Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

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Statement of Copyright

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Abstract

This thesis is about teacher-student relationship in higher education. Set against the background of marketization, when the higher education sector is seen as a market, education institutions act like business enterprises, and students are seen as customers, teacher-student relationship is commonly perceived as having transformed itself to resemble a customer-seller relationship. On a conceptual level, this transformation is doing a disservice to the sector, as revealed in the many obvious differences between a customer-seller relationship and that between teachers and students. Academics, in particular, vehemently resist such conceptualizations, blaming such transformations as the main culprit of the prevalence of students' disengagement and incivility in higher education nowadays. While much of what has been said about the negative influence of student consumerism on teacher-student relationship has been anecdotal in nature, this thesis attempts to offer some empirical evidence to fill the gap in the literature. Because of its quantitative nature, this study focused on only one of the many possible dimensions of examining teacher-student relationship, the power relations, measured by the level of teachers' influence on students. Using the Interpersonal Power Interaction Model (IPIM) as the conceptual framework, this thesis assesses the relationship between student consumerism and teacher power by (1) examining the association between the students' consumerist attitude and teachers' hard and soft power bases and (2) establishing the moderation effect of students' consumerist attitude on the relationship between students' personality variables and teachers' soft and hard power bases. The study was conducted in the HKUSPACE Community College, the leading community college of the sector which has been operating on a fully self-financing status since its establishment in 2000. Data was collected by way of a questionnaire survey covering the key variables including students' consumerist attitude, compliance with teachers' power, as well as four personality variables: motivation orientation, desire for control, concern for appropriateness and self-esteem. Statistical analysis of the findings from the research confirmed only some of the hypotheses. In terms of correlation, while students' consumerist attitude was found to be positively associated with soft power base as hypothesized, its correlation with hard power base was also found to be positive, which was contradictory to the hypothesis. In terms of moderation, consumerist attitude was found to moderate only three out of ten relationships between personality factors and teacher power bases. Specifically, students' consumerist attitude was found to moderate the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with both hard and soft power bases, as well as that between concern for appropriateness and soft power base. Results have been analyzed in light of the literature on instructional communication and teaching effectiveness with implications offered to warn educators against the potential abuse of soft power as well as on the proper use of both power bases to exercise positive influence on students. Implications were also drawn on further research in the area of teacher-student relationship in the context of a marketized education sector.

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Introduction

The literature on the recent development of higher education systems across the world is replete with accounts of the blurring of the border between education and the economic sector. Brown (2011a) gave a comprehensive account of the introduction of market forces to the education systems in North America, the UK, Australia and other Western European countries. In Asia, similar accounts have been found in the education systems of Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan and Mainland China (Qiping, 1994; Mok 1999; Mok, 2006). In these studies, marketization of the education sector is generally described as a process “whereby education becomes a commodity provided by competitive suppliers, educational services are priced and access to them depends on consumer calculations and ability to pay’ (Qiping & White, 1994, p. 217). Subsumed under the forces of marketization, academic institutions nowadays have to compete for survival as if they are profit-seeking enterprises in a commercial sector. This phenomenon is particularly apt in the higher education sector, in which institutions, faced with a tightening of financial support from the government, have to compete for higher league rankings, research grants and even students. Dominated by commercial or market principles in its transformation, one of the prevailing phenomena in the higher education sector nowadays is the growth of student consumerism, which manifests itself not only as a highly-contested ideology among educators (Potts, 2005; Schwartzman, 1995), but also as a corporate philosophy endorsed by education institutions (Glaser-Segura, Mudge, Brătianu, Jianu, & Vâlcea, 2007; Levin, 2005) and an attitude to learning adopted by students who see themselves as customers in the education process (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002; Potts, 2005; Titus, 2008). Believing that teacher-student relationship would unavoidably be transformed under the forces of student consumerism at the three levels, this thesis examines the teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism, focusing on one of the sub-sectors of higher education in Hong Kong comprising the fully self-financing Community Colleges.

