IN INDONESIA

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Introduction

Australia's public entrepreneurial universities have been immensely successful in their campaign to export higher education for international students. On 31 March 1988, 18,207 international students were enrolled in Australian universities (onshore campuses), comprising 4.3% of the total enrolment. This had grown to 95,607 by 2000, comprising 13.7% of the total university enrolment (DETYA, 2001). In undergraduate programs, the overseas proportion of enrolments grew steadily throughout the 1988 to 2000 period from 3.8% to 12.0%. In the postgraduate sector, there has been an overall growth in overseas student participation from 7.3% to 20.5% (DETYA, 2001). Furthermore, 'full-fee paying students from Asia constitute 80% of all international enrolments' in Australian universities, and 55% of all Asian students are from South-East Asian countries, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam (Maslen, 2002, p. 2). Put simply, the provision of study-abroad education and training to international students is a major element of Australian export trade (DETYA, 1999, p. 11). In 1999, the industry was reported to 'earn in excess of AU$3 billion annually and expected to rise to AU$4.49 billion by 2001' (DETYA, 1999, p. 11).

Some analysts have argued that the most 'dynamic component of tertiary education' is likely to be 'international education within the students' country of domicile', and that this will eventually take over from this study-abroad market (Jolley, 1997, p. 63). As of May 2001, Australian universities had 3,895 formal agreements with overseas higher education institutions (AV-CC, May, 2001). Moreover, between
1993–1999 Australian universities had developed 625 offshore programs in the Asia-Pacific Region (mainly China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore). This growth in the export of Australian education has been accompanied by a proliferation of studies centred on cost-benefit analyses (Baker, 1996; Creedy, Johnson & Baker, 1996; Jolley, 1997), future market projections in terms of onshore, offshore and online education delivery (Back & Davis, 1995; Cunningham et al., 2000; Jolley, 1997) and subsequent immigration patterns (Naidu, 1997). In addition, research policy studies have hypothesised about the nature of educational provision motivated by aid, trade and an internationalising imperative. Many of these policy studies have taken a critical stance arguing that an increasingly deregulated/re-regulated higher education system impacts on the quality of provision for domestic students (Andressen, 1992; Auletta, 2000) and institutional research productivity (Humfrey, 1999). Policy research studies have also analysed Australia’s strategic educational marketing efforts in the Asia-Pacific region, focussing specifically on issues of cultural homogenisation given the historical legacy of Western colonisation in this region (Jolley, 1997; Knight & de Wit, 1997; Kwon & Park, 2000; Nakornthap & Srisa-an, 1997). The rapid growth of the education export industry has also led to a spate of quality assurance studies aimed at measuring the educational outcomes for international students of offshore and onshore programs (Coleman, 1998; Dobson, Sharma & Calderon, 1998; Hacket & Nowark, 1999; Humfrey, 1999).

**Australian Offshore Higher Education and Pedagogic Work**

By contrast to the studies reviewed above, I examine the pedagogic work of the education export industry through an analysis of the interview accounts provided by Western women teachers working offshore. Specifically, I examine one component of pedagogic work, that is, the construction of classroom knowledge about cross-cultural issues. Thus, my interest is in examining the ways in which historically constituted power relations between Western teacher and Indonesian student, and the current epoch of a global knowledge economy (Castells, 2000; Hall, 1996), impact on the selection and construction of cross-cultural classroom knowledge. In this paper, I ask who inhabits the space of Australian offshore higher education in Indonesia. In addition, I ask what is the content and form of pedagogic relations in these spaces, what is knowable and speakable to whom, and how, and consequently what types of pedagogic innovations are imaginable? In such contexts, the Western woman teacher is often expected to negotiate ambivalent and contradictory power relations. For example, on the one hand, Western women teachers are constituted as the bearers and distributors of desired Western symbolic and knowledge commodities. On the other hand, they are constituted as embodying undesirable attributes of Western femininity.
and thus capable of relaying sexual mores, speech and dress codes that may produce trouble, disturbance and opposition (see Luke, 2001). Thus, my focus is specifically on how Western women teachers account for the ways in which they attempt to develop the dispositions and demeanours associated with modernist Western critical thinking skills and English language proficiency, and at the same time show consideration or sensitivity for the religious, cultural and national differences of their student clientele. Such pedagogic negotiations are in themselves part of the postcolonial legacy, a move to respect the difference of other cultures/religions and at the same time relay Western forms of knowledge, values and interests.

National government policies on anti-colonialism, development and modernisation are likely to impact on the pedagogic relations between Western teacher and Indonesian student. For example, policies on economic development (pembangunan) were formulated by Suharto’s New Order government in a concerted effort to Westernise and modernise Indonesia, and thereby constitute the nation-state as a player in the global networked economy. While the New Order’s discourse of development was not overarchingly coherent, it was ‘premised on numerous techniques and technologies at work in both punitive and non-punitive institutions including schools, health clinics, interest group organisations, the family planning programme and the bureaucracy’ (Philpott, 2000, p. 92). In particular, Suharto’s New Order government rejected the separation of state and civil society, and constituted an ethics of authoritarianism and Pancasila Democracy

... in part through its discourse of “dual function” (duai fungsi) in which the military is not only society’s protector, but has a role in “stabilizing” and “dynamizing” society. Duai fungsi therefore formed an element of the New Order’s creation of conditions conducive to economic growth, partly because of the military’s involvement in infrastructure projects and partly through its role in maintaining social order (Philpott, 2000, p. 166).

