

CHAPTER FIVE

BACKGROUND TO OVERSEAS STUDENTS IN TAFE WA

Introduction

Chapter Four outlined the methodology used as the framework within which the research for the study reported in this dissertation was carried out. It will be recalled that there were three particular aims of the research. The first of these aims is the concern of the present chapter, namely, to develop an understanding of the background to overseas students studying at TAFE colleges in Western Australia (TAFE WA). The chapter is in four parts. The first part provides the general context, with a brief overview of the origins of the technical education system in Western Australia. This traces the development of the system as a prominent component of education in Western Australia from its early beginnings in colonial times through to the end of World War II.

The second part of the chapter is concerned with the period from the close of World War II to 1973. The year 1973 was the first year of the Federal Whitlam Labor government, during which the report of the Kangan Committee of Inquiry (Kangan Report) into technical education in Australia was published. This report ushered in the modern era of technical and vocational education in Australia. Particular reference is made to the presence of overseas students during this period.

The third part of the chapter deals with the period 1974 to the commencement of the reform agenda of the Hawke Federal Labor government in 1985.

The fourth and final part of the chapter covers the period 1986 to the end of the 1990s. During this period several major reviews of the technical and vocational education and training sector resulted in reforms that had a significant impact on Federal and State education policy and practice. These reforms included a suite of new legislative and administrative measures to enable a greater intake of overseas students in all sectors of Australian education. From these initiatives stem the contemporary policies that relate to overseas students in TAFE WA at the end of the 1990s. This part concludes with a series of propositions that draws together the analysis carried out in this and the previous three parts of the chapter.

Early Beginnings to World War II

Early immigrants brought with them to Australia British cultural heritage, values and beliefs, as well as the institutions they knew. Their traditions, structures and procedures formed the basis of early Australian education and had a significant and long lasting effect (Partridge, 1968). Most of the first schools were run by Churches. Originally, the British colonial government set up schools to complement services offered by the Churches. However, lively economic growth in the 1870s resulted in a major infrastructure development that put an added demand on the need for a more effective school system and gave the government a mandate to act (Partridge, 1968: 30). The period culminated in a series of Acts in all States that, by 1895, set the pattern and organisational structure for Australian

education that has endured to the present day. Following Federation in 1901, education remained under the jurisdiction of the States, which have since retained a highly centralised and integrated structure.

MacLaine (1973: 86) indicates that in Australia during the 1800s, early emphasis in schooling was on the provision of primary education. There was little State interest in post-primary education during this period, apart from the provision of limited scholarships. Indeed, the first significant Australian developments in the post-primary sector, according to Bessant (1972: 214), were not until the 1880s when the continued hegemony of the British Empire over world trade was threatened by the growing power of Germany. The early government secondary schools that were established in Victoria and New South Wales (NSW) during 1905 followed a number of Ministerial visits to England and Scotland (MacLaine, 1973: 87).

As with primary and secondary education, early Australian thought on technical education was also underpinned by the prevailing English cultural, industrial and social issues of the period. The most significant event in the establishment of technical education in Australia is noted by Murray-Smith (1966: 7), who indicates that in 1825 the British government directed the then Governor Darling, who was in Australia, to establish Mechanics Institutes to service the needs of the new Colony. The Mechanics Institute movement and the education of the English artisan that had formed the cornerstone of technical education in the UK, were subsequently replicated in Australia to the extent that the major Australian

technical institutions of today were established over a twenty year period up to 1890 (Murray-Smith, 1966).

The English home office direction to establish Mechanics Institutes in Australia did not, however, bring with it any sense of purpose, clear direction, or an effective model to be replicated. The initiative to form these institutes remained embroiled in an ongoing debate that related to the social usefulness of educating artisans and the working classes in the scientific principles of their own enterprise (Fooks, 1994: 29). At the end of the 1800s, however, the growing economic imperatives indicated the need to better incorporate the needs of industry into the technical education curriculum, thus moving beyond the social and self-improvement priorities that led to the existing provision (White, 1981: 13). In particular, the economic depression that occurred in the 1890s increased the necessity for government control of most education sectors as funds became scarce. The result was an integration of education sectors under one structure and an articulation of the various parts, particularly primary, secondary and technical (White, 1981: 13).

One of the main stimuli for change in technical education at this time was the mining sector whose efforts led to the establishment of a number of Schools of Mines throughout Australia. For example, by 1906 in Western Australia, there were 56 Mechanics and Miners Institutes to service the needs of mining and commerce (White, 1981: 45). Just a few years earlier in Western Australia, the Perth Technical School had opened in May 1900 in response to the growing demand for skills, particularly in agriculture and mining (White, 1981: 46). Government funding for this institution was supplemented through local fee

collection. From the beginning, the provision of technical education in Western Australia came under the auspices of the State Department of Education, with a Director of Technical Education appointed to administer it.

During the period between Federation in 1901 and the advent of World War I, the potential for technical education to meet educational provision other than that provided by schools was raised and appropriate action was taken. Technical education took on a technological function in response to the national need and the role of the individual within the economy, and an identity and role for it began to emerge. Increased government expenditure ensued and instruction, as Pope (1989: 15) indicates, remained essentially part-time and as a complement to industrial training. The technical education sector was able to successfully concentrate on trade training, assist the unemployed during the depression of the 1930s and, using Commonwealth funding for the first time, become involved in the training for the World War II effort (Goozee, 1995:6). This involvement by the Commonwealth government also established a continuing role for it in education generally. By World War II, a Technical Branch had been formed within the Western Australian Education Department to accommodate the growing field of technical education by administering the technical schools, colleges and centres that spread throughout Western Australia in this period.

The chief role of technical schools in Western Australia was to meet the needs of industry, commerce and the general community by training managers, superintendents, technicians, skilled and semi-skilled tradespeople, professionals and para-professionals and associated support staff. The courses available in

technical schools were higher-level diploma and associateship awards, as well as training in fields of study leading to entry to some professions, such as accounting, engineering, architecture and pharmacy. The Perth Technical School catered particularly for those students wishing to attain these qualifications (Dunne and McKell, nd). Students seeking enrolment in these kinds of courses needed to have passed pre-requisite subjects pertinent to the course. Some technical schools also provided alternatives to years eleven and twelve of the secondary school system, embracing, as they did, a variety of basic technician, bridging and preparatory courses for students between fifteen and nineteen years of age. The Leederville Technical School provided especially for students seeking these courses. Both Perth and Leederville Technical Schools, and later, other technical schools, including a special ‘correspondence school’, formed part of an expanding network of technical institutions. (Later in the development of the technical and vocational education and training sector, ‘schools’ had their status upgraded to ‘college’.) These offered a range of extramural, cultural, recreation and leisure courses to meet the personal development needs of adults (Education Department of Western Australia: Annual Report, 1986-87).

Technical schools were also strong participants in education and training for overseas students. Before World War II, young people from South East Asia and the Pacific were coming to study in Australian educational institutions as private students (Department of Immigration, 1968: 1). This development originated from around the time of Federation. Of those students coming, only a limited number came from Asia. There were also some pupils from the Pacific islands who had enrolled in residential schools in New South Wales and Victoria and a few who

had entered universities.¹ Overall, however, numbers were small. For example, those overseas students studying in universities in 1954 represented less than 3% of the total university enrolment.²

During World War II, refugees from Asian countries to Australia's north were educated in Australian schools and universities. Also, at the end of the War, Asian ex-servicemen who had fought with Australians received technical and university training in Australia.³ Again, however, total numbers remained small. Indeed, the number of such students was so low that it had little impact on teaching methods and administrative procedures in Australian institutions or on the wider society.

Following World War II, there was a rising demand worldwide for education, including secondary and higher education. Special steps were taken in many countries to cope with the enrolment of ex-servicemen and women. For example, people from many European countries entered the educational sector in Australia, concurrent with the influx of British and European immigration. In Australia, a post-War reconstruction-training scheme was designed to assist the influx of people in these circumstances (Goozee, 1995:7).

¹ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Paper by C. Sanders titled 'The Asian Scholar in Australia'.

² Ibid

³ Ibid

The End of World War II to 1974

After World War II, the demand for education was also strong in the countries of South-East Asia.⁴ In order to assist in physical reconstruction and the welfare of the populations of the poorer, less-developed countries of this populous region, a number of initiatives were commenced by developed nations of the West, particularly through the range of programs administered under the auspices of the United Nations. For example, UNESCO offered United Nations Technical Assistance Scheme Fellowships and Scholarships for overseas study to citizens of certain South-East Asian countries. Another important scheme was the Colombo Plan, initiated in 1950. A large number of students from South-East Asia came to study at Australian educational institutions under the conditions of this plan.⁵

The Colombo Plan resulted from a suggestion by the Honourable Percy Spender, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, at a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo in January 1950 (Colombo Plan Bureau, 1961: 4). The Plan made provision for aid to Commonwealth countries in the South and South-East Asian areas as well as to other countries wishing to participate. Its objectives included the provision of experts in various fields, the provision of equipment, and the training of students and research workers from Asian

⁴ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Report by C. Sanders titled ‘Asian Students in Australian Universities. Some Problems and Interim Results of Research’.

⁵ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Paper by C. Sanders titled ‘The Asian Scholar in Australia’.

countries.⁶ There were two main kinds of aid in this regard: capital aid projects, and technical and educational assistance.

As part of providing technical and educational assistance under the Colombo Plan, Australia allocated training places in universities, technical schools, government organisations and private business for students from developing countries. Awards were granted on a bilateral basis, with the Australian government offering a recipient government an agreed number of scholarships, the only major stipulation being that the requested training should be designed to make some contribution to the economic development of the recipient country.⁷ The scholarships were, therefore, jointly sponsored by the home and Australian governments.

The ‘sponsored’ group of students, many of them men and women already holding key positions in their own countries, remained the direct responsibility of the Department of External Affairs (now the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade) which was responsible for the administration of the Colombo Plan (Gillett, 1961: 126). The Department also acted in close conjunction with other Commonwealth Departments, such as the Department of Education, the Department of Labour and National Service, and the Department of Immigration, as well as various State Departments, such as the Department of Education and the Department of Agriculture (Gillett, 1961: 126). As well as those studying under

⁶ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Paper by C. Sanders titled ‘The Asian Scholar in Australia’.

⁷ Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 3260, Year 1966: ‘Overseas Students – General Correspondence’ (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia).

the Colombo Plan, sponsored students also studied in Australia under other scholarship and sponsorship schemes. Included among these were the 'Commonwealth Co-operation in Education – Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan', the 'Australian International Awards Scheme', the 'South Pacific Aid Program' and the 'Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan' (Department of Immigration, 1968).

The advent of the Colombo Plan and associated schemes saw increasing numbers of students, especially from the Asia-Pacific region, come to Australia to study at universities, while still larger numbers came to enrol in Australian secondary and technical schools. On this, Colin Sanders, the Professor of Education at the University of Western Australia in the 1950s, stated:

One cannot present an adequate picture of post-war educational developments in Australia as they affect the countries of South and South-East Asia without some mention of the Colombo Plan.⁸

Sanders also calculated that up to the end of the year 1953, 421 students had come to Australia under the Plan, of whom 254 had completed their studies and research. To the remaining 167 still in Australia at the time, could be added 33 students holding education awards under a separate UNESCO program with similar objectives to those in the Colombo Plan.⁹

By the 30th June 1954, 299 students had completed their programs under the Plan, while 193 were still undertaking their work and study. Under the UNESCO

⁸ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Paper by C. Sanders titled 'The Asian Scholar in Australia'.