Since its inception in 2001, Community Colleges have always been running on a self-financing basis, which consequently exposes this sector fully to the prevailing forces of the economic market. As such, Community Colleges in Hong Kong acquire to a large extent a corporate character, responding to market forces and striving to maximize their efficiency at all times. At the same time, providing education for the younger generation of society remains the core activity of these colleges. Being an educational institution but operating like a business entity, these colleges constantly face tension among conflicting economic goals of cost-saving and efficiency on one hand, and the sacred values of education on the other. This makes this sector of higher education particularly suited for the purpose of studying student consumerism.

This chapter sets the background by firstly examining in detail what has been described as student consumerism using examples from the US, the UK and Hong Kong. Arguments on both sides of the contentious debate regarding the appropriateness of the market logic of operation in the higher education sector, specifically, the student-as-customer metaphor, will then be discussed. This chapter will conclude with the development of the community college sector in Hong Kong so as to explain why this sector has been chosen to be the focus in the present study.

Student consumerism

In many studies, student consumerism is situated in the context of the introduction of neo-liberal market, the central tenet of which focuses on a commitment to competition as a way to increase efficiency and productivity, a flexible workforce and individual economic opportunity rather than group welfare (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Under the influence of this political and economic ideology, governments and states have reformed the provision of public services, mainly in form of privatization and deregulation (Mok, 1999). As a result of these neoliberal reforms, higher education sector increasingly operate along the logic of the market, with institutions selling products and services to consumers analogous to what is done in a retail market. In this higher education market, the student-consumer emerges as the focus of competition and a modernizing force that will bring about increased efficiency, diversity and flexibility to the higher education sector. Colleges and institutions have been described as ‘commercial enterprises', adapting to market demands, striving for cost efficiency and maintaining competitiveness at the expense of liberal arts programmes, transfer functions and citizenship development (Levin, 2001). Academics have been portrayed as being resistant to consumerism, and their roles relegated to that of a service provider, a classroom entertainer or even an information transmitter; students, on the other hand, have been described as the all-mighty customers who pay and therefore are entitled to 'satisfactory' service (Gottfried, 2002; Levin, 2005; Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005). The teaching and learning process becomes a transaction in which academics transmit knowledge for their pay checks while students 'pay their tuition to receive the professor's wisdom [in a particular] field of knowledge' (Riesman, 1998b).

An overview of the current literature on student consumerism reveals three interrelated but different conceptions of the term, depending on the level on which it is manifested: the sector level, institutional level and the student level. The following three associated metaphors are thus identified and will be discussed in the following sections:

a. higher-education-as-market metaphor
b. institutions-as-corporations metaphor
c. students-as-customers metaphor

Higher Education as a Market

At the market level, student consumerism is seen as the prevailing ideology governing the operation of a higher education 'market'. This view of student consumerism is closely associated with the broader debate of the marketization of education, that is, the introduction of market principles in the way the higher education sector operates, the central tenet of which focuses on a commitment to competition as a way to increase efficiency and productivity, a flexible workforce and individual economic opportunity rather than group welfare (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The massification of higher education leading to greater education expenditure in public budgets, coupled with prevailing neo-liberal ideology of a small state and minimal government intervention, has created greater political pressures for the control of public funds invested in higher education system. Market mechanism is seen by a number of scholars, such as Milton Friedman (1962) to spur productivity improvement and improve responsiveness to supply and demand through competition. Education institutions operating under state provision are believed to have poor efficiency because the system is monopolized or quasi-monopolised by the state, based on a situation of uniformity in wages that prevents performance payments. In Friedman's view, the system where government funding flow directly to providers of education has led to less responsive institutions that are under-funded and less adapted to the demands of the system. On the supply side, the entry of providers to the market is highly regulated, and consumers of higher education do not freely choose the product, and instead are forced to choose from options pre-selected by the regulating authority. On the demand side, the purchaser of a degree programme differs from the user: while the government is paying for the cost of education, the users – the students – are not confronted with the costs of their decision to go to college.