In terms of maintaining social order, Suharto’s New Order government ‘used terror, extra-judicial murder, intimidation, harassment and a range of other forms of intervention to silence individual dissent, to control particular interest groups such as journalists or to curb the activities of nascent mass-based opposition movements’ (Philpott, 2000, p. 162). This hard line approach was concurrent with national economic expansion. Indeed, from 1990 to 1995 Indonesia ‘experienced growth rates in its GDP of around 7% per year’ (Daly & Logan, 1998, p. 13). At the same time, however, the Suharto government had to deal with internal cultural, ethnic, religious and socioeconomic conflicts produced in part by this modernisation project, as well as legacies of the colonial Dutch regime (Errington, 1998; Philpott, 2000).
As Anderson (1991, p. 120) has argued, the colonial Dutch regime constituted the Indonesian nation-state by attempting to unify a huge population that were and continue to be geographically fragmented, differentiated by religious affiliations, and culturally and linguistically diverse. The New Order government of Suharto attempted to fashion an Indonesian identity by

... a relatively enigmatic politics founded upon routine explicit reference to 'traditional values' (nilai-nilai tradisional), 'cultural inheritance' (warisan kebudayaan), 'ritual events' (upacara), ... that bear an acute sense of social responsibility. Indeed, one of the most distinctive features of New Order rule is the remarkable extent to which a rhetoric of culture enframes political will, and delineates horizons of power. (Pemberton, 1994, p. 9)

This project of constituting an Indonesian identity began under Dutch rule through the technologies of colonial schooling where the common or unifying language of instruction was Bahasa Indonesian. Indeed, the Dutch colonial government was reluctant to expand Western education for the majority of the Indonesian people and only opened a few Dutch native schools 'at the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary levels, enabling a small number of Indonesians to study to the University level, either in Indonesia or the Netherlands' (Singh, Parker, Dooley & Murphy, 1999, p. 13). With independence in 1945, but particularly since the 1970s, the Indonesian government attempted to expand educational provision to all citizens (Schwarz, 1994). However, per capita expenditure on education continued to be very low and absolute education levels remain relatively low, particularly in rural areas, beyond the primary school level, and amongst women' (Singh, Best & Dooley, 1999, p. 18). Moreover, in the 1990s three factors, namely, family poverty, the expense of technical and scientific education, and declining returns on personal education investments were identified as the major reasons for declining higher education enrolments, as well as enrolments skewed in favour of Social Science and Humanities disciplines (see Singh, Best & Dooley, 1999).

In addition, Suharto's New Order policies clearly differentiated between the role of men and women in economic development and modernisation. For example, the New Order's Applied Family Welfare Programme (PKK) assigned the following responsibilities to women:

... correct child care; the use of hygienic food preparation techniques; securing total family health (physical, mental, spiritual, moral); effective household budgeting; housekeeping calculated to maximize order and cleanliness; and development of family attitudes appropriate to the modernization process. (Sullivan, 1991 cited in Philpott, 2000, p. 157)
Furthermore, women were relegated to the private sphere of the home and family, while men exercised power in the formal public political domain. Consequently, women were expected to manage the set of structures and relationships imposed by men in the public sphere. The demarcation of different responsibilities for men and women were backed up in school text books and modes of classroom and school conduct. The clear aim of these technologies of New Order governance was to ‘produce young Indonesians who live ordered, disciplined lives who will serve nation and state by being virtuous citizens’ (Philpott, 2000, p. 58).

In the remaining sections of this paper, I theorise one component of empirical data collected for an Australian Research Council funded study.

**An Empirical Case Study: Australian Off-Shore Pedagogic Work in Indonesia**

The interview data was contributed by western participants working in Australian-Indonesian offshore education institutions in Indonesia. All participants were involved in course administration, teaching, and/or recruitment of international students. English language and foundation studies (Bridging Course, Diploma, Certification and Foundation programme) courses were provided at the various offshore campuses. These courses were designed to develop students’ generic and academic English language proficiency, communication, study and computing skills. In addition, the courses were designed to teach Indonesian students about Western/Australian academic and social-cultural mores. In other words, the main objective of these various courses was to prepare students for independent, successful participation in onshore Australian university studies. Thus they were illustrative of the customisation of Australian educational services and commodities to meet the escalating need of Indonesia to modernise and position itself within the global knowledge economy (Singh, Parker, Dooley & Murphy, 1999).