⁹ Ibid.

scheme, 76 had completed training and 39 were still in training. Also, 62 students had come to Australia under other schemes, and of these, seven were still in training. Overall, of the 669 students in the country on various assistance schemes, 430 students had so far been trained while 239 were still in training.¹⁰

One particularly successful Western Australian contributor to the education of Colombo Plan students was the Technical Correspondence School, founded in 1944 (Marshall, 1959: 4) as a school within the Technical Branch of the State's Education Department. In 1954 the Technical Branch became known as the Technical Education Division (TED), a name and structure that remained in operation until 1988. In the year 1959, 244 students in South-East Asian countries were receiving tuition by correspondence in a wide range of subjects. In addition, during the previous two years, three technical teachers from Malaya spent some months at the Technical Correspondence School studying teacher training and correspondence methods (Marshall, 1959: 6). Further, in 1958, the Colombo Plan authorities in Australia selected the Principal of the Correspondence School to go to Malaya for some months to advise the local education authorities on the establishment of a similar school.¹¹

Other technical schools that accepted overseas students at this time were the Perth and Leederville Technical Schools. Students were admitted to technical schools if they possessed the requirements for secondary school entry in their home

¹⁰ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Paper by C. Sanders titled 'The Asian Scholar in Australia'.

¹¹ Source: Interview with Raymond Ware on 10.9.99

countries. Most overseas students enrolled at the Leederville Technical School in the Leaving examination subjects needed to complete secondary school and matriculate to university. Others who might have matriculated in their own countries, but needed to obtain a Western Australian matriculation certificate in order to enter the University of Western Australia, completed a special preparatory year, which, if they passed it, qualified them for matriculation.¹² To this end, for overseas students, and especially for Asian students, special classes were conducted in the subjects of English language and English literature.

In general, those students from South-East Asia who entered technical schools as prospective university students were often aged nineteen years or over (Hodgkin, 1966: 80). This meant that they were somewhat older than Australian students who were seeking matriculation at local high schools. This was a major reason why overseas students were not enrolled in local high schools, but were, instead directed to Leederville Technical School, which, consequently, was classed by the Commonwealth government as a secondary school for record-keeping purposes (Hodgkin, 1966: 1).

In addition to the number of Colombo Plan students from South-East Asia in Australia, an even greater number of private students was enrolled. Indeed, Sanders claims that of the total number of overseas students enrolled at Australian institutions in the mid-1950s, most were in the 'private' category. He shows that on the 31st December, 1953, there were 2,724 private pupils and students from

¹² Source: Interview with Douglas McMillan on 2.10.1999

South-East Asian countries in Australia. They were supported by their parents, communities or institutions in their own country for travel, enrolment and living expenses in Australian schools, technical colleges and universities. About 1,100 private students were in secondary schools and just under 200 in primary schools, while 797 were enrolled in Australian universities, with 77 of these at the University of Western Australia.¹³

Nationally, Sanders also reports, 520 students, both Colombo Plan and privately-supported, were enrolled in technical colleges at the end of 1953.¹⁴ Of this total group, most came from Singapore, Malaya, China and Hong Kong. Other major countries from which students came were Thailand, India, Ceylon, Pakistan and the Pacific Islands, including Fiji and New Guinea. There were four students from Indonesia, a result perhaps of a visit some years earlier by a senior Indonesian government official. In a letter dated May 17th, 1954 from K P Byrne, the Officer in Charge of the Commonwealth Office of Education in Perth to the Director of the corresponding Office in Sydney, it was noted that Mr. Djismun, Second Commercial Secretary of the Embassy of Indonesia in Melbourne, had visited Perth by boat on his way home to Indonesia, and was “impressed with the suitability of Perth for students from his country”.¹⁵

¹³ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/2: Colombo Plan – South-East Asia Schemes – general (Department of Education): Report by C. Sanders titled ‘Asian Students in Australian Universities. Some Problems and Interim Results of Research’.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. na, Item No. 41/9/3: Private overseas students – advices and policy (Department of Education): Copy of letter referred to on this file.

In Western Australia, over the decade 1956 to 1965, the Technical Education Division of the State Education Department extended its assistance to countries of South-East Asia through students accepted mainly for matriculation and commerce courses and throughout various fields of professional study. While authoritative data of precise numbers are not available, information drawn from several sources (Tylee, 1965; Hodgkin, 1958: 22) indicate that in 1957 there were approximately 165 private students and 46 Colombo Plan students studying at Perth and Leederville technical schools. The great majority of these students were from Malaya and Singapore. The numbers grew from a few to about 500 a year, including both Colombo Plan and private students. The Division also ran orientation courses and English language tuition for new overseas students and provided counselling and assistance when necessary (EDWA, Annual Report, 1965: 43).

It is evident that the presence of a variety of overseas students in Australia, both those sponsored under the Colombo Plan and those privately supported, was seen at this time as beneficial for Australia as well as for the students. Promotional material published by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration at about this time noted that the overseas student program assisted the students' home countries by increasing their numbers of qualified people in areas of special need, and also to build good relations and understanding between their countries and Australia (Department of Immigration, 1968: 1). At this stage in the history of overseas students in Australia, therefore, it appears that the primary motivation among Australian policy makers in facilitating the program was altruistic in nature. This

attitude contrasts markedly to the overt economic and trade-oriented program begun in the 1980s and continuing today.

It should be noted here that available statistics on overseas students in technical education are somewhat incomplete and unreliable for the period under discussion. This situation improved only slightly in the period leading up to the mid-1980s. Until well after World War II, technical school statistics reported enrolments by the number of classes run, the subject matter of the classes and the subjects studied by individual students. This was all that was deemed necessary at the time. Students tended to study particular subjects rather than undertake comprehensive courses, since technical school programs typically prepared students for external examinations, or else they complemented practical learning absorbed on the shop floor or in apprenticeship settings. Courses leading to technical school certificates and diplomas, which took some years to emerge, were themselves mostly geared to professional education requirements of various registration boards, societies and institutes. Only very limited separate records were maintained by various technical sector administrations of overseas students studying at technical schools. This lack of reliable statistics often extends to what might be considered nowadays as basic statistical information, namely, the separate numbers of Colombo Plan students and private students in technical institutions and the countries of origin of these students.

Even though there were relatively low numbers of overseas students in technical schools in the mid-1960s, their presence raised a number of new education and administrative issues that required the attention of educational administrators.

Chief among these was difficulty with the English language, which seemed to be more of a problem with Indonesian students than with any other student cohort.¹⁶ In this case, more thorough testing of English language competency before visas were granted was advocated. Also, the educational background and qualifications of, again, Indonesian students, especially those seeking matriculation to The University of Western Australia, were problematic.¹⁷

Representations made to the Commonwealth Office of Education showed that other uncertainties existed within the Western Australian technical education sector about overseas students generally, particularly about the nature of their academic backgrounds. One solution advocated was research aimed at the construction of a 'chart of equivalents' for Australian institutions showing the relative standing of overseas matriculation levels in terms of the Australian standard. A second research need identified was "for continuing review of our entry requirements in the light of student performance".¹⁸ This, it was argued, "requires the allocation of some resources. The need is for objective and systematic study rather than impressionistic opinion".¹⁹ It is not clear that such research took place.

¹⁶ Source: Interview with Gerald Brennan on 20.9.99

¹⁷ Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 582, Year 1968: 'English Courses for Overseas Students' (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia). Letter dated 22.11.66 from the Principal of Leederville Technical School to the Acting Director of the Technical Education Division.

¹⁸ Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 582, Year 1968: 'English Courses for Overseas Students' (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia). Letter dated 29.11.67 from the Superintendent of Technical Education to the Director of Technical Education.

¹⁹ Ibid

Technical education personnel also noted other concerns, particularly about how different cultural groups of overseas students adjusted to a new situation in Australia. For example, the following comment, referring specifically to the group of Indonesian students at Leederville Technical School, is instructive:

This group of 10 students has recently been interviewed. The common problem is difficulty with English. They are being given 3 hours tuition per week in English language as well as receiving double the amount of instruction time normally given to Leaving English candidates in that subject. Already some of the students are showing marked improvement in their English and it is hoped that by the end of the year all members of the group will have reached a sufficient standard to cope with their university studies.²⁰

These extra classes were especially for Indonesian students and were paid for out of a designated grant from the Federal Government. Even within this class, an English language teacher at the time has reported that there were considerable differences in ability between students from different provinces within Indonesia.²¹

A few years later, Indonesian students at Leederville Technical School were still a concern to educational administrators. The Head of the Commonwealth Department of Education in Western Australia, Mr. Byrne, wrote to that Department's Head Office in Sydney, stating that:

The university [of Western Australia] will not accept Indonesians until Indonesian university records are received. Students wishing to enter the University of Western Australia must have passed first year at an Indonesian university and a preliminary year at Leederville Technical School.²²

²⁰ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/15/1: Colombo Plan – monthly reports on Colombo Plan training - terminal reports on Colombo Plan trainees (Department of Education): Letter dated 4.5.1961.

²¹ Interview with Gerald Brennan on 20.9.99

²² Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/15/1: Colombo Plan – monthly reports on Colombo Plan training – terminal reports on Colombo Plan trainees (Department of Education): Letter dated 1.12.1965.

Later still, on 6th October 1967, Mr. Moustaka, the Acting Officer-in-Charge of the Perth Office of the Department of Education wrote to Head Office in the following terms:

Leederville Technical School overseas students consist mainly of Indonesians. Most are going to the University of Western Australia in 1968. The students showed a most unpromising beginning but have started to improve. They are being heavily tutored especially in English and I am hopeful most will gain admittance next year.²³

A further issue of concern involved students who commenced correspondence studies through the Western Australian Technical Correspondence School. Many who enrolled in this way abandoned their studies. It appears that students often enrolled in the hope of subsequently obtaining a full Colombo Plan scholarship for full time study in Australia. This strategy involved mostly students who commenced teacher-training activities. Also, in the Accounting Studies section of the Correspondence School, it was found that a number of students were poor at returning assignment materials and many did not finish the course.²⁴

A further worry in the technical education sector during the 1960s was that vocational courses in Australia were based principally upon Australian professional requirements and the needs of the Australian community (Department of Immigration, 1968: 2). Prospective overseas students were advised that before deciding whether to study in Australia, they should consider the suitability of the Australian course to their intended occupation, the availability of the courses in

²³ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/11/15: Colombo Plan – policies and procedures – general (Department of Education): Letter dated 6.10.1967.

²⁴ Source: Perth, Western Australia. National Archives of Australia: Series No. K1217/1, File No. W59/694, Item No. 41/15/1: Colombo Plan – monthly reports on Colombo Plan training – terminal reports on Colombo Plan trainees (Department of Education): Memorandum dated 9.6.1961.

their own country and the recognition accorded Australian qualifications by employers in their home country. There was no question of these courses being re-written to accommodate a variety of overseas situations as well.

Rao (1976) also referred to another concern about Australia's intake of overseas students. He considered that while the Colombo Plan model represented fledgling attempts by Australia to interact with its Asian neighbours, this 'post-colonial' model was limited and in some ways counter-productive in that it simply delayed the development of the educational infrastructure in participating countries (Rao, 1976: 2). He went on to argue that the programs also tended to reflect what foreigners in host or donor countries thought developing nations needed. This model also delayed awareness in the donor countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom that the world was changing and that previously 'underdeveloped' countries like Malaysia, Singapore and Korea were assuming developed world status.