All these have led some to argue for a system of demand-driven funding instead of supply-driven funding. In many countries, governments have asked institutions to compete for students, research funds and funds tied to specific goals. It is believed that market forces would drive productivity improvement and improve responsiveness to supply and demand (Massey, 2004). In terms of productivity, the incentives arise because a dollar saved is a dollar freed up for cross-subsidies in teaching and scholarship. Institutions without big endowments or sponsored research use tuition revenue to fund faculty scholarship. The more efficiently they can teach, the more scholarship they can fund. In other words, market forces drive institutions to evaluate what they do and how well they do it. In terms of responsiveness, markets decentralize decision making by allowing customers and suppliers to assert their individual preferences. Competition forces universities to consider these preferences in decisions about production processes, and the quantity, quality and price of outputs.

Cast in this light, student consumerism is the prevailing ideology associated with the marketization of the education sector, a philosophy which calls for institutional efforts in responding to the needs and desire of the student consumers in order to survive in a competitive market. This philosophy has been manifested in the education scene on a macro level, with governments and states making clear effort to reduce involvement in the provision of public services through such means as deregulation, privatization and introduction of open markets; and second, there has been undue emphasis on competition and control as a means to improve performance (Mok, 1999). In many parts of the world, such reforms cover the higher education sector, in which the states/governments act as promulgators of neoliberal competitive behaviors among higher education institutions, mainly through the introduction of tuition fees and funding policies.

Tuition fees. Under the prevailing neo-liberal ideology, a focus on the value of higher education being ascribed to an individual more than society as a whole means that education has come to be seen primarily as an investment in an individual's future earning capacity (Glennerster, 2003). This opens up the question of whether those who benefit from this investment should repay some of its cost. That students should take on some of the cost has become a mainstream policy position (Barr & Crawford, 2005; Vossensteyn, 2002) and has been the chief motor behind the change in higher education policy that occurred in the period: the introduction of tuition fees and the replacement of grants with loans in many countries. In the UK, for example, students at universities paid no tuition fees and received a tax-funded maintenance grant to cover living costs until 1990 (Dolenec, 2006). However, starting from 1998, students have been paying fees for their tuition and at present, it represents nearly 40 per cent of institutions' income for teaching (Brown, 2011b). The funding system in UK is now based on tuition fees and income-contingent loans. In the US, between 1976-77 and 2000-01, public education's share of state discretionary expenditures fell by 4% and, within this, the proportional share allocated to higher education fell by 6% (Rizzo, as cited in McLendon, Hearn, & Mokher, 2009).

Funding policies. Apart from the cost of higher education being shifted from public to private money, government/state funding has also been tied to institutional performance. In line with neo-liberalism commitment to competition to drive performance, governments/states have been allocating resources and funds to the higher education institutions based on certain “performance benchmarks”. For example, in the UK, the governmental assessment of research quality (RAE) is used to distribute competitive fund for research. In Australia, the annual Commonwealth funding to universities for research, called the Research Quantum, is allocated based on universities’ performance measured against a set of indicators such as external research income, publications count and higher degree research completions. Funding for teaching is largely based on enrolment (Taylor, 2001). A similar path was followed by Hong Kong in 1994, in the form of a research assessment exercise (RAE), which is intended to assess the quality of research of government-funded institutions “to drive excellence by evaluating their outputs, inputs and esteem measures”. In the website of the University Grants Committee (UGC), it is clearly stated that the results of the exercise will be “one of the factors for the allocation of part of the research portion of the recurrent block grant in a publicly accountably way”. Under this, the funding received by an institution is closely linked to its research performance.