**Analysing Offshore Pedagogic Work**

In this paper I report only on interview data collected from Western female teachers working at offshore campuses in Indonesia during the mid 1990s. Although data were collected for the research project in Indonesia over a three-year period, all of the interview data reported in this paper were collected during one field trip in the mid 1990s. During this time, Indonesia was still considered to be one of the Asian tiger or miracle economies (Daly & Logan, 1998). President Suharto was still in government, and the pervasive presence of the Indonesian armed forces in the polity continued and was ‘legitimized in a discourse that linked concepts of order and development’ (Philpott, 2000, p. 159; see also Editorial, 2002b, p. 15).
Shortly after the interview data were collected for this study, Indonesia was caught up in the Asian financial crisis or meltdown which destabilised the nation more than any other nation-state in South-East Asia. Thus the field-work took place before significant tensions were produced in Indonesia-Australia diplomatic relations as a result of the downfall of President Suharto in 1998, the separation of East Timor in 1999 and the Bali Terrorist Attacks in 2002. In the mid 1990s, due to the strategic policy initiatives of the Keating Labor Government (1991-1996), diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Australia were still sound. At the same time, however, some commentators started to attribute the declining enrolments of international students from South-East Asian countries to the anti-Asian racism tacitly supported by a Conservative government elected to power in early 1996.

I have also limited the data analyses to the cohort of Western female teachers that were interviewed during this field trip. My reasons for limiting the data analyses to this cohort of interviewees are two fold. First, the data revealed that Western women (predominantly white) tended to be employed in lower paid teaching-only positions, as opposed to managerial or administrative positions. Since my focus was on the construction of classroom curricular practices, these interviewees had a great deal to contribute to these topics. Second, given the historical legacy of colonisation in Indonesia, I was interested specifically in the content and form of postcolonial pedagogic relations between Western, white female teacher and Indonesian student.

All the participants were asked questions relating to the three broad areas of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. However, in the following discussion I focus only on that data dealing with controversial issues in regard to the topic of cross-cultural studies encountered in day-to-day pedagogic interactions.

I framed the following questions to guide the data analyses:

- How were curriculum and pedagogy about cross-cultural issues designed and negotiated in classroom practice? What assumptions about Western and Indonesian/Asian culture were articulated in these practices?

- What assumptions about the Western teacher, Indonesian student and the pedagogic relation between teacher and student were articulated in teacher professional talk about classroom practice? How were these assumptions negotiated/contested at the level of classroom practice?

**Data Analysis**

Four main controversial themes were identified by each of the eight interviewees, namely, Indonesian government's position on human rights; everyday discourses about Islam in Australia; sexual freedom and tolerance in Australia; and Australian vs. Indonesian government policy on multiculturalism and racial/ethnic tolerance.
(see also Singh & Doherty, 2002). The construction of these themes as controversial and therefore sensitive and delicate areas for pedagogic negotiation are consistent with those identified by Philpott (2000) in his analysis of the discursive construction of knowledge in the discipline of Asian studies. Philpott (2000) argues that the statements of ambassadors, conference organisers, journal and newspaper editors, while not necessarily consistent, work to constitute limits and boundaries about acceptable and unacceptable topics of educational discussion and debate, and therefore what counts as public knowledge about Indonesia.

In what follows, I analyse the teachers' accounts of syllabus design in their respective institutional context, as well as their own innovations to this curricular design in their day-to-day pedagogic practices. Five of the eight teachers (Teacher A, Teacher B, Teacher C, Teacher D, Teacher E) worked in Institution A, while one teacher (Teacher F) worked at Institution B, and two teachers (Teacher G and Teacher H) worked at Institution C. At the time of data collection, Institutions B and C had only recently established an offshore campus in Indonesia and were still in the process of adapting pre-packaged curriculum materials developed in Australia or the US to meet the needs of the locale clientele. By contrast, Institution A had developed and marketed a 'Cross-Cultural Studies' unit that was incorporated across all of the English language courses. Teacher A, one of the middle managers at Institution A, suggested that the unit was designed to modify students' behaviour through coherent and logical development of instructional topics relating to cross-cultural awareness and understanding what it means to move from one culture to another. Moreover, she stated that personnel at the institution were constantly designing and innovating curricular for new niche markets. At the same time, all teachers were expected to work within the curricular and pedagogical parameters authorised by the institution.

Case Study One: Institution A

All of the five interviewees who worked at Institution A had some involvement in the 'Cross-Cultural Studies' unit. Moreover, all these teachers spoke about the ways in which they personally modified the unit to incorporate specific curricular content on controversial issues in their respective classes. During the course of the interviews, three of the five teachers (Teacher B, Teacher D and Teacher E) stated that they had married Indonesian men and/or converted to the Islam religion. All three teachers had worked at the Institution between three and seven years, and claimed that they used knowledge gained from their personal experiences of inter-ethnic marriage and/or personal knowledge of Islam (religion and local communities) to inform their teaching practices.
Pedagogic Strategy: Researching Sensitive Topics and Becoming Outspoken

Teacher B took primary responsibility for designing and updating the ‘Cross-Cultural Studies’ unit. In extract one below, she talked about encouraging students to research the topic of sensitive questions that they may be expected to answer when studying in Australia. Thus, individual students were expected to conduct a mini research project, present their findings to the class and then answer a series of questions or quizzes.

Extract One:

R3: What would be some of the other main cross-cultural issues that are important?

Teacher B: Um, sensitive questions, that’s been something that we’ve been trying to get the students prepared for, you know, questions that they might be asked but they would never be asked in Indonesia, or that they would expect Australians to ask.

R3: What sort of stuff?