In addition to these issues, communication difficulties among Australian agencies involved in the administration of overseas students sometimes constituted a concern. For example, in 1967, the Australian High Commission in Malaysia, without notice to educational institutions in Australia, brought forward the final due date, from November 30th to July 31st, for receipt of applications for study in Australia in the following academic year. This caused some consternation among institution administrators in Australia. The Principal of Leederville Technical School estimated that the change of date meant that "140 enrolments in 1968 could

be reduced by at least 100 next year”.²⁵ He wrote to the Department of External Affairs in the following terms:

I am most concerned that as the Technical Education Division in Western Australia is one of the major organisers of study for overseas students in Australia, we have not been informed of changes governing entry.²⁶

It appears that the actual effect of the change of date was minimal. In 1970, there were 223 overseas students, both sponsored and private, enrolled with the Technical Education Division in a variety of courses ranging from matriculation to technical courses.²⁷ The significance of the event, however, is that there was not a structured means of communication between parties integral to the success of the process of overseas students studying at technical schools and colleges in Western Australia.

Notwithstanding the issues and concerns associated with overseas students, the Federal Government placed no limit on the number of private students entering Australia. This acceptance of unlimited numbers, however, as a general rule carried the stipulation that the course of study or training was one that led to a qualification of value in their home countries and that they had the capacity to undertake the course proposed. The main aim of the private student program, like the Colombo Plan, was to assist the students’ home countries by increasing the

²⁵ Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 3260, Year 1966: ‘Overseas Students – General Correspondence’ (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia). Memorandum dated 3.9.68 from the Principal of Leederville Technical School to the Director of the Technical Education Division.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 3260, Year 1966: ‘Overseas Students – General Correspondence’ (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia). Letter dated 14.4.70 from the Director of the Technical Education Division to Mr. Thomson, MLC.

number of qualified people in areas of special need. The Department of Immigration (1968: 1) claimed that, indirectly, the private program also helped to build good relations and understanding between these countries and Australia. The Department of Immigration (1968: 1) noted that:

By studying in Australia, the overseas students lead Australians to a greater appreciation of their home countries and their aspirations; for their part, they can take home a clearer perception of Australia and of the Australian people.

This sentiment about the presence of overseas students in Australia has been often voiced by commentators and government officials. There has been little direct evidence from research to confirm its accuracy. However, it is possible that the relationships and impressions formed during student days persisted in later life.

The procedures under which private overseas students were permitted to enter Australia changed little throughout the 1960s. According to information published and distributed by the Department of Immigration (1968: 5), those who wished to come to Australia wrote directly for admission to schools, including technical schools, or universities. This meant that, provided the chosen course was approved by the Australian Immigration Department as being suitable for overseas students, young students could make their own arrangements and enrol in any college where their academic standards were regarded as adequate and there was a place available. Intending pupils needed, for visa purposes, to satisfy conditions of good health and sufficient financial means. They also needed to provide evidence of acceptance by an Australian educational institution and that satisfactory living accommodation awaited them. Tuition at government institutions in this period was free or required only nominal fees from Australian students. However, there

was a 'substantial fee' payable by those from overseas, certainly more than that paid by Australian students.²⁸

Overall, in the period between 1950 and 1968, about 30,000 private students advanced their education and obtained specialised training at Australian institutions (Department of Immigration, 1968: 1). In 1968 alone there were about 11,000 overseas students studying in Australia. About 2,500 of these were enrolled at private schools and commercial colleges. The rest were attending schools, universities and other tertiary institutions that were heavily subsidised by the Federal and State governments (Department of Immigration, 1968: 2). Therefore, by December 1972, and the election of the Whitlam Labor Government, a steady stream of overseas students, mainly from the Asia-Pacific region, was coming to study in Australia in all sectors of formal education. There was an established procedure for application and enrolment involving both educational institutions and diplomatic offices overseas. Once in Australia, however, services that focused on supporting the academic and general welfare needs of overseas students were formally provided through the Federal Government Departments of Immigration, Education and External Affairs. Within the Technical Education Division of the Education Department of Western Australia, it appears that support was provided in less formal ways by certain individuals, including teachers, with a particular interest in such students.

²⁸ Source: Interview with Richard Cotton on 22.10.99

1974 to 1987

During the period from World War II up to the present time, technical education in Australia continued to grow, although it was badly defined and ill-articulated (Murray-Smith, 1966: 24). As in Britain, the Australian technical education experience suffered from many pressure groups, a lack of clear aim and purpose and also an image problem in the community's general knowledge and acceptance of awards gained by students in the technical sector. Also, there was a large range in provision of courses and subjects, and a wide diversity of structures, while the matter of the poor status and acceptability of technical school awards remained unresolved (Goozee, 1995: 9). The Australian technical education sector focused on local and provincial issues, in accord with the industry and community it served. However, it remained as a subsection of the various State education departments, where, as a poor cousin, it also suffered financially (Goozee, 1995: 18). Nevertheless, steady numbers of overseas students continued to come to Australia, including a small number in technical education institutions.

Stemming from the uncertainty about the role of technical education at this time, a number of reviews of education and training were held. Also, as Kirby (1994: 80) reports, Australia looked overseas for training inspiration in the late 1960s. Fooks (1994: 39) notes that in the mid 1970s, when the Whitlam egalitarian policies demanded an examination of the provision of the education sector falling between high school and university, it was found that there was no coherent policy to cater for 400,000 enrolments. Consequently, in 1973, Prime Minister Whitlam commissioned Meyer Kangan to conduct an investigation into the technical

education sector. The ensuing report of proceedings, known as the Kangan Report (Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education, 1975), began the process of introducing a national perspective to technical education that quickened markedly over the next decade.

At the time of the Kangan inquiry 'technical education' was described as being post-school education that was not the province of either the university or advanced education sectors. The acronym 'TAFE', meaning 'technical and further education' was first used by the Kangan Committee in relation to the technical sector. The report of the Committee gave TAFE nationally a clear mission and sense of purpose and defined it as an alternative, neither inferior or superior, to other sectors of education. Also, it delineated the general role of the sector. This was the first articulation of a comprehensive framework for technical and further education in Australia. Until this time, the development of technical education had been "characterised by periods of rapid change followed by much longer periods of neglect", as Goozee (1995: 6) has stated.

One outcome of the Kangan Report was that the Commonwealth share of funding for TAFE nationally increased substantially during the second half of the 1970s and into the 1980s. The new respectability generated as a result of revised curricula, open learning, self-paced techniques and articulation arrangements, led to a substantial increase in enrolments. For example, Schofield (1994: 58) argues that the Kangan Report resulted in the establishment, for the first time, of theories and values for both the organisation and the activity, where one could now, through professional action, achieve a TAFE ideal.

Soon after the publication of the Kangan Report that established a new identity and purpose for TAFE, there began an increasing modification of focus for TAFE nationally. In Western Australia one outcome of this was a major change that affected substantially the numbers of overseas students enrolled at TAFE colleges. For many years TAFE WA had 'alternative courses' available for students who wished to complete, outside the conventional secondary school system, the local school leaving certificate and university matriculation examination. At the commencement of the 1980s, these alternative leaving and matriculation courses were the most popular TAFE offerings in which overseas students were enrolled. In keeping with the policy proposed in the Kangan Report of narrowing the focus for TAFE nationally, in TAFE WA these 'alternative courses' were transferred to newly formed 'senior colleges'. These institutions, which first accepted students in 1982, had previously been government secondary high schools. Now, they were reconstituted as senior colleges outside the normal secondary high school system.²⁹

The purpose of the senior colleges was to help bridge the gap between the traditional secondary school sector and the increasing number of local students who appeared not to be succeeding in their studies, or whose aspirations were not catered for, under the traditional secondary school system.³⁰ The transfer to senior colleges of this once major TAFE WA program for overseas students significantly reduced the number of overseas students studying in TAFE WA after 1981.³¹ Over the previous few years, approximately 120 places for overseas students had

²⁹ Source: Interview with Phillip Ellery on 24.5.99

³⁰ Source: Interview with Michael Albany on 17.5.99

³¹ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 16.3.99

been made available.³² About two-thirds of these were private students, while one-third were sponsored students under the various aid scholarships that were available. Almost all of this sponsored group of students were Malaysians of the Malay race, while Malaysian Chinese, together with Indians, Indonesians, Fijians and others, were entirely dependent on the private student quota.³³

At this time, overseas students in TAFE were enrolled on the basis of a varied structure regarding the payment of fees. They were classified into two basic groups, namely 'sponsored' students and 'subsidised' students. Sponsored students, such as those studying under the Colombo Plan, were those who had all of their fees paid by the Australian government, out of the foreign aid budget. As far back as 1972, the Australian government spent about \$6.2 million on sponsored students (Rao, 1976: 69). Private students studying in Australia at the time received an effective subsidy because the tuition fees they paid, even though considerable, did not cover the costs of the education provided. Government subsidies to educational institutions in respect of places occupied by private overseas students amounted to about \$9.5 million in 1972 (Rao, 1976: 69).

The reason for providing such subsidised education was that the Australian government considered it to be a form of 'educational aid'. Also, it was reflective of the relatively short geographical distance separating Australia and those

³² Source: Source: Perth, Western Australia. State Records Office (J.S. Battye Library): CN. 2499, AN. 45/25, Item No. 1142, Year 1980: 'Overseas Students – General Correspondence' (Archived file of the Education Department of Western Australia). Letter dated 5.11.80 from the Administrative Officer of the Council for the Welfare of Overseas Students in Western Australia to the Director General of Education.

³³ Ibid

countries that were the main post-war sources of students, namely Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong (Beazley, 1992: 2). Under this scheme, the number of overseas students coming to Australia, and the numbers allowed into specific courses, were controlled by an annual quota. Even though there were limited numbers of students, they did benefit Australia by providing some international focus within Australian campuses and by being potentially influential on Australia's behalf on their return home (Beazley, 1992: 2).

Some effort to recoup part of the cost of subsidised education came in 1980 when the Commonwealth government introduced an 'Overseas Student Charge' for private overseas students wishing to study in Australia. The amount of the charge varied according to the type of course, but the Commonwealth and the States financed the balance of the cost of the student's education. On this subject, the Jackson Committee found that all private, post-secondary students from overseas received a considerable subsidy as the Overseas Student Charge represented only about one-third the average cost per annum of educating a post-secondary student (Industry Commission, 1991: 19).

In addition to its involvement with Colombo Plan and private students, TAFE WA had remained involved throughout the various phases of its development with other initiatives with an overseas dimension. For almost 20 years from 1969, for example, TAFE WA was responsible for the provision and operation of the Christmas Island Technical Education Centre on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Administrative Services (Education Department of Western Australia, 1987). In addition, TAFE WA had contracted with various agencies,

including the Australian Development Assistance Bureau and the International Labour Organisation, to complete a range of ‘fee-for-service’ projects, involving delivering courses tailored to suit the particular needs of specific groups.³⁴ These courses were delivered both in Australia and overseas. Most prominent among these offerings were education and training projects in Western Australia to upgrade the skills of groups of Malaysian and Indonesian technical and vocational teachers and administrators, crews for patrol craft from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu and other Pacific nations, and marine engineers from Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Furthermore, TAFE WA personnel had delivered education and training programs in overseas locations. Included among these were courses in the hotel, hospitality and tourism study area in Papua New Guinea, grain management practices in Africa, tool-making techniques in China, advanced machining in Burma, improvement of design standards in the ceramic industry in Bali, Indonesia, and educational administration and teaching methods in Mauritius.³⁵ In 1985, the scope of these international initiatives saw the Technical Education Division establish the TAFE WA Overseas Projects Unit, to co-ordinate the provisions of its international services and activities, and facilitate an expansion of the ‘export’ of educational services to overseas clients.³⁶

This was a timely move because, a short time earlier, the Australian Government had received two reports that commented on aspects of the education of overseas

³⁴ Source: Overseas Corporate Services. Publicity brochure prepared in the mid-1980s by TAFE Overseas Projects section, Western Australia. Provided by a current TAFE employee from personal files.