Brown (2011a) suggested four key indicators to measure to level of marketization of a higher education system: institutional autonomy, institutional competition, price and information. It is claimed that, in more marketized sectors, such as the ones found in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia, institutions enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy in specifying the product and to procure and deploy the resources to deliver it. Also, a marketized sector has in place relative ease of market entry, genuine possibilities of student choice as well as incentives for institutions to recruit, all of which create conditions for genuine competition. In the US, for instance, there is a considerable amount of competition amongst a diverse range of institutions, public and private ones. In terms of price, in a marketized system, there is a tuition fee covering a significant proportion of the costs of provision and the level of which is decided by institutions. In the United Kingdom, for example, tuition fees were first introduced in 1998 and now represent nearly 40 per cent of institutions’ income for teaching, and the Browne Review went a step further by proposing variable fee levels to be set by institutions (Dodds, 2011). Finally, students have access to information in a marketized sector which assists them in their choice of programmes / and or institutions, and this essentially means quality is automatically protected: using the available information to select the product that is most suitable for them, customers exercise control over suppliers, who would go out of business if what they offer is not what customers see as suitable. This is exemplified by the league tables or other forms of institutional rankings which have become a standard practice in many jurisdictions, such as the National Student Survey (NSS) initiative in the UK and the Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ) in Australia. Along these criteria, it has been suggested, marketization is more pronounced in certain parts of the world: the UK, the US and Australia than the others, such as Germany and Korea (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006; Pritchard, 2005).

Institutions as Corporations

At this level, student consumerism manifests itself as a set of institutional responses in the face of market competition. As a result of the neoliberal reforms in the higher education sector described in the previous section, higher education sector is said to increasingly operate along the logic of the market, with institutions selling products and services to consumers analogous to what is done in a retail market. To compete in this higher education market, colleges and universities are said to have been increasingly "corporatized" (Mills, 2012), with economic goals of efficiency and effectiveness dominating institutional management and governance. Working towards "staying competitive", these institutions "plan strategically, scan environments, attempt to contain or cut costs, correct inefficiencies, or do whatever it takes to maximize flexibility" (Gumport, 2000). The decision to add an academic program could be seen as a strategy to position the institution to attract new customers and thereby increase revenue, and an increase in tuition can be explained as appropriate due to increased demand or decreased supply of a particular product. Changes to the curriculum or other provisions can be seen as prudent market corrections. At the same time, faced with the need to supplement reduced government funding through fee-paying students, these institutions are also becoming more market driven, applying different consumerist mechanisms to the intimate function of higher education: modularization of the curriculum and the assignment of uniform levels and credits to courses to facilitate consumer choice; the requirement that universities publish detailed information on academic programmes so that students can be assured of what they are to receive at the outset of their studies, and the publication of performance indicators evaluating institutional functioning. Hence, student consumerism, manifested on the level of educational institutions, can be seen as a set of institutional strategies, following which major curricular or non-curricular decision making would involve students to varying extent – from their satisfaction being heavily weighted to their veto rights and 'approval' being required (Bejou, 2005; Emanuel & Adams, 2006; Glaser-Segura, et al., 2007; Levin, 2005; Serenko, 2011). The emphasis is on strategies adopted by institutions involved in competition for students to achieve market responsiveness, very much similar to businesses developing a customer-focus to attract and retain customers.

Specifically what institutional responses have been witnessed as a response to the forces of marketization and student-as-customer orientation? Levin (2005) described how forces of globalization lead to changes in the nature of goods delivered (knowledge), the way goods are organized and presented (curriculum), the place where knowledge is conveyed (classroom), and the way knowledge is conveyed (pedagogy) (39). In his study of the organizational responses of Community Colleges in US, he categorized such behaviour into ten different categories:

Internationalization	recruitment of students from overseas, and delivery of college curriculum in other nations
Multiculturalism	adoption of ideology that promotes equality among groups along the lines of ethnic origins, class, and gender orientation
Commodification	creation of products and services for sale in the marketplace, and delivery of training to the specifications of private businesses
Homogenization	standardization of products, services and practices, objectifying of the curriculum so that it approaches

	quantification or reduction to its basic elements
Marketization	alignment with private sector, competition with other institutions for revenues, the formation of associations with private business and industry and solicitation of private donations
Restructuring	alterations to work patterns to cope with scarcity of resources, and such changes would lead to job change, job loss and re-allocation of resources
Labour alterations	modification of work patterns, including the nature and duration of work, which may entail additional students in classrooms
Productivity and efficiency	Turning to private sector for funding, and enhancing productivity by pursuing efficiency and lowering costs.
Electronic communication and information	adoption of technologies that are perceived as both cost saving and normative
State intervention	Increasing intervention and interference of state in college action.