Teacher B: Oh, East Timor of course. I had one of my students doing a mini-research project on the sensitive question topic and he surveyed expatriates and Indonesians, and 100% of the Indonesian students here surveyed expected to be asked about East Timor, whereas only about 60% of the Australians thought that they would. ... [Other sensitive topics include] anything to do with politics and questions about Islam.

In the preceding extract, Teacher B constructs the Indonesian student as a learner that needs to take individual responsibility for attaining knowledge about possible problems/conflicts that might be faced in Australia, and then develop strategies for dealing with these potentially difficult situations. Later in the interview she suggests that Indonesian students experience problems dealing with difficult situations in Australia because they tend to adopt a passive position in relation to knowledge acquisition. Moreover, Teacher B stated that ‘generally Indonesians don’t speak up when there is a problem, won’t get aggressive, won’t criticise or add any constructive criticism’. These characteristics of the Indonesian learner were attributed to the rules of appropriate conduct, character and manner in the social order of culturally traditional pedagogy, namely, ‘that the lecturer is always right’ and ‘that you don’t really criticise your guru, you know, your guru is, teachers are really really respected here’. Moreover, Teacher B suggested that the dominant model of teaching/learning in Indonesia was based on rote learning and respect.
for the authority of the teacher. Demeanours or dispositions acquired through such culturally based pedagogical styles were not only difficult to change, but also meant that Indonesian students found it difficult to acquire strategies for dealing with sensitive or controversial issues in Australia.22

**Pedagogic Strategy: Personal Narratives, Role Play and Pragmatic Responses**

Similarly, Teacher D suggested that the 'Cross-Cultural Studies' component of the English programmes dealt with cultural differences between Australia and Indonesia in terms of 'everyday social interaction and ways of showing politeness and respect'. The learning objectives of the course were stated simply as: 'before they go to Australia they need to see there is another set of cultural rules in another country that's valid for another group of people'. Teacher D suggested that she used two main teaching strategies to deal with controversial or sensitive curricular topics. At the beginning of the course she used the following teaching strategy: ‘giving out family photos and [encouraging students to] ask about my in-laws and my husband (who is Muslim) and where we met. That’s a good time to start talking about what questions you can’t ask people in the West, in terms of the first time you meet’. Towards the end of the course, Teacher D indicated that she used group work and encouraged students to role-play being an Australian student and participate in tutorial discussions accordingly.

**Extract Two:**

*R3: How does this sort of approach [non-questioning of teacher knowledge] affect your teaching style?*

**Teacher D:** My teaching style. I try to put them in groups to discuss things where I think they won’t be open in front of the whole class. So particularly those difficult question ones, I break them into groups and hand them a card each and I say, “When you’ve got this card in your hand, you’re an Australian asking the question”, so that identity is taken away from them and they can be a little more candid, we hope.

In extract three below, Teacher D speaks at length on the topic of dealing with controversial or sensitive issues in the 'Cross-Cultural Studies' unit. Specifically, she details her own pedagogical innovations to the unit initially designed by Teacher B.

**Extract Three:**

*R3: Did you design the syllabus component of Cross-Cultural Studies or does it come from somewhere else?
Teacher D: It has grown over the years. I don't know who's responsible for its beginnings but it has certainly grown and different teachers have added to it. While I've been here I added something on sensitive questions because my husband's Indonesian and when we're in Australia he says, "Look, if we go to one more party and one more person asks me about East Timor, I'm going to walk out of the room." He just got so sick of trying to explain what his government was doing there, and so that's been a very interesting area to develop because Indonesians find it extremely difficult to deal with questions about why their government, why their military is in East Timor and do they have democratic elections. And their answer is "yes, of course, we have democratic elections every five years." But to Australians it doesn't look democratic at all. I mean the same president for another thirty years or something makes everybody very sceptical. And then they have to explain that their system of democracy is different from our concept in the West and that everything is based on Pancasila.

(a number of turns deleted)

Teacher D: It's that word democracy. It's the associations it conjures up for Westerners, like freedom of speech and the right to criticise the government which just don't exist here. It'll land you in prison and that's what some of them say to me, they say, "If someone asks me about these things. Ah, it's dangerous for me to speak about them." So well then there's your answer, just tell them then. "That even when you're in Australia you feel it's dangerous for you to speak openly about these things."

In the above extract, Teacher D talked about how her marriage to an Indonesian man enabled her to understand the difficult questions posed by Australians to Indonesians. In addition, while her husband provided a polite public response to these questions, she witnessed his private anger and frustration when he was repeatedly expected to justify the political agenda and actions of the Indonesian government. Teacher D explained that such positioning was difficult for a number of reasons. First, under President Suharto's rule it was 'dangerous' for Indonesian citizens to criticise the government. This 'danger' was not lessened for Indonesian citizens if they were in Australia. Second, such questions failed to acknowledge the different paths that nation states may make towards modernity, and therefore the different interpretations and articulations of concepts such as democracy and freedom of speech during different phases of the modernisation project. Third, it seemed unreasonable to hold individual citizens responsible for the Indonesian government's
actions. On the basis of this knowledge, Teacher D suggested that her task was to assist students develop strategies to move across the boundaries regulating the different social, cultural and political norms of Australian and Indonesian higher education. Later in the interview, she stated that the young urban elite students did not find this particularly difficult, as they had already developed boundary-crossing strategies in their everyday lives. Teacher D suggested that young urban elite students:

\[ \ldots \text{often travel overseas, go to Perth for a weekend or Singapore. Summer holidays are spent in Europe or America and they seem to separate the two worlds. They have absorbed some Western influence but they know what's expected at home.} \]

She emphasised, however, that this represented only a small percentage of the entire cohort of students enrolled at Institution A. By contrast, the civil servants had been so moulded that they tended to use the standard political/government line during classroom discussions, and refused to engage in critical debate and discussions pertaining to controversial issues.