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 16.3.99

students in Australia and stimulated a new interest in them within TAFE WA. The Jackson (1984) report was a wide ranging review of the Australian overseas aid program while the Goldring (1984) report provided a review of private overseas student policy. The Jackson Committee believed that Australia could develop its educational institutions into a major export sector to meet the large demand for education in developing countries where those institutions should compete for students and funds (Industry Commission, 1991: 19). It regarded education as a fundamental input in the development process, while supporting the introduction of full fees for private students. The Committee recommended that the subsidised student program should be abolished and replaced with a full scholarship program targeted at poorer students from poorer countries. It also argued for the establishment of a new category of overseas student, the so-called 'full fee-paying' overseas student. In advocating this, the Jackson Committee viewed education as an export industry.

The Goldring Committee (1984) found the then overseas student policy to be an *ad hoc* response to immediate problems, rather than a considered approach to the role of overseas students in Australia. It argued that there was a need for a national policy to contribute to social and economic development in developing countries, to increase cultural exchange and to improve the quality of Australia's education resources (Industry Commission, 1991: 20). The Goldring Committee favoured continuation of the subsidised program. Another key recommendation of the Goldring Committee was that involvement of overseas students in TAFE nationally should be encouraged (Industry Commission, 1991: 21). In essence, the

Goldring and Jackson reviews made quite different recommendations on the future of the overseas student program.

The sustained experience of TAFE WA up to this time in transferring the benefit of its expertise to the people of overseas nations was soon put to good use. In 1986, the Commonwealth Department of Education, through its Overseas Student Office, made a fresh invitation to TAFE WA to again offer places to overseas students, this time through the subsidised student scheme. The Directors of TAFE WA, in response to the request, allocated between 100 and 150 student places to the scheme for 1987, with seventy eventually taking up a place.³⁷ For 1988, 30 more positions under this scheme were to be offered. In 1987, it was estimated by the Director of TAFE WA that “in the region of 150” students were studying in TAFE WA.³⁸ The other 80 places were probably taken up by students sponsored under various aid programs and individual training contracts that TAFE WA had negotiated with the overseas organisations referred to above, namely AusAid and the Asian Development Bank.

Exact numbers of those studying in the different overseas student categories are difficult to determine from past TAFE WA files. This is consistent with an assessment of the condition of statistics in the TAFE system nationally that was provided in the Kangan Report (Australian Council on Technical and Further Education, 1975). The report noted that the development of TAFE was:

³⁷ Source: Copy of internal memorandum prepared in 1987 by the then TAFE WA officer with responsibility for overseas students. Provided by the author, now a senior officer in TAFE WA.

³⁸ Source: Copy of TAFE ADMIN MEMO No.8 of 1987, dated March 3, 1987, from the Director of TAFE WA to Principals and Directors of colleges.

.....restricted by lack of comprehensive data collected on a systematic basis throughout Australia. This has occurred because of the special characteristics of the students and the courses conducted in this sector of education.

The Kangan Report supplemented this view by describing the particular difficulties afflicting national TAFE data on enrolment and student characteristics, staff, and finance. The Report emphasised how such data deficiencies constrained both the planning and management of TAFE. In line with the national problem in this area, full records of overseas students studying at TAFE WA institutions were not maintained by individual colleges or at a systemic level.³⁹ However, this was to change for the better towards the end of the 1980s. Emphasis on planning for what was becoming an expanding and potentially profitable commercial activity in a tight legal environment necessitated proper statistical record keeping.

1988 to the End of the 1990s

Kirby (1994: 85) notes that in the 1980s there was a growing notion that funding of TAFE nationally should better address labour market and industry-training priorities. Thus, in striving to achieve a TAFE ideal, the Kangan Report, according to Goozee (1995: 11), created a conflict for TAFE. The principle of providing education and skills development for individuals through a system of open access was contrary to the notion of addressing as a priority the specific industry needs for skills that were seen as essential to bolster the national effort. The industry priority was imposed by government as a direct response to rising unemployment, a downturn in the economy and a deteriorating labour market.

³⁹ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 23.3.99

Subsequently, the Commonwealth government increasingly used the TAFE sector in its remedial action to address labour market deficiencies. In particular, the Hawke Federal Labor government, in office between 1983 and 1996, recognised these deficiencies and attempted to improve the quality and quantity of skill formation through a major training reform agenda led by the Education Minister, John Dawkins.

The association with the labour market was evident in TAFE's early beginnings and was reinforced by the emphasis on technical and vocational training immediately after World War II. In the 1970s and 1980s TAFE's links to employment and industry training strengthened as, at the beginning of the 1980s, another economic downturn saw a marked increase in unemployment rates, especially in the fifteen-years to nineteen-years age group (Kirby, 1994: 86). As a means of addressing the problem, a combination of education and labour market programs, partly delivered through TAFE colleges and different combinations of TAFE and industry interaction, were instituted.

One aim of the market-based approach to training provision was to commercialise TAFE so that TAFE institutions could compete directly with each other and with private providers. It was expected that such competition would lead to a more efficient, effective and flexible response by TAFE to industry needs and national economic priorities (Anderson, 1996: 114). According to Anderson (1996: 114), the initial event in the training market reforms designed to enhance competition between training providers was the resolution to deregulate export education, commencing in 1986.

The stimulus for this decision lay in the increasing reputation and popularity of Australian education institutions since 1980 and the advent of the 'Overseas Student Charge' scheme, that led many in Australia to recognise the marketability of the nation's educational resources and their potential to earn export revenue. A new 'Overseas Student Policy' was released by the Minister for Education, John Dawkins, to take effect from the 1986 academic year. This policy saw the Government adopt a more trade-oriented approach to its outlook on overseas students coming to study in Australia. Under the policy, publicly funded institutions, including TAFE, were allowed to charge full-fees for private overseas students (Industry Commission, 1991: 185).

Most States did not actively market their TAFE courses to overseas students until about 1988 (Industry Commission, 1991: 185). Since then, however, State TAFE systems Australia-wide have made more efforts to attract overseas students. However, TAFE nationally was hampered in its development of this source of students because of its low recognition factor in other countries compared with the status enjoyed by universities. In order to address this deficiency, all of the Australian States' TAFE systems combined to form an umbrella marketing organisation called Australian TAFE International (ATI). The main aim of this new institution was to market 'TAFE' as a generic brand name in overseas countries, establish an identity for, and recruit overseas students to undertake technical and vocational education and training in TAFE colleges.⁴⁰ In its submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and

⁴⁰ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 16.3.99

Trade (Joint Standing Committee, 1996: 59), ATI summarised TAFE's early plight in this way:

Until a few years ago there were no aid scholarships for offshore students to come to Australian TAFEs. Nearly 50 years of Commonwealth government support for students from other countries to attend Australian universities created offshore a substantial recognition of the quality of Australian university education and the value of the qualifications. We [TAFE] have hardly had that.

In spite of the early difficulties, the revenue generated by each State's TAFE system over the period of the 1990s has increasingly been seen as important against a background of government funding constraints and continuing high demand from domestic students.

At the beginning of the 1990s, overseas students nationally still comprised a very small proportion of the 1.5 million students enrolled at TAFE colleges nationally. The majority of overseas students were enrolled in award courses, including matriculation courses, although in some states English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) enrolments also represented a significant proportion (Industry Commission, 1991: 185). The relatively small number of overseas students was reflected in the fact that in 1990 South Australia's twenty TAFE colleges had a total of only 560 overseas students, Western Australia had only 504 students and Queensland enrolled only 320 students. Also in 1991, however, Victoria enrolled approximately 2000 overseas (Industry Commission, 1991: 185).

Meanwhile, the Dawkins' reform initiatives enunciated the Federal government's view of a clear link between education and the economy (Dawkins, 1987: 12). The

restructuring and amalgamation strategy within the Dawkins' reforms was mirrored in the Western Australian technical and vocational education sector. After many decades as part of the Education Department, on the 2nd November 1988 the Technical Education Division was established as a sub-department and separate administrative entity within the Ministry of Education, and became known as the Office of Technical and Further Education (OTAFE). Powers equivalent to those of the Chief Executive Officer of the Education Department were conferred on the newly established position of Executive Director of TAFE (Western Australian Department of TAFE Annual Report 1989/90: 4). As part of the restructure, and as an outgrowth of the existing TAFE Overseas Projects Unit, the special-purpose TAFE International Division (TID) was formally instituted as a business unit within the Office of TAFE.⁴¹ This was a significant event in the history of overseas students in TAFE WA and came about after intensive lobbying by the newly appointed Manager of the TID in concert with the Assistant Director of OTAFE responsible for the TID.⁴² Both recognised that TAFE WA now needed to compete in a commercial environment and that it was vital to combine business administration principles with educational administration practices to bring about success.⁴³

The advent of the TID clearly established the principle that no individual or college could enter into negotiations concerning overseas students or any other international contracts other than through the new Division. Consequently, the

⁴¹ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 23.3.99

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Ibid

number of places in each study area in individual colleges that were to be made available to overseas students was now determined by the directors of TAFE WA colleges within the guidelines of overall government and TAFE WA policy. Fees to be paid by overseas students at all TAFE campuses were set by the Finance division of TAFE WA, in consultation with the TID. This centralisation of functions in regard to overseas students was contradictory and caused confusion among the administrations of TAFE colleges, given the recent imperative to TAFE WA institutions that they needed to think and act as autonomous institutions in their operations.⁴⁴ Furthermore, according to the foundation Manager of TID, the major change required in the ‘organisational culture’ brought about by the new commercial necessities in TAFE WA, was not a comprehensively managed process throughout the TID, even at Head Office.⁴⁵ For example, referring to, or considering overseas students as ‘clients’, and considering the relationship between them and TAFE WA as a binding contract, were new and strange concepts to most TAFE WA personnel. It is not surprising, therefore, that the commitment to recruiting overseas students and accommodating them was not uniformly strong within individual TAFE WA colleges. The foundation manager of the TID maintained that, as a consequence, it was difficult for him to obtain advice and support from within some individual colleges where students were placed. However, he also acknowledged that there was strong support forthcoming from a small number of colleges.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 23.3.99

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

Also at this time, the TID took on another responsibility, in addition to adding to the numbers of full-fee paying overseas students in TAFE WA. This second major responsibility was to seek out, tender for, and obtain suitable international contracts in technical education and training. Many of these opportunities were offered by organisations such as the Australian government's official development assistance agency, now known as AusAid, as well as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. In addition, the TID was still managing several initiatives taken over from the Overseas Project Unit, such as supporting a technical college in Malaysia with curriculum expertise and general administration capabilities. These myriad duties, combined with the general lack of widespread understanding and support throughout TAFE WA of its efforts, placed great stress on a small but enthusiastic staff.⁴⁷

By now, the TID personnel consisted of a Manager, an ELICOS Co-ordinator, a Registrar, an overseas projects officer, a part-time counsellor, and temporary clerical assistance as required. During 1989, there were 258 overseas students enrolled in award courses, studying at ten TAFE campuses. These students were mainly from Malaysia, Hong Kong and Indonesia. In addition, ELICOS courses commenced in July 1989 and were offered throughout 1989-90 in ten-week modules, with a total of 109 students in the first three intakes. General English and English for Academic Purposes were also offered (Western Australian Department of TAFE Annual Report, 1989/90). There were very limited policy and administrative guidelines established by the TAFE WA central office, and

⁴⁷ Source: Diana Mead interview on 8.3.99 and Raelene Osborne interview on 17.5.99

operating procedures and practice were devised as required by each situation as it arose.⁴⁸

The TID became increasingly active in the area of overseas student recruitment. It undertook promotional activities first in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Hong Kong, and later in Bangkok and Dubai.⁴⁹ In addition, the TID supported the State government's initiative to establish a code of conduct, registration and grievance procedures for all institutions involved with recruitment of overseas students in Western Australia. Furthermore, through national meetings of the chief executives of departments of TAFE, the TID also proposed a National Marketing concept for all Australian TAFE institutions (Western Australian Department of TAFE Annual Report, 1989/90).