Such changes in policies and administrative behaviours of institutions in the higher education sector have been described extensively under the general rubric of "managerialism" (Fredman & Doughney, 2012), which, according to Anderson (2006), involves the 'incorporation of approaches, systems, and techniques commonly found in the private sector to the conduct of the public sector." More specifically, a managerial university is one demonstrating:

> a more muscular management style, an emphasis on particular forms of accountability, the development of a market-orientation, a focus on securing non-government funding, and increased concern with issues of efficiency and economy, implemented through performance management schemes, quality

assurance mechanisms, the restructuring of academic departments, and the implementation of budgetary devolution'' (Anderson, 2008, p. 256).

One of management techniques transplanted from the private sector to the higher education domain is total quality management (TQM), which is defined by the International Organisation for Standardization as "a management approach of an organization centred on quality, based on the participation of all its members and aiming at long term success through customer satisfaction and benefits to all members of the organization and society" (Pfeifer, 2002). When translated into the domain of higher education, institutions in different jurisdictions are required, usually by the government or state, to continually monitor and improve the quality of their provisions. An overview of quality assurance policies in different countries worldwide is given by Westerheijden, Stenaker and Rosa (Westerheijden, Stensaker, & Rosa, 2007). In Hong Kong, quality assurance is mainly in the hands of the University Grants Committee (UGC), although, to stress the importance of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, it emphasizes that "the primary responsibility for quality assurance rests with the institutions themselves" (Tam, 1999). Specifically, quality assurance processes it has put in place include the Teaching and Learning Quality Process Reviews (TLQPRs), Management Reviews and Research Assessment Exercise, which cover the monitoring of the quality of academic programmes, of the teaching and learning processes, of management systems and of research output and performance.

It is worth mentioning that the central philosophy of TQM is a focus on customers, who are supposed to define the quality of products and services and ultimately choose among several competing market offerings (Glaser-Segura, et al., 2007). This user-based definition of quality states that if the customer is satisfied, the product has good quality. In business, customers are usually defined as the recipient or beneficiary of the outputs of work efforts or the purchaser of products and services. In the same vein, students, as recipients of educational services, are usually considered the most important customers in higher education; and their satisfaction becomes one of the crucial indicators of an institution's quality (Maguad, 2007). Consequently, higher education institutions, like customer-oriented service industries in the private sector, are increasingly keen to collect data about students' satisfaction, and this is evident from the increasing empirical studies in the higher education literature to systematically measure student satisfaction towards different aspects of their higher education, to apply the American Customer Satisfaction Model, originally used across manufacturing and service sectors, to identify antecedents of students' satisfaction with a music programme in Canada (Serenko, 2011), as well as to employ customer relationship management approaches to build loyalty and improve student retention (Bejou, 2005).

What has been made evident is that when the market analogy is applied to the higher education sector, institutions respond by employing practices in the private sector, thus behaving more like business enterprises. University staff, administrative and teaching alike, are viewed as primary providers of the service, while fee-paying students logically assume the role of a customer. And when institutions increasingly embrace total quality management (TQM) to stay in an intensely competitive market, the student-customer is elevated as the focus of quality improvement initiatives. As Trout (1997) noted, "consumerism implies that the desires of the customer reign supreme and that the customer should be easily satisfied" (p. 48). Indeed, a TQM approach recognizes that customers are knowledgeable entities who are solely responsible for the description of their multi-faceted needs, and applying TQM to education means involving the opinion of students as the principal customer in the process. All these suggest that institutional responses to the need to compete in the higher education market have reinforced the highly-contested student-as-customer metaphor, which will be discussed in the following section.

Student as Customers

Closely associated with the higher-education-as-market metaphor and institutions-as-corporations metaphor is the equation of students with customer, resulting in the highly-contested student-as-customer metaphor. Maguad (2007) defined customer as the recipient or beneficiary of the outputs of work efforts or the purchaser of products and services (p. 334). They are said to have wants, opinions, perceptions and desires which, collectively referred to as the voice of the customer in quality management, form the basis of a "standardized, disciplined and cyclic approach to obtaining and prioritizing customer preferences for use in designing products and services" (Foster, 2007 as cited in Maguad, 2007, p. 334). Indeed, following this definition, students behave like customers in many ways: they exercise educational choices by selecting institutions and enrolling in classes that best meet their personal desires, such as to gain knowledge or acquire skills, they pay for their education in form of tuition, they hold certain expectations on their college to offer a certain level of quality in terms of facilities and the curriculum and view faculty members and staff as primary service providers (Serenko, 2011).