**Pedagogic Strategy: Getting Sequence in the Subject, Narrating Stories**

Teacher E also talked about the organisation of the ‘Cross-Cultural Studies’ unit and the pedagogical strategies that she deployed in the classroom. She suggested that the knowledge that she had accumulated from her everyday experience of living in Australia could be taught to the students in order to ‘reduce the amount of culture shock’. According to Teacher E, Indonesian students planning to study in Australia were likely to experience ‘culture shock’ ‘when they go [to Australia] or \[ \ldots \text{when they come back}\]’. In particular, Teacher E focused on the different forms of gendered social relations in Australia, namely the lack of physical contact between friends of the same gender. She also identified herself as a Muslim with strong contacts and connections with the Islamic community in Australia. Moreover, she stressed that students in her classes seemed to be ‘put at ease’ once they were informed of her religious identity and access to Australian Islamic communities. Throughout the interview, however, Teacher E pointed out that her own tertiary qualifications were in Indonesian studies and not English language learning. She argued that it seemed ironic for her to be teaching Indonesian learners who had ‘a terrible thirst for learning English’ because it was perceived as the ‘international language’ and the language of the ‘globalisation era’. And yet she had no formal training in English language, English literature or teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language (see Exley 2001a, b; 2002).
**Extract Four:**

R3: Well getting back to the cross-cultural classes, how is the syllabus organised for that? Do you handle that or does that come to you from somewhere else?

Teacher E: We have a cross-cultural coordinator, Teacher B. Um, she gave me a list of what could be done and said basically it was up to me. It is very hard to get sequence in that subject because a lot of it is ... stuff like touching, stuff like greeting, customs like that, and then on the other hand you’ve got things like, how to get a Medicare card, how to go to the doctor, very practical sort of [information], survival skills. It’s very difficult to blend the two together, um, so we don’t really, we just do something different each time. I try to get things to link if that’s possible. Sometimes if someone asks me something in class I like to follow it up. We had a question about Sunday markets. You might think: “why would you want to learn about Sunday markets?” But it lead on to the idea of op-shops which people don’t have here, getting second hand books, car boot sales and that’s good for students on a low budget and it’s a good way of having a look at a fairly common aspect of Australian life.

The preceding account provided by Teacher E challenged Teacher A’s account about the internal coherency and logic of the subject ‘Cross-Cultural Studies’. Put simply, Teacher E stated that she found it difficult to develop a logical sequence of knowledge (skill and conceptual development) in the subject. While the everyday knowledge that Teacher E had acquired about living in Australia may have been of crucial significance to the students and perhaps a good entry point for talking about more complex issues, it is clear from the above account that there was no attempt to systematically develop a coherent set of skills or concepts. Moreover, it seems that there were no explicit criteria for evaluating students’ acquisition of knowledge.

**Case Study Two: Institution B and C**

By contrast to Institution A, teachers employed at Institution B (Teacher F) and Institution C (Teacher G & Teacher H) did not work from a locally customised ‘Cross-Cultural Studies’ curricular unit. At the time of the interview, two teachers (Teacher G & Teacher H) had worked and lived in Indonesia for approximately seven weeks, while Teacher F had been in the country for seven months. However, they had all worked in other Asian countries (e.g., Korea, China, Thailand) and with Indonesian students in onshore foundation courses in Australia for several years. While Teacher F had worked as an International Student Adviser ('personal and academic
counselling and basic support services'), Teacher G had taught 'Economics and Business Law in the onshore foundation program', and Teacher H had experience teaching 'English to refugees in Thailand'. All three participants spoke about the cultural studies component of the foundation studies course (see extracts 6-8). While Teacher F and Teacher H talked about plans to innovate curricular content, Teacher G talked about her own experiences in mentoring the Indonesian teachers employed at Institution C to utilise Western modes of pedagogy. Teacher G suggested that, while the Indonesian teachers had acquired their subject discipline (mathematics, computing) knowledge in Australia (or Canada), they had not completed studies in curriculum, pedagogy or English language immersion methods (see Exley, 2002).

**Extract Five:**

**Teacher F:** Um we are implementing like it hasn’t been done yet. But we’re implementing a personal issue seminar for example, which is sex education. They do cultural studies in the sense of day-to-day life in Australia, writing essays, writing diaries about what they expect compared to here and just looking at Australian society as well. They, a lot of their essays are not to do with academic issues, they are to do with multiculturalism which is big in Australia.

**Extract Six:**

**Teacher H** ... a lot of the more modern text books when they start talking about say the English education system or the American education or the Australian education system or different cultures and beliefs, they do a lot of the advantages of and the disadvantages of both.