On November 28th, 1989, after one year, the Office of TAFE within the Government Education portfolio became a separate department known as the Department of Technical and Further Education (DTAFE). A little more than two years later, on January 1st, 1992, DTAFE was amalgamated with the Department of Employment and Training to form the Department of Employment, Vocational Education and Training (DEVET). One innovative approach by DEVET that was aimed at providing a range of high quality customised services to both domestic and overseas clients, was the establishment of a separate College of Customised Training (CCT). 'Customised training' means training especially devised to provide a client organisation with an individual program aimed at developing

⁴⁸ Source: Interview with Diana Mead on 8.3.99

⁴⁹ Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 16.3.99

particular knowledge or skills tailored to that organisation's specific needs. Furthermore, this sort of program is intended to provide training that is tailored to be delivered when and where the client wants it. Fees charged for these courses are much higher than those charged for the conventional certificates, diplomas and other awards that formed the main menu of TAFE WA activities throughout its history.

The Western Australian Colleges Act (1978) empowered the CCT as a statutory authority with a corporate identity, to bring TAFE WA colleges into contractual relations with public and private sector agencies for the purpose of commercial activities (College of Customised Training, December 1992: 1). Part of the CCT's role was to assist TAFE WA colleges to be highly effective public sector enterprises where 'best practice' management and training systems would ensure an increasing share of a competitive and deregulated market (College of Customised Training, December 1992: 1). Given that it already had an international focus, the TID was located for administrative purposes as an autonomous unit within the CCT, where its major role was confirmed as the recruitment of overseas students for the TAFE WA system (College of Customised Training, December 1992: 3).

Establishment of the CCT thus added a commercial arm to the structure of TAFE WA that allowed it to market its services on a commercial, full-cost recovery and profit-making basis in the domestic and overseas markets. The practical effect of this was that the normal procedure with TAFE WA institutions of returning all earnings and profits to the State Treasury's Consolidated Revenue Fund did not

necessarily have to be followed. Instead, the money could be used for research, development and acquisition of the additional resources to expand the full-fee paying training activities.⁵⁰ As a result, the costs of operating the TID were recouped by DEVET; only 5% of the gross receipts were returned to the State Treasury, with the remainder being available for the further development of the TID. This was a unique situation within government education institutions that was advantageous in the formation of the TID and assisted it in its responsibility to co-ordinate the overseas student recruitment program.⁵¹ In spite of these concessions to the normal way of operating as a public service entity, however, there were still difficulties for the TID in trying to run as a commercial operation within a government, bureaucratic environment.

The success in recruiting increasing numbers of overseas students and the TID's unique financial status within TAFE WA, meant that responsibility for administering it became an attractive 'prize' within the TAFE WA network. According to the then Manager of the TID, the Director of the CCT unilaterally decided to sharply alter the focus of the TID's operations. Rather than further develop the overseas student program, he determined to concentrate on the potentially more lucrative but hitherto secondary objective of tendering for and obtaining training contracts, as part of long-term education development programs, with international funding agencies such as AusAid and the World Bank.⁵² The Director appeared to assume that the overseas student program would continue to

⁵⁰ Source: Interview with Trevor Gallagher on 23.3.99

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

flourish of its own accord and failed to appreciate the great development work and effort that had been undertaken to this time.⁵³ This sharp change of direction had, it has been claimed, an unsettling and de-motivating effect on the small team who had worked enthusiastically together for several years to bring the Division to its present success. It has also been claimed that it dulled the spirit and momentum established in the recruitment of overseas students.⁵⁴

On December 1st, 1993, after not quite two years of existence, DEVET was combined with the State Employment and Skills Development Authority to form the Western Australian Department of Training (WADOT). As a result of the Review of Education and Training (Vickery, 1993) and the McCarrey Commission Report (McCarrey, 1993), WADOT was established as the state agency responsible for training for the purposes of the Australian National Training Authority Act 1992 (Western Australian Department of Training, 1995:21). The new departmental structure of WADOT was fundamentally influenced by the Ministerial Statement on an Autonomous College Network for Western Australia, 1994 (Western Australian Department of Training, 1995:14). Under this scheme, a network of TAFE colleges was established and each of its constituent institutions was accorded greater autonomy for 'day-to-day' management. One of these separate institutions was the newly constituted Curriculum and Customised Training Network (CCTN). The Network effectively merged the international and corporate training activities of the CCT with the curriculum services, media production and open and applied learning systems of the TAFE External Studies

⁵³ Source: Interview with Diana Mead on 8.3.99

⁵⁴ Source: Interview with Diana Mead on 8.3.99 and Raelene Osborne on 17.5.99

College. The CCTN now became responsible for managing all of WADOT's commercial activities, of which the recruitment of full-fee paying overseas students, formerly administered by the TID, was only a part (Western Australian Department of Training, 1995:21).

The CCTN, in turn, had only a short life. In 1996, the Western Australian Vocational Education and Training Act 1996 (Western Australian Parliament, 1996) now became the prime instrument enabling overseas students to study in the State's TAFE institutions. Under Section 8 (d) of the Act, the Minister for Training has as a function, "to enter into commercial activities both within Australia and overseas, to generate revenue for, and otherwise benefit, the State training system." Further, under section 9 (2) (1) of the Act, the Minister has the power to "enter into contracts and arrangements with overseas organisations for the provision of vocational education and training and related services". Clearly, the intent of the Minister, through the legislation, was that international operations, including the recruitment of overseas students, be co-ordinated by a centralised approach through the Ministry. In order to more efficiently and effectively co-ordinate and administer the international operations of the publicly-provided vocational education and training sector, the TAFE International Division of WADOT became TAFE International WA (TIWA) in 1997. The significant feature of this entity compared to its predecessors was that it was established as a completely autonomous statutory institution under the Vocational Education and Training Act 1996, and required to lodge its own separate annual report.

Each TAFE WA college is now dependent upon TIWA to effectively market its current and potential services to offshore clients. In turn, TIWA is dependent upon the support of colleges and their commitment to developing international business opportunities, including accepting overseas students into formal and customised courses. TIWA, as a single, coherent entity is, at the time of writing, the authority accountable for co-ordinating TAFE WA's international activities to ensure that the broader strategic interests of the State are not jeopardised.⁵⁵

Notwithstanding the many major changes occurring in TAFE WA throughout its history, since 1994, the numbers of overseas students coming to study at its institutions has continued to rise, as the following data show:

YEAR	NUMBER OF OVERSEAS STUDENTS IN TAFE WA
1994	89
1995	774
1996	1058
1997	1266
1998	1499
1999	1537

Source: Interviews with key personnel in TAFE WA.

At the time of writing there is also no reason to suspect that this rate of increase will not continue for the foreseeable future.

This chapter so far has consisted of an exposition responding to the first research question of the study being reported here, namely, what is the background to overseas students studying at TAFE colleges in Western Australia? What has been

⁵⁵ Source: TAFE International Western Australia Operating Procedures for Overseas Students

presented so far is a useful and interesting contribution to the 'story' of overseas students in TAFE WA. However, the findings can be brought beyond the level of being just a 'history lesson'. In particular, they can enable the reader to analyse what has happened previously in order to learn as much as possible from the past, distil certain lessons for the future and offer suggestions for improving future practice in this important area of educational administration. The following propositions are now offered to that end.

Proposition One

Overseas students have been coming to Australia for most of this century. However, they have been coming in large numbers only since 1987. Furthermore, they have reflected the general tendency of overseas students to study at universities rather than in the TAFE sector.

Overseas students have been coming to Australia for most of the twentieth century. However, up to World War II, involvement by these students in the education sector was minimal. For forty years following World War II the numbers of overseas students increased steadily. Still, the proportion of these students among all students in Australia throughout this period remained small.

Only since 1987 have overseas students been coming in large numbers to study in Australia. The sharp increase in numbers was the result of a new policy approach by the Australian government, announced in the mid-1980s. By this new measure, a fresh category of overseas student was established, known as the full fee-paying overseas student. From 1987 onwards, overseas students rapidly constituted a conspicuous proportion of the total student population in Australia. They have

also reflected the general tendency of overseas students to study at universities rather than in TAFE.

For nearly all of the twentieth century, most overseas students coming to study in Australia attended universities. Moreover, the great majority of students attended universities in the eastern states of Australia. Accordingly, in TAFE WA when the number of overseas students began to increase, there was not a broad philosophical, conceptual, intellectual or pedagogical framework within which systems for dealing with overseas students could develop. Rather, the presence of overseas students was received quite casually. There was almost no effect whatever on the thinking or culture of TAFE WA institutions because of their presence.

Proposition Two

Before 1990, there were two categories of overseas students who studied in Australia, namely sponsored students and private students. The welfare needs of sponsored students were formally catered for by the government departments and international agencies that sponsored them. The welfare needs of private students were catered for largely by the students themselves, sometimes with informal assistance provided by the institution they attended and its staff.

Before 1990, there were two categories of overseas students who studied in Australia, namely sponsored students and private students. Sponsored students were usually specially selected people whose capacity to contribute to their home country would be developed and extended by study in Australia. Their welfare needs during their stay in Australia were formally well supported by their home and Australian governments and international agencies. Private students relied for

their support on themselves, and their families, friends and community groups in their home countries and in Australia.

As indicated, the welfare needs of sponsored overseas students were formally catered for by various government departments and international agencies that sponsored them. For example, the Department of External Affairs and other Federal and State departments in Australia attended to matters such as meeting on arrival, orientation to the new country and culture, location in suitable accommodation, progress in their study program, and dealing with homesickness. The technical and vocational education and training sector was not required to establish formal welfare procedures for overseas students, who were well catered for by a range of other agencies. Consequently, for most of this century there has not been a tradition of looking after the welfare needs of sponsored overseas students in TAFE WA.

The welfare needs of private overseas students were provided largely by the students themselves, sometimes with informal assistance extended by the personnel in the institution they attended. The majority of these students tended to mix mostly in their own cultural groups, including living together in groups in rented accommodation. In doing so, they developed their own support mechanisms and information-sharing networks. Consequently, for most of this century, there was also not a tradition or an organisational structure to specifically look after the welfare needs of private overseas students in TAFE WA.

Undoubtedly, there were some TAFE WA personnel at all levels, acting out of their own enthusiasm for and interest in enhancing the experience of overseas students, who often assisted overseas students in overcoming their welfare concerns. However, the practice of this self-initiated professional response from a few people in an *ad hoc* fashion at that time had virtually no effect on the overall institutional culture of TAFE WA. Indeed, these people mostly remained a kind of unused 'reference library' whose enthusiasm and expertise were not formally brought into play to help drive the work of TAFE WA following the new influx of overseas students commencing in 1987. Furthermore, much of this enthusiasm and expertise became superfluous in TAFE WA when the overseas student program was moved from the technical and vocational education and training sector to the senior colleges at the end of 1981.