Institutional practice are also said to have reinforced the role of students as customers in the education process, for instance, by constantly tapping students feedback on and satisfaction with their experience with the fashionable student evaluation of teaching (Blackmore, 2009), and by institutions expanding the recruitment of international students as a means to increase their source of revenue (White, 2006). Even the discourse in education policy is dominated by the student-as-customer metaphor, emphasizing the need to expand student choice, a degree as an investment on the part of student, and linking students' willingness to pay with the chance to get higher earnings from their degrees (Acevedo, 2011), implicit in which is a customer who exercises the power of the dollar to make a rational decision to buy something which would maximize one's benefits.

It should be noted that while students are usually seen as the primary customers of higher education, it has been emphasized that students are not the only group of customers that institutions serve. Juran (1988) suggested a very broad definition of customer, saying that one should "follow the product to see whom it impacts" and that "anyone who is impacted is a customer"(p. 48). Cast in this light, since education affects society at large, the ultimate consumers or users of education are the national and internal communities, and this extends the definition of customers to all persons or organizations affected by education, including professors, administrators, business and the government. Maguad (2007) classified the various customers of higher education into internal ones and external ones; the former include students, faculty, programmes or departments, non-teaching staff, administrators, units departments or division, and external customers include employers, other colleges/universities, suppliers as the direct ones, and the government, the community, donors, alumni and accrediting agencies as the indirect ones. The needs of these different groups of customers are said to be diverse, and oft-times conflicting. As a matter of fact, this has been commonly-cited as one of the reasons why arriving at a definition of quality for higher education institutions following a TQM approach to management is challenging: when different groups of consumers have different needs and desires, an institution would have to make hard decisions on which customers should take precedence over the others in deciding whose needs to consider in defining quality (Schwartzman, 1995). Without clearly defined approaches for prioritizing the different customers and their needs, TQM could, according to the author, "degenerate into a reinforcement of the values and procedures identified by the existing administrative hierarchy" (Parker & Slaughter, 1994, as cited in Schwartzman, 1995 p. 219). In addition, having multiple customers in higher education is also said to result in multiple roles that students can possibly play in the education process depending on who the customers are in a specific context. For example, when the professor who teaches a prerequisite course "supplies" students to the professor in the advanced course, who in this context is seen as the customer, students would be seen as products. In this particular instance, students are considered a human resource that is being developed for some other customers of education. Indeed, apart from the role of customers, students have also been casted as learners who acquire knowledge, to be educated, to be "awakened to fully human" and to "pursue human goods" (Acevedo, 2011), co-workers/co-producers of education (Kotze & Plessis, 2003; Maguad, 2007) when the collaborative nature of teaching and learning is emphasized, as partners, when their participation is encouraged in the process of governance and policy-making within the institution at various levels (Emery & Tian, 2001; Jensen & Christensen, 2006) as well as the more traditional concept of students as junior researchers or younger colleagues in the research process (Bienefeld & Almqvist, 2004). The potential conflict and incoherence of different roles that students can possibly play in the education process highlights not only the elusiveness of the concept of student-customer but also its difference when compared to a typical customer in a retail shop or a restaurant, which forms the basis of the debate on the compatibility of the student-as-customer metaphor to higher education. This will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Whether students should be seen as customers in the process of education has been a matter of contentious debate. Eagle and Brennan (2007) gave a critical review of the polarized views that have been expressed in relation to the compatibility of the student-as-customer metaphor in the higher education sector. As a synthesis, when the question is whether education institutions, teachers or other stakeholders of higher education should see students as customers, the answer is still inconclusive; however, when the question is whether students should see themselves as customers, the views expressed have been unequivocally critical. Critics of the student-as-customer metaphor see students as having a “consumerist attitude”, characterized by instrumentalism in learning, an expectation to be entertained and a sense of entitlement to success (Bella, 1999; Delucchi & Korgen, 2002; Sacks, 1996). The implication of this has been described in derogative terms. Trout (1997) attributed the increasing prevalence student disengagement and incivility in college classrooms to the widespread consumer mentality in students. Gottfried (2002) held that institutions are becoming ‘theme parks that offer virtual learning or a marketable college experience, consisting of pop therapy, the acquisition of souvenirs and college logos’. The role of institutions is to make ‘student customers feel comfortable about who they are’, while classes are now full of students who could not care less about academic learning but are kept in school through profit-accruing tricks, e.g. multiplying hands on vocational curricular, making faculty salary depend on favourable student evaluations, or by having administrators browbeat anxious ‘learning-facilitators’ into passing classroom mannequins. Being a customer rather than a learner, students are said to be put in a disengaged position, in which they rely on others to satisfy and to deliver (goods or services). This engenders a passivity and dependence that is antithetical to learning (White, 2006). Students who think of themselves as customers study only when it is convenient (like shopping), expect satisfaction regardless of effort, want knowledge served up in easily digestible, bite-sized chunks and assume that academic success, including graduation, is guaranteed. More specifically, it is claimed that consumerist students 'do not expect a higher education to involve effort, challenge or constructive criticism'. Rather, they expect to be amused, to feel comfortable and to put forth little effort, to be rewarded liberally for self-disclosure, and to be given high grades in return for paying tuition and showing up (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002, p. 101). This attitude, coupled with the need for institutions to ensure student-customers' satisfaction, is claimed to have contributed to recent grade inflation in many institutions (Greenwald & Gillmore, 1997).