**Extract Seven:**

**R2:** How are you trying to get them [Indonesian teachers] to be like Australian teachers, working in the Australian system?

**Teacher G:** Basically the meetings that I’ve been having I’ve talked about problems that I may have, imaginary problems and what I would do to overcome them. I also suggest that in, in future it may be a better idea to give demonstrations in the classroom. But the teachers are somewhat hesitant to do that, as they’re not being paid to do that, they’re only paid for their hours in the classroom so getting them to do any extra work is not easy. Besides teaching is quite difficult, yeah.
All three interviewees talked about the need for designing curricular about cross-cultural issues. Teacher G spoke of the difficulty of teaching subjects such as ‘monopolies in [(pause)] Indonesia or say government intervention in the Indonesian economy’ and her experience of student disengagement from lessons when these topics were covered in the curriculum. In addition, she talked about how one male Muslim student wore T-shirts with ‘sexually explicit language’ in class after her colleague, Teacher H, had presented a lesson on pornography. Teacher G suggested that, while this particular student’s ‘behaviour in class has been very much um, respectful to me, ... his clothing is definitely not’.

**Pedagogic Strategy: Analysing Media Representations**

Teacher H suggested that her teaching approach was not oriented to a model of the stereotypical Asian learner, but a model of a ‘teenager’ with a ‘short attention span’ and who is ‘quickly bored’. Indeed, she distanced her own position from the ‘commonly held belief that Indonesian high schools encourage students to learn by memorising rather than participating in lateral thinking, or thinking for themselves.’ She claimed that this stereotype did not account for the fact that Indonesian students now participate in ‘a wide variety of types of education and types of high schools’. Moreover, she claimed that some of the students at Institution C had already studied in ‘Language schools in Australia or America or Singapore during vacation periods’. Thus these students had not been socialised simply within a homogenous traditional education system, and were aware of the ‘expectations of a Western education system’.

Moreover, Teacher H suggested that she drew on her own everyday knowledge of ‘movies, music and what’s good to go and see in Indonesia’ to encourage pedagogic engagement. Teacher H stated that while she weakened the boundary insulating teacher from student by recourse to a common identity of young person, she did not ‘cross any cultural boundaries in terms of dress’ and was careful to wear attire deemed appropriate for the social order of the classroom. In extract eight below, Teacher H described how she dealt with sensitive or controversial issues, for example, racism against Asian students or questions about East Timor.

**Extract Eight:**

**Teacher H:** I think most of them are aware, aware of such issues like racism

**RI:** Is that um, something that you have to actively engage with your students here and prepare them for, is it a concern that they’ve got, or do you raise it as an issue?
Teacher H: None of my students have brought it up

R1: Hmm

Teacher H: Um, at all (!) ahh, yet I’m sure they might. Um, some of the staff members here have mentioned it and said “Oh yeah the numbers [of students] for Australia might be going down because of it” ... some staff members here brought it [anti-Asian racism in Australia] up because student numbers went down. ...

R1: Ahh

Teacher H: And um, there were four of us teachers here talking about it because they[Indonesians] also brought up East Timor as being an example of Australian press sensationalising things. That’s how they saw it.

The crucial point to be made here is the expressed need to address the concerns of lower student enrolments at the institution. These lower enrolments were attributed initially to the anti-Asian racism depicted in the Australian media, and picked up by the Indonesian papers, namely the Jakarta Post, an English language paper. In addition, Australia’s position on East Timor, as depicted in the Australian media, was raised as a possible subject of concern for Indonesian students planning to study in Australia. The pedagogic strategy deployed by Teacher H in this context was to engage the students in comparison and contrast media exercises, that is, to examine how the Jakarta Post and the Australian newspapers depicted the same events. The role of the Western media in constructing sensational stories was also a strategy deployed in the classroom. The objective of these pedagogic strategies was to defuse students’ concerns about Australian racism.

Discussion

In this paper, I have discussed aspects of pedagogic work in the Australian export education industry, particularly in terms of pedagogic relations between white Western woman teacher and ‘Indonesian student’ when dealing with cross-cultural studies curricula. I suggested that such an analytic focus was missing in the research literature on exporting education. Specifically, I examined the power and control relations constituting the selection and organisation of controversial cultural studies curricular content in day-to-day classroom practices. I argued that Western symbolic goods and commodities delivered by white Western women teachers constitute ambivalent and contradictory relations in offshore education programs. The data revealed that teachers within three institutions certainly accounted for the ways in which they
modified existing curricular resources through the use of informational resources garnered from personal, professional and academic scholarly experiences. At the same time, however, many of the teachers talked about the lack of sequence, internal coherency and logic to subjects such as ‘Cross-Cultural Studies’. In addition, these subjects lacked explicit criteria in terms of evaluating students’ acquisition of knowledge. Moreover, the teachers’ own articulations of curriculum design centred on models of invisible or progressive pedagogy as the only viable option to the so-called culturally traditional Indonesian modes of pedagogy.