Overall, then, there was a dearth of aptitude exhibited in TAFE WA in 1987 to accommodate the renewed presence of overseas students who were considered initially as a homogenous group about whom little was known. The fact that overseas students constituted not just a separate cultural group, but also one containing within itself other cultural sub-groups, all of whom might have particular welfare and pedagogic needs, was not understood and did not permeate the consciousness of the campuses of TAFE WA.

Proposition Three

From the foundation of TAFE in Western Australia towards the end of the nineteenth century, to the present day, the curriculum offered within TAFE colleges has sought to respond to the requirements of Australian industry for its supply of skilled workers. This curriculum was not modified or adapted to meet

the special needs of overseas students who studied in TAFE WA. Consequently, the relevance of the curriculum to meet the requirements of overseas students for their home settings is questionable.

From the foundation of TAFE in Western Australia towards the end of the nineteenth century, to the present day, the curriculum offered within TAFE colleges has sought to respond to the requirements of Australian industry for its supply of skilled workers. Since 1987, this trend has become more visible. It has also meant that TAFE WA has been very energetic, versatile and flexible in developing its curriculum in order to produce readily employable graduates for the Australian economy. At the same time, however, that curriculum has lacked an internationally flavoured content, even though the number of overseas students attending TAFE WA colleges has been increasing. In other words, the curriculum has not been modified or adapted to meet the special needs of overseas students, who study in TAFE WA.

Curriculum development in TAFE WA in the late 1990s is the outcome of a continuous national dialogue between its major 'stakeholders', namely, industry, unions, government and educators. The dominance of Australian commercial objectives embedded in the curriculum at first sight seems to be in opposition to the aim of internationalising the curriculum. However, further thought about this would see that both goals are interlinked, indeed even necessary, given that Australian firms are to compete in an international marketplace.

The relevance of the TAFE WA curriculum to meet the requirements of students in the setting of each country from where they come is questionable. Almost all

overseas students return home to work at the completion of their studies. There is an argument that overseas students should study the Australian curriculum because they have freely chosen to come to Australia to gain an alternative, perhaps better or broader, education than they would get at home. Nevertheless, if TAFE WA intends to truly equip all of its students, both local and from overseas, to meet the needs of industry by developing their skills in this direction, then the curriculum that is available to them may not be fulfilling this aim. Accordingly, TAFE WA should consider arranging for further research to be carried out on whether curriculum change is merited.

The historical record of TAFE WA reveals that there has been at best limited awareness that curriculum changes might be necessary to accommodate the needs of overseas students. It also indicates that the necessary expertise and resources were not available to anybody who might have been interested in promoting such changes. However, there is some evidence that the need in this area has become more apparent recently because of the growing experience within TAFE WA of providing for expanding numbers of overseas students. At the very time this has happened, however, the need for modification in this area has had to be weighed against the transformation in the national TAFE curriculum required to respond to what are seen to be more urgent economic and political objectives in Australia. Thus, further patience may be needed before the curriculum is adjusted to more closely meet the needs of overseas students from various cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, it is still necessary that the issue remain a priority for TAFE WA curriculum planners.

Proposition Four

Classroom strategies used in TAFE WA to teach overseas students changed little over the century until the 1990s. Over the last several years, new methods of teaching, learning and assessment have been introduced that have meant considerable adjustments by TAFE WA teachers and academic administrators. However, all teaching and learning exemplars used in TAFE WA have been grounded in Western models, and have made almost no concession to accommodate the special needs and varying backgrounds of overseas students in general.

Classroom strategies used in TAFE WA classrooms to teach overseas students changed little over the century until the 1990s. For most of this century, TAFE WA teachers were inducted in the use of the prevailing teaching and assessment standards for the time through completion of an internal teacher-education program. Within this internal structure, there was little room for individual teacher flair and expression in devising teaching, learning and assessment strategies. Accordingly, there is not a tradition of creativity on a wide scale as creativity was not necessary to accommodate different groups of students with different needs.

Over the last several years, new methods of teaching, learning and assessment have been introduced that have meant considerable adjustments and changes in traditional teaching and leadership roles by TAFE WA teachers and academic administrators. Another change has been a new accommodation between TAFE nationally and the design of the Australian workplace to achieve a better balance between learning in classrooms and learning in Australian enterprises, within a common framework of certification and credentials designed for, and acceptable in, Australia. Other requirements include the ability to design and write learning packages and resource materials, increased flexibility in the use of alternative

delivery modes, improved counselling skills and a commitment to a competency-based approach.

All of the teaching and learning exemplars used in TAFE WA have been grounded in Western models and have made almost no concession in methods to accommodate the special needs and varying backgrounds of overseas students in general. Some of the staff are not flexible enough to shift their thinking to the different levels of awareness needed to show sensitivity to students with a variety of needs. Few TAFE WA teachers have had experience with overseas students. Now there needs to be a conceptualisation of what it should mean for a TAFE WA teacher to facilitate teaching and learning for overseas students.

(TOM, I need to complete the table and perhaps re-position it within these last couple of pages; I don't have all the stats yet.)

It is quite clear from the table that the numbers of overseas students as a group, and the cohort of Indonesian students within that group, have increased in the period shown. Furthermore, Indonesian students now form the largest band of overseas students within TAFE WA. Surprisingly perhaps, this situation has developed and persisted throughout the severe Asian financial crisis that began in Thailand in July 1998 and, arguably, adversely affected Indonesia more than any other Asian nation.

The foregoing analysis is presented in response to the first research question, namely, what is the background to Indonesian students studying at TAFE colleges

in Western Australia (TAFE WA)? One result of the response to this research question has been to provide an historical account and the context of Indonesian students coming to study in the Western Australia technical sector. More importantly for the study reported in this dissertation, however, is that the analysis carried out raises important issues in regard to the presence of Indonesian students studying in TAFE WA currently and in the future. These significant issues are embodied in the propositions set out below.

Proposition One

Overseas students have been coming to Australia for most of this century. However, they have been coming in large numbers only for the past twelve years. This is true for Indonesian students as it is for those from other countries. Furthermore, Indonesian students have reflected the general tendency of overseas students to study at universities rather than in TAFE. This has certain implications for the contemporary situation.

Overseas students have been coming to Australia for most of the twentieth century. However, involvement by these students up to World War II was minimal. For forty years following World War II the numbers of overseas students increased steadily. Still, the proportion of these students among all students in Australia throughout this period remained small.

Overseas students have been coming in large numbers only for the past twelve years. Then a sharp increase in numbers was the result of a new policy approach by the Australian government, announced in the mid-1980s. By this new measure, a

fresh category of overseas student was established, known as the full fee-paying overseas student. From 1987 onwards, overseas students rapidly constituted a conspicuous proportion of the total student population in Australia.

This is true for Indonesian students as it is for those from other countries. The number of Indonesians studying in Australian institutions was low before 1987. For the first few years of the full fee-paying student program, however, the number of Indonesian students increased in line with the increase in numbers from several other Asian countries. Subsequently, in the latter part of the 1990s, Indonesian students have formed the largest cultural group studying in Australia.

Indonesian students have reflected the general tendency of overseas students to study at universities rather than in TAFE. For nearly all of the twentieth century, most overseas students coming to study in Australia attended universities. Moreover, the great majority of students attended universities in the eastern states of Australia. Since 1991, the number of Indonesian students enrolling in TAFE has increased significantly, including the number attending TAFE WA schools and colleges.

This has implications for the contemporary situation. The presence of large numbers of Indonesian students, as a recent experience in TAFE WA, is also a new event for most TAFE WA teaching and administrative staff who have taught and provided administrative services for the students. This is particularly true for the number of long-standing TAFE WA personnel. Few of them have been adequately prepared for the experience, through cultural awareness and other appropriate staff

development programs. Research shows that administrators and lecturers involved with Indonesian students have needed to contend with particular issues of welfare, teaching and learning, and curriculum. Each of these areas of interest, is, in turn, the subject of the three remaining propositions.

Proposition Two

Before 1990, there were two categories of overseas students who studied in Australia, namely sponsored students and private students. The welfare needs of sponsored students were formally catered for by the government departments that sponsored them. The welfare needs of private students were catered for largely by the students themselves, sometimes with informal assistance provided by the institution they attended and its staff. This is true for Indonesian students as it is for those from other countries. Certain implications for the contemporary situation flow from this.

Before 1990, there were two categories of overseas students who studied in Australia, namely sponsored students and private students. Sponsored students were specially selected, elite people whose needs were formally supported by government and international agencies during their stay in Australia. Private students relied for their support on themselves, and their families, friends and community groups in their home countries and in Australia.

The welfare needs of sponsored overseas students were formally catered for by the government departments, such as the Department of External Affairs, that sponsored them. This and other Federal and State departments attended to matters

such as being met on arrival, orientation to a the new country and culture, location in suitable accommodation, progress in their study program, and homesickness. Along with other sponsored overseas students, Indonesian students took advantage of the welfare mechanisms available. The TAFE sector was not required to establish formal welfare procedures for overseas students and did not do so. Consequently, for most of this century there was not a tradition of looking after the welfare needs of sponsored overseas students in TAFE WA.

The welfare needs of private overseas students were catered for largely by the students themselves, sometimes with informal assistance provided by the institution they attended and its staff. The majority of overseas students tended to mix mostly in their own cultural groups. In doing so, they developed their own support mechanisms and information sharing networks. Consequently, for most of this century, there has not been a tradition of looking after the welfare needs of private overseas students in TAFE WA. However, many TAFE personnel, acting on their own enthusiasm for supporting and enhancing the experience of overseas students, often assisted Indonesian students in addressing their welfare concerns. Much of this expertise was lost to TAFE WA when the overseas student program was moved from TAFE WA to the senior colleges in 1982. Consequently, there has been a dearth of expertise in TAFE WA over the last twelve years to cater for overseas students.

This is true for Indonesian students as it is for those from other countries. MORE NEEDED HERE.

This has implications for the contemporary situation. Over the last twelve years, TAFE WA has needed expertise in dealing with overseas students, and this has been lacking in the sector. It is likely that Indonesian students will continue to come to study in TAFE WA in the future. This is so, in spite of the fact that Indonesia is once again undergoing severe crises, this time with roots in, or caused by, a most volatile political and social environment. It is almost certain that in the last few months of 1999, as a new millennium approaches, Indonesia is set for a different kind of future. However, it is one where education and training will be of major importance and where young Indonesian students will continue to go overseas to study. While Australia's role in providing part of this education and training may be a little less certain just now in light of current events, it nevertheless remains likely that TAFE WA will remain a desirable provider of such instruction. Accordingly, the following propositions about earlier Indonesian students studying at TAFE colleges in Western Australia can provide valuable insights leading to greater understanding of those who will come.

Proposition Three

From the outset, the TAFE WA curriculum has primarily sought to respond to the needs of Australian industry for its supply of skilled workers. The curriculum offered to overseas students, including Indonesian students, who have come to Australia over the years has been the TAFE WA curriculum. This has not been modified to incorporate or reflect the special needs or characteristics of Indonesian society. Indonesian students return home on completion of their studies. The TAFE WA curriculum should reflect the needs of its students. In

regard to Indonesian students, it does not always do this. This has implications for the contemporary situation.

From the outset, the TAFE WA curriculum has primarily sought to respond to the needs of Australian industry for its supply of skilled workers. Over the last decade in particular, the TAFE curriculum has focused on producing readily employable graduates for the Australian economy. To this end, TAFE WA has been very energetic, versatile and flexible in developing its curriculum.