Numerous researchers (Bernstein, 2000, 1996; Martin, 1999; Sadnovik & Semel, 2000) have reported on the beneficial learning outcomes stemming from progressive modes of pedagogy. In particular, these researchers have suggested that progressive pedagogic strategies such as role play and discussion of personal experiences maybe beneficial as they ‘potentially make possible the inclusion of the culture of the family and the community’ into the pedagogic space of schooling (Bernstein, 1975: 127). However, in writing about pedagogic relations with students, these researchers warn that:

... we must make very certain that ... [progressive education] does not lock the child into the present – in his or her present tense. ... we [must] seek to understand systematically how to create a concept which can authenticate the child’s experience and give him or her those powerful representations of thought he or she is going to need in order to change the world outside. (Bernstein cited in Martin, 1999, p. 123)

Extrapolating their argument to this case study, it would seem that progressive pedagogies can work only if a number of conditions are met, including: (1) careful selection of teachers; (2) adequate preparation time for teachers, and (3) time to construct lessons that allow students to recognize themselves’ (Sadnovik & Semel, 2000, p. 197). It was apparent from the teacher interviews that few of these conditions were met. Teachers were given little professional development before taking up positions in offshore campus contexts. They were often employed in short-term contract positions and expected to teach from prepackaged curriculum materials, with little time for educational research, curriculum preparation and innovation. However, it has been argued that innovation by highly skilled knowledge workers is essential to maintaining competitiveness in a highly competitive global economy. If educational institutions are to remain competitively viable then they need to create work conditions conducive to innovative pedagogic work. In addition, they must develop professional development strategies to assist Western women teachers to deal with the ambivalent and contradictory pedagogic relations implicit in offshore pedagogic work. Crucial to such pedagogic work is reconstituting discourses of the
‘Other’ - variously constructed as ‘the barbarian, the pegan, the infidel, the wild man, the “native”, and the underdeveloped’ (Trinh, 1989, p. 54).

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

1 The term international student came into wide usage to distinguish full-fee paying overseas students from domestic/local students (who were also expected to pay for tertiary education via full-fees or the Higher Education Contribution Scheme).

2 These figures hide the decline in the proportion of international students enrolled in research higher degrees (17.7% down to 11.9%, though a slight increase in real numbers), as well as the growth (five fold) in enrolments of international students in coursework higher degrees, from 6.8% to 34.0% of all such enrolments (DETYA, 2001).

3 The terms offshore education and twinning programs are used by the AV-CC (May 2001, p. iv) to refer to programmes which contain the following elements:
   • The programme is conducted in accordance with a formal agreement between the Australian university and an overseas institution or organisation;
   • The programme offered is taught partly or wholly offshore (distance education programmes to be included only when there is a formal agreement with a overseas institution/ organisation to participate in some way in their delivery);
   • The completed programme results in a higher education qualification;
   • The Australian university has developed the programme and has a responsibility for overseeing the academic standards.

4 Total number of offshore programmes between Australian universities and overseas higher education institutions at May 2001 was 1,009 (AV-CC, May 2001). ‘There has been a significant growth in offshore enrolments of universities during the past few years with offshore student numbers increasing by over 167 per cent during 1996-1999 and accounting for a third of all overseas enrolments in 1999. Some smaller universities appear to be targeting the offshore market in particular with offshore enrolments accounting for between 60 and 95 per cent of overseas students.’ (DETYA, 2001, p. 65)

5 Proliferation of customised, niche market course work masters programmes, rather than research higher degree studies. Intensive teaching required for a non-traditional clientele of students, particularly when insufficient attention is paid to student support services.

6 It was only during the late 20th century that the ‘world economy was able to become truly global on the basis of the new infrastructure provided by information and communication technologies, and with the decisive help of deregulation and liberalization policies implemented by governments and international institutions’ (Castells, 2000, p. 101). Appadurai (1996) suggests that the global relationship between five scapes, namely ethnoscapes (movement of people); technoscapes (global configuration of mechanical and informational technologies); finanscapes (commodity speculations and currency markets); mediascapes (electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information); and ideoscapes (political ideologies constituted through diasporas of intellectuals) is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable. Each of these scapes is subject to its own constraints and incentives (political, informational, techno-environmental), and at the same time each acts as a check and consideration for movements in the other.
`Ambivalence refers to affective states in which intrinsically contradictory or mutually exclusive desires or ideas are each invested with intense emotional energy. Although one cannot have both simultaneously, one cannot abandon either of them' (Flem cited in Ang, 1996, p. 44).

8 See Doherty & Singh (2002) for an analysis of the way in which cultural ambivalence is played out in foundation studies programmes designed specifically for international students.

9 In the Singh & Doherty (2002) paper we compare the negotiation of cultural sensitivities in on and offshore pedagogic work with international students.

10 Philpott (2000, p. 27) argues that in the era of decolonisation, it was unthinkable to constitute knowledge explicitly premised on the superiority of `white races', partly because `colonial powers were swept aside by Japanese military might, dispelling the myth of “Western” superiority, and partly because epistemologies of superiority were incompatible with the discourses of democratic triumph which accompanied the defeat of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan'. Thus post World War 11 or American Orientalist discourses constituted an `underdeveloped third world' in need of political and economic Western development – a marked discursive shift of pre-WW11 British and European Orientalist discourses of the (racially) inferior `native' population, that is, people characterised by `indolence, laziness, sluggishness, backwardness and treacherousness' (p. 35). In more recent times, American Orientalism has constituted cultural accounts of South-East Asian economic development, political governance and religious movements.

11 `Pancasila was Sukarno’s formulation of pan-Indonesian beliefs and social values but has come to be, in the [Suharto] New Order’s own English phrasing, a national ideology. It consists of five general social principles – Belief in One Almighty God, Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Popular Sovereignty, and Social Justice ... Pancasila is now complemented by an ideology of modernism and development, pembangunan' (Errington, 1998, pp. 57-58).

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<td>21.32</td>
<td>16.94</td>
<td>3.13</td>
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<td>2. Some elementary schooling</td>
<td>37.51</td>
<td>33.82</td>
<td>24.15</td>
<td>25.75</td>
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<td>3. Finished 6 year Elementary</td>
<td>21.26</td>
<td>27.41</td>
<td>34.43</td>
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<td>4. Finished Junior Sec. Elementary</td>
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<td>5. Finished Senior Sec. School</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>7.08</td>
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<td>6. Finished Senior Vocational Sec. School</td>
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<td>4.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Finished Diploma courses</td>
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<td>0.78</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Finished University courses</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>1.54</td>
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<td>Total %</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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Indonesian Labour-force According to Educational Attainment(MOEC, 1997, p. 3)
13 For confidentiality reasons, all names of people and places used in this paper are pseudonyms.

14 This paper builds on/or sits alongside the following research papers published from the Australian Research Council funded project: Doherty (2001); Dooley & Singh (1998); Singh & Doherty (2002); Doherty & Singh (2002); Exley (2001a,b, 2002).

15 Singh, Best & Dooley (1999) argued that by Asian standards Indonesia was still considered relatively poor even in 1997. Moreover, between 1970 and 1997 it has been claimed that the number of Indonesians living below the poverty line declined from 60% to 15% (Ouy-Gardiner, 1997; Schwarz, 1994). The Asian financial crisis or melt-down of 1997 significantly increased the number of Indonesians living below the poverty line.

16 This was in part produced by the Reformasi Movement in Indonesia demanding greater accountability, transparency and democratic governance by elected political parties. There was a great deal of internal violence and hostility aimed at the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and at Western nation states such as the US and Australia which were perceived to be interfering in Indonesian internal/domestic affairs. The Australian embassy recommended that all Australians employed in non-essential services leave Indonesia.

17 This produced a rise in anti-Australian sentiment evidenced in the burning of Australian flags and threats against Australian interests/personnel in Indonesia, as the Australian government was perceived to be supporting the East Timorese fight for independence. Again, the Australian embassy recommended that all Australians employed in non-essential services leave Indonesia.

18 The Australian press repeatedly suggested that these attacks were against Australians, Westerners, foreigners and non-Muslims (Editorial, 2002a; Editorial, 2002b).

19 Interviews were open-ended. However, all researchers aimed to elicit comments pertaining to the following:

(1) Curriculum (What content is taught and who decides)
   - Description of Courses, Curriculum Content
   - Who designs syllabus and decides what content is included?
   - Representations of Indonesian and Australian institutions, politics, everyday social relations
   - Relation between Local Knowledge and Official Knowledge

(2) Pedagogy (How is curriculum content taught? Who controls what in terms of sequencing, pacing of knowledge? What is the model of the teacher and learner implicit within the pedagogic relation?)
   - Cultural Norms in Pedagogy
   - Teaching style/methodology used
   - How do you use critical/democratic pedagogy and still ensure that cultural, religious and national differences are recognised/legitimated and not re-colonised? (Use of provocation – communicative buzz)
   - Asian Learning Styles, Model of the Learner
   - Australian characteristics or attributes of higher education institution.
   - Student Pedagogic and Local Identities

(3) Evaluation
   - Course and teacher objectives in terms of student learning outcomes
   - Why do the students enrol in this course? Student expectations of learning outcomes?

20 Transcription Conventions (transcripts were edited to ensure clarity of meaning)
R1,2,3: Researcher 1 (white Australian female), Researcher 2 (Asian Australian female),
Researcher 3 (male Australian)

*: words/lines deleted*

**Bold:** emphasis

(): untranscribable

[Other sensitive questions]: text included to add clarity of meaning.

21 A number of classroom-based studies in Indonesia have found that lessons tend to emphasise rote learning and deference to authority. Patterns of classroom interaction take the following form: narrating ... or describing ... pausing at key junctures to allow the students to fill in the blanks. By not responding to individual problems of the students and retaining an emotionally distanced demeanor, the teacher is said to be sabar (patient), which is considered admirable behavior' (Kupers, 1993, pp. 125-126). (See also Rahejo, 1997; Oey-Gardiner, 1997; Oey-Gardiner & Gardiner, 1997).

22 The stereotypes about Indonesian culture and Indonesian learners have been contested in the research literature. For example, Lewis (1996) concluded that although authority-oriented modes of teaching and learning predominate in secondary schools, there is no evidence that Indonesian students in general are passive, lacking in autonomy and unable to criticise or take risks (see also Sugeng, 1997; and Pilkert & Foster, 1996 for similar findings).

23 A number of the interviewees talked not only about the racism that students might experience in Australia, but also racism against different ethnic groups in Indonesia.

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