The curriculum offered to overseas students, including Indonesian students, who have come to Australia over the years has been the TAFE WA curriculum. The curricula studied are, therefore, not necessarily culturally appropriate and may even be offensive in some respects.

This has not been modified to incorporate or reflect the special needs or characteristics of Indonesian society. The curriculum has lacked an internationally flavoured content.

It has not been modified to incorporate or reflect the special needs or characteristics of Indonesian society.

TAFE WA seeks to be relevant to the needs of the Australian economy for skilled workers

Indonesian students return home on completion of their studies.

The TAFE WA curriculum should reflect the needs of its students

In regard to Indonesian students, it does not always do this

This has implications for the contemporary situation.

There are those academics who contend that there should be more and closer attention paid to the needs of overseas students. This is a very desirable outcome.

In the technical sector, this has been a growing acceptance of this need.

.....not even enough time yet to make mistakes; not enough experience; yet to do enough research (tracer studies, exit interviews etc) to establish and confirm the special needs of various cultural groups; because of this there hasn't been enough time to provide a full-blown culture awareness program for TAFE staff; not enough management/international/cultural expertise; with more research the managers would be able to see the need for this and convince the staff; the changes in structure in TAFE have meant that overseas students have been put to the bottom of the order of priorities – state of flux in TAFE; also, there haven't been many of them so they haven't been well catered for; issues of equity and justice; philosophically, TAFE isn't set up for them, unlike schools and universities; propn. of Indonesian students, proportionately, in total number of students in TAFE WA is small; lack of wholeheartedness and focus on oss; lack of policy certainty and direction; divided mind about overseas students; then, general lack of

knowledge about Asia and Asians in Australian generally, and TAFE as a microcosm of Austn society; means that it is hard for TAFE staff to relate to oss naturally, let alone different cultureal groups.

Asian themselves see us as Western colonialists;

Rote learning; participation; plagiarising;

to do an about-face in regard to its traditional approach, by implementing formal welfare services to cater for the needs of many different cultural groups of overseas students. This has been largely an unplanned, non-strategic process that has been interrupted by lack of certainty and expertise among TAFE administrators. Accordingly, there has been considerable room for discontent among overseas students. In the future the approach to planning for overseas students must be.....

The future is likely to demand increased vigilance as Indonesian students adjust to new political and social arrangements.

Over the last decade TAFE WA institutions have accepted the responsibility to establish and institutionalise policies and processes to satisfy the welfare needs of overseas students. Indonesian students, as the largest cohort of overseas students in TAFE WA, have been a major focus of these manoeuvres.

Before 1990, these needs were met mainly by organisations other than TAFE WA. Since the end of the 1980s, the profit-oriented, client-centred approach to the presence of Indonesian students has meant that new functions have emerged in TAFE WA. These have arisen in order to provide an expanded range of services offered by it and expected from it and give it an edge in the market place. However, as part of the contingent of overseas students, Indonesian students still express dissatisfaction with welfare aspects of their sojourn in TAFE WA. Therefore, this has certain implications for the contemporary situation, particularly that TAFE WA needs to be constantly vigilant about the quality of the welfare services for Indonesian students.

There were several formal support mechanisms to monitor these matters in the case of sponsored students. In the case of private students, informal means of support evolved largely through the self-help efforts of the students themselves, and from assistance provided by TAFE WA personnel and the wider community. These were people who were interested in Indonesian students as part of the group of overseas students in Australia.

Proposition Four

The pedagogic needs of Indonesian students have been consistent and constant over the period that they have been coming to TAFE WA institutions. These needs have centred on the requirement to master the English language.

Proposition Five

Early thinking The curriculum needs of Indonesian students have

have been both Australia over the years have done so in line with a number of different policies and attitudes formed by the Australian government. These have resulted in two types of Indonesian students studying at TAFE WA institutions, namely, those who have had their fees paid under a sponsorship or scholarship scheme, and privately funded students.

Its attitude at the end of World War II was of wanting to assist the development of economically disadvantaged nations by strengthening the knowledge and skills of their citizens and institutions by providing them with 'aid'. In the 1990s the policy has altered to one of improvement through 'trade'. This change requires new thinking throughout the TAFE organisation that has not been achieved.

PROPOSITION TWO

Before 1990, issues concerning the welfare needs of overseas sponsored students were formally catered for by the agencies that sponsored them. The welfare needs of overseas private students were attended to by the students themselves, sometimes with informal assistance from the institution they attended and its staff. This is true for Indonesian students as it is for those from other countries. In some situations, such as facility with the English language, Indonesian students have had greater needs. Over the last decade TAFE WA has needed to quickly establish and institutionalise policies and processes to satisfy the welfare needs of all

Indonesian students. Accordingly, this has certain implications for the contemporary situation

Proposition One

While overseas students have been coming to Australia for most of this century they have been present in large numbers only for the past eleven years. It is only over the last two years that Indonesian students have comprised one of the principal sources of overseas students in Australia. Only a minority of these has been TAFE students, including students at TAFE WA. Consequently, TAFE WA does not have a long history of dealing with Indonesian students in its institutions.

Since Federation in 1901, overseas students from many countries have been coming to study in Australian education institutions under a variety of schemes. The great majority of the students came from Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, but India, Pakistan, Thailand and Africa were also moderately represented. Indonesia sent very few students to study in Australia during this period, although some did come. Compared with enrolments of local students, the total numbers of overseas students was very low.

In the mid-1980s a new overseas student policy was introduced that saw a sharp and sustained increase over the next decade in the number of overseas students studying in Australia. The number coming from Asia was still very high, but soon

those attending from Indonesia in particular had increased markedly, both in absolute terms and as a fraction of the total. By 1996, Indonesia was vying for the lead in the total number of students studying in Australia.

Most students who came to study in Australia between 1945 and 1985 undertook university studies. The largest proportion of the total was located in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia. Relatively few came to Western Australia, and then even fewer enrolled in TAFE institutions.

Proposition Two

Overseas students who have come to study in Australia over the years have done so in line with a number of different policies and attitudes formed by the Australian government. Its attitude at the end of World War II was of wanting to assist the development of economically disadvantaged nations by strengthening the knowledge and skills of their citizens and institutions by providing them with 'aid'. In the 1990s the policy has altered to one of improvement through 'trade'. This change requires new thinking throughout the TAFE organisation that has not been achieved.

Prior to 1950, Australia was minimally involved in the education of overseas students. A combination of political, trade and humanitarian policy initiatives have led to progressively to a marked expansion of programs for overseas students wanting to study in Australia. At a time of rising world-wide demand for tertiary and technical education, Australia was one country that assumed responsibility for assisting in the education of people in its geographic region. Successive Australian

governments wanted to foster goodwill and, at the same time, develop positive political and trade relationships with future regional leaders.

The education of private Asian students evolved in a more *ad hoc* fashion than the program for Colombo Plan and other sponsored students.

Better supervision and guidance

Structure in TAFE WA broken and staff transferred; so, no memory.

Proposition Three

Various administrative arrangements and structures have been established over the years to cater for the presence of overseas students in TAFE WA. However, it is only in the last decade that there has been a concentrated administrative focus on the potential of overseas students to enhance the operations of TAFE WA. Nevertheless, TAFE WA has been slow to decide upon a settled, cohesive structure to attract and cater for overseas students.

Administrative arrangements for Colombo Plan and other sponsored students were well established. However, those for private students were more ad hoc in nature.

Proposition Four

Responsibility for overseas students who have come to study in TAFE WA has been concentrated in the hands of several government authorities. These have co-operated to fulfil certain administrative functions in regard to overseas students. However, there has been little attention paid within TAFE WA towards preserving ‘corporate memory’ of the experiences of TAFE WA personnel who have had responsibilities relating to the presence of overseas students.

Proposition Five

Overseas students in TAFE WA have always been considered as a homogenous group. However, they have come from all over the world and from many diverse cultural backgrounds. Each student should, given that full-fees are now charged, be considered as a ‘client’ at the centre of a separate ‘contract’. TAFE WA still gives too low a priority to a business-based approach to the education and welfare of each overseas student..

Not only have students entered Australian educational institutions under different schemes, they have done so from many countries. No special curriculum arrangements have been made for overseas students. There were various issues that arose in the welfare of overseas students. It was considered as a one-way traffic. Australia has made a profound transition in its attitude to Asia

Despite transitional problems relating to cultural, linguistic and academic adaptation, overseas and Asian student numbers have increased.

It is only over the last two years that Indonesian students have comprised the majority of overseas students in Australia. Only a minority of these have been TAFE students, including the number enrolled in TAFE WA institutions. Accordingly, there has only been a relatively short time in which TAFE WA has been able to develop and apply a solid body of experiential knowledge in dealing with the welfare, teaching and learning (pedagogy), and curriculum needs of Indonesian students. Therefore, this

Conclusion

This chapter has described the background to the presence of overseas students in TAFE institutions in Western Australia. This historical overview commenced with a brief chronology of the development of TAFE in Australia. It showed that after a new beginning following the end of World War II, the TAFE sector was affirmed as a major educational sector following the publication of the Kangan Report in the mid-1970s. TAFE then became a principal player in the drive by the Labor government in the mid-1980s to re-align education and training in public and

private institutions more closely with industry needs. The end of World War II was also the commencement of a concerted effort to open Australia's educational institutions to both sponsored and private overseas students, an initiative that was re-affirmed and expanded as a central plank in the reforms established in 1986, measures that still govern the present operations of TAFE. The discussion in this chapter also traced early, centralised functions and concerns that occupied on a small scale, TAFE and other educational administrators who managed the presence of overseas students in Western Australia. These processes and practices have evolved into the present TAFE structure for dealing with overseas students, the largest country group of whom are Indonesian students. The structure involves a number of people in decentralised locations. A series of propositions were formed about the historical processes and practices in TAFE WA that have led to the current situation. The present-day functions of those people in looking after Indonesian students in TAFE WA are set out in the following chapter.

Table setting out the different phases in the evolution of the technical education sector in Western Australia, and the administrative units established to attend to Indonesian students studying at its institutions.

Year(s)	Name of Technical Education Sector	Administrative Entity Responsible for Indonesian Students.
1901 to 1954	Technical Education Branch	No separate entity
1954	Technical Education Division	No separate entity
1985	Technical Education Division	Western Australian Overseas Projects Unit
1988	Office of TAFE	TAFE International Division (TID)
1989	Department of TAFE	TAFE International Division (TID)
1992	Department of Vocational Education and Training	College of Customised Training (responsible for TID)

1993	Western Australian Department of Training	College of Customised Training (responsible for TID)
1997	Western Australian Department of Training	TAFE International Western Australia

considers briefly the impact of the Kangan report on TAFE, including its effect on the numbers of overseas students studying at TAFE institutions in Western Australia. It covers the period 1976 to

which the Jackson Review of the Australian aid program and the Goldring review of the overseas student program appeared. These made significant recommendations on Federal and State education policy and practice, including the future of. In this period the Dawkins education and training reforms were introduced and took effect.

While there had been progress made in TAFE's dealings with overseas students, the TAFE systems still had some distance to travel in responding to the challenge of overseas students, especially those from Indonesia.

OPENS THE WAY FOR KANGAN

A consequence of the Dawkins agenda was the creation of a new category of overseas student, namely 'full-fee paying private overseas students. In contrast to previous categories existing a few years before, these overseas students were neither 'sponsored' nor 'subsidised'. Rather, they paid the entire cost of their programs, as per charges set out by Australian universities, within guidelines established by DEET. No quotas apply to these students. Rather, acceptance to universities is based on the capacity of the universities to accommodate the

students into various programs. This program had been initiated in 1985 as an option for overseas students. However, following the adoption by the Australian government of the recommendation of the Jackson report (the Report of the Committee to Review The Australian Aid Program), all private overseas students were required to pay full fees from the beginning of 1990.

However, just as the hard work and trial-and-error efforts of TID over the previous five years were beginning to position TAFE WA in the overseas market place as an attractive destination for overseas students.....

The previous Western Australian structure, which included 16 individual State colleges headed by principals of long standing in TAFE and strong parochial support, was seen by some central managers as an impediment to restructuring initiatives. The sixteen colleges were rationalised to eight and the management positions were readvertised under the Public Service Act.

Nevertheless, there was a dramatic increase in student numbers, with student arrivals more than doubling between 1986 and 1989. In particular, the number of students entering Australia to study short, non-formal courses increased significantly (Industry Commission, 1991:18).

Eventually, in 1990, the Government phased out the subsidised program because it no longer met its aid, education or economic objectives. Aid would continue to be provided but in a more targeted manner.

From its inception, TIWA has operated under both Commonwealth and State legislation. The Australian Education Council (AEC) was a forum where State, Territory and Commonwealth Education Ministers discussed matters of common interest that cut across State and Commonwealth lines. In 1988 the Council adopted a Code of Conduct for the overseas marketing of education services and in 1990 it endorsed national minimum standards for approval of institutions and courses for international students. The minimum standards were meant to ensure that overseas students received the courses and services advertised, and to protect and underpin the quality of education services provided by Australian education institutions. This Code and the standards together set national guidelines for international education providers on such matters as educational standards, marketing, recruitment of students and student support services, and establish criteria for approval of education courses for international students.

With effect from 1990, the AEC agreed to the transfer of the responsibility for approval of courses for overseas students from the Commonwealth to the State/Territory governments. From that date these governments have had the responsibility for the approval, monitoring, and inspection of courses offered to overseas students and of institutions that enrol them (Beazley, 1992:23). All States/Territories were expected to frame their particular requirements from these national minimum standards.

Nevertheless, in 1991 the Commonwealth Government took an important step to stabilise regulation by introducing the Education Services for Overseas Students

(Registration of Providers and Financial Regulations) Act 1991, referred to as ESOS. The ESOS Act provided both financial protection and quality assurance for overseas students in Australian institutions. The Western Australian Education Service Providers (Full Fee Overseas Students) Registration Act 1991 finally came into full effect on 1 June 1993.

Sometimes, informal assistance to both groups of students was provided by the institution they attended and its staff. Most personnel in educational institutions who worked with overseas students found the experience enriching. A number of these personnel actively sought opportunities to both assist students with problems and concerns in matters of welfare, teaching and learning and curriculum. These invite overseas students to their homes and other social occasions. Indonesian students were seen as more gregarious than some other cultural groups.

There were occasions when issues did arise.

This has certain implications for the contemporary situation

Monitoring and addressing these issues were intended to minimise any unhappiness because of

The welfare needs of Indonesian private students were attended to by the students themselves. This is not surprising because there is no compelling reason to think that their welfare needs in adjusting to a new cultural environment would be

different from those of sponsored students. In addressing their own welfare concerns, Indonesian students, as part of the overseas student group, were often assisted by lecturers and other TAFE WA personnel, who through personal inclination wanted to support and enhance the experiences of overseas students in Western Australia. However, these were informal contributions to the welfare of overseas students that

Sometimes, informal assistance to both groups of students was provided by the institution they attended and its staff. Most personnel in educational institutions who worked with overseas students found the experience enriching. A number of these personnel actively sought opportunities to both assist students with problems and concerns in matters of welfare, teaching and learning and curriculum. These invite overseas students to their homes and other social occasions. Indonesian students were seen as more gregarious than some other cultural groups.

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that their welfare needs in adjusting to a new cultural environment would be different from those of sponsored students.

Link with the literature that says that we must look after them well but that cultural groups need to be looked after too.

Until the late 1980s, there were two categories of Indonesian students who came to study in TAFE WA institutions. One group comprised specially selected students sponsored by funding from their governments and international aid agencies. The second group was made up of students who were privately funded. After 1990, all Indonesian students who came to study in TAFE WA schools and colleges have covered their full tuition and other costs and are classified as full fee-paying private students. Throughout the time both categories of students have studied in TAFE WA, several matters for attention have arisen. These may be classified under three headings, namely: welfare, pedagogy and curriculum. At the end of the 1990s many of the issues that fell within these categories have been ameliorated. However, especially in the light of the political and social turmoil in Indonesia at this time, new concerns may arise among TAFE WA personnel

Indonesian students who have studied in TAFE WA can be classified in two ways, namely sponsored students and private students. Sponsored students entered Australia under the care and direction of several government authorities, such as the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Immigration and the Department of Education. Also, depending on the nature of their studies, they may have come been under the responsibility of other agencies such as Forestry, Agriculture or medical authorities. Private students were granted visas by the relevant Government authority but, thereafter, were not catered for in a structured way by Australian institutions.

Over the years that Indonesian students have come to study in TAFE WA, a range of issues has arisen in connection with their sojourn. These issues can be shown to fall into three categories, namely, general welfare, such as suitable accommodation and loneliness; pedagogy, for example, their attendance and progress in their studies; and, curriculum, such as its appropriateness for application in their subsequent work after they return to Indonesia.

Over the last decade, all Indonesian students in TAFE WA have been private students who have paid full-fees for their tuition. A contractual situation involving mutual rights and obligations therefore exists between a student and TAFE WA and new structures and administrative procedures have been added to the operations of TAFE WA to reflect this. These have been added on the basis of earning profits for TAFE WA. Consequently, a new type of Indonesian student has emerged, one now known as a 'client' to be processed through TAFE WA in

return for a fee, and a marketing opportunity to attract future Indonesians into TAFE WA. Accordingly,

Proposition

The technical sector's prime 'client' has been Australian industry. In the last decade in particular TAFE has been the vehicle to ensure that the skills of the Australian labour force are sufficient to support internationally competitive commerce and industry and to provide individuals with opportunities to optimise their potential.

TAFE institutes have been forced to become players in the training market, competing with other institutions and private providers for diminishing government funding while struggling with financial and administrative constraints to their competitiveness.

TAFE has been preoccupied with the commercial aspects of overseas students.

The roles of teachers and administrators are fundamental issues that have not been properly addressed.

The need to maintain academic standards and equity and fairness in assessment are major issues in teaching and learning.

There has been inadequate staff preparation for overseas students.

The curricula studied are not necessarily culturally appropriate.

Since 1985, when restrictions on the enrolment of overseas students in Australian education institutions were removed, the size and diversity of TAFE's overseas activities has grown significantly.

TAFE as an entity has not grasped the rationale for internationalisation.

A consistent definition or understanding of the needs of overseas students in the classroom has not yet been developed in the sector.

The presence of overseas students does not permeate all facets of TAFE. The development of policy in this regard has been ad hoc, commercial and not strategic. There are not clear objectives spelled out in published policy and planning documents.

Management and personnel changes have seen a lessening of attention paid to the non-commercial aspects of overseas students. The focal point for internationalisation has moved from a central division to the area with responsibility for commercial international activities.

The curriculum lacked an internationally flavoured content. The curriculum base determines the whole product mix offered by TAFE.

ANTA Guidelines for developers of National Training Packages do not include a requirement to consider or include an international dimension or international perspective in Training Packages. This can be perceived as a lack of leadership at national level and evidence that internationalisation of curriculum is not on the national agenda.

National staff development policy since 1997 has been concerned primarily with supporting the implementation of the National Training Framework. Most TAFE systems have adopted a distributive or devolved model of TAFE administration that has handed responsibility for staff development to institutions. Within institutions, there is a trend for staff development activities to be devolved from central training departments to the place of service delivery or production. There has been a shift in the responsibility for staff development from the employer to the employee.

The State needs to enhance the skills and qualifications of people in the VET sector in matters to do with internationalisation....staff development, whether for internationalisation or otherwise, is bordering on non-existent and the little that occurs is informal.....institutes do offer, on an institute-wide basis, cultural awareness type seminars from time to time, but these appear to be ad hoc.

.....it was a reasonable expectation that assessment practices would be adjusted to suit varying levels of English language proficiency when overseas students study in Australia. This issue of making adjustments to assessment has been raised as a source of some conflict by respondents. For some teachers it is an issue of maintaining standards whilst others see that refusing to make what they consider reasonable adjustments is a sign of unreasonable ethnocentric behaviour.

.....a feeling of increased workload and, with an awareness of the financial investment made by overseas students and their families, an added pressure to see that they succeed.

.....a tension, or maybe just confusion, between the notion of a TAFE system that seeks to assist Australian industry to be relevant and competitive in a globalised market and being a successful trader in that market selling educational services and products offshore.

.....to date, the policy and budgetary aspects of the national agenda, rather than the globalisation rationale expounded by ATI have been more influential in TAFE's internationalisation process. Moreover, domestic policy and budgetary considerations have been ever present, demanding immediate attention. The cause of internationalisation has been given at best intermittent attention at the national policy level as an examination of ANTA initiatives in the 1990s shows.....there is a need for national leadership to change the commercial orientation of internationalisation.....

In this regard it is significant that Goozee's (1995) history of the development of TAFE and the House of Representative's Standing Committee (1998) report do not mention internationalisation. However, the Committee did include 'international education' as one of the emerging roles for TAFE.

.....perhaps there is not an appreciation of a need to move on internationalisation at the National level, or perhaps the profit motive is seen as the only legitimate driver of change in an increasingly commercial VET system.

.....segregated, export driven, international units that have little to do with day to day teaching and learning activities.

.....staff development for internationalisation is not seen as a priority.

.....internationalisation of the curriculum is not occurring on a planned or consistent basis. On the contrary, it appears to occur on an ad hoc basis. The dominance of commercial objectives often means that internationalisation of the curriculum does not occur across an institution.

Nor did the researchers gain any sense that there is a consistent or comprehensive understanding of what 'internationalising the curriculum' means in the TAFE sector.

.....suggests that staff development to support internationalisation is not currently seen as being of particular importance at the national or state level.....staff are

being adequately equipped to support the implementation of the National Training Framework.

.....at the institute level, provision for staff development is related to the level of commercial international activity.

.....organisational goals are seen as the starting point for a professional development framework to support internationalisation. This requires VET organisations to be clear about their internationalisation goals.

.....need for VET organisations to develop specific position statements for specialist international roles, rather than a reliance on generic statements.

While international education or business development units remain the focal point for an institute's internationalisation processes, the range of international work roles and the targeting of staff development is likely to remain limited.

.....the bulk of professional development that has taken place has come from their own enthusiasm for internationalisation and intercultural communication. Much of the professional growth described has occurred as a result of reflection at the personal level on personal experience and organisational and environmental contexts.

.....changing industry circumstances, such as the emergence of a globalised market, should signal a need to embrace a broader view of internationalisation.

This has implications for overseas students. The curriculum studied by them is not necessarily culturally appropriate and may even be offensive in some respects. The role of curriculum for overseas students is a fundamental issue that needs to be properly addressed within TAFE WA. Content and concepts applied to the Indonesian context should be spread across a range of subjects and be part of subjects, rather than be taught in a single subject intended for this purpose.

Total of Indonesian students in TAFE WA	Percentage of Indonesian students in TAFE WA
10	11.2
106	13.6
171	16.2
188	14.8
137	9.1
Year	Total of overseas students in TAFE WA
1994	89
1995	774
1996	1058

1997	1266
1998	1499
1999	1547