The survey of graduates from a mid-sized university in 1999 contributed empirical evidence to the descriptions above (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002). It was found that the undergraduate student did subscribe to the idea that higher education is a consumer driven market place, most vividly demonstrated from the finding that 42% respondents believed that their payment of tuition entitled them to a degree. 73.3% respondents indicated that they would enrol in a course in which they would learn little or nothing but would receive an A, and almost a quarter (23.6%) of the respondents expected the faculty to consider non-academic criteria (e.g. financial and personal needs) when they assign grades. Consequently, when students do not receive the grade they 'need' they are apt to simply demand it. When asked about their sense of responsibility for their attentiveness in the classroom, an alarming 53% of respondents held faculty responsible for their attentiveness. The authors generalized the findings, claiming that "their [the students'] expectation to be entertained and amused showed right through" (p. 104).

It appears quite clearly that students with a consumerist attitude towards learning are said to be lacking qualities that students in higher education are supposed to possess. Potts (2005) described higher education as a "practice", which is something that human beings do to achieve certain internal goods which are necessary to practice and stem from the nature of the practice itself. This is as opposed to external goods, such as the money and prestige gained from practicing in a particular field. Moreover, certain virtues are necessary to fulfill the internal goods of a practice. In Pott's formulation, citing John

Henry Newman's classic, *The Idea of a University,* the goods internal to higher education as a practice is 'the dissemination of knowledge, including the intellectual habits required for absorbing and using such knowledge, rather than merely imparting facts" (p. 60). Under this view, university and other institutions of higher education are intellectual communities, in which those with different opinions and in different fields of study can openly discuss and debate their respective positions. Students gain by participating in an intellectual tradition through which they not only gain a broad range of knowledge but also develop a habit of mind which lasts through life. To fulfill this internal good, however, requires some virtues, such as free inquiry, intellectual honesty and academic excellence, which are incompatible with the student-as-customer model of education. For instance, academic excellence is inhibited when students become passive receivers of knowledge, and when their primary concern is not learning but enjoyment.

To counter the arguments that seeing students as customers would encourage a consumerist attitude which is counter-productive to learning in higher education, proponents of the metaphor have highlighted the difference between a typical customer in a retail shop or restaurant with a student-customer, stressing the level of involvement of student-customer in the production process. The claim is that, while a typical customer is usually conceived as someone who purchases finished products and therefore is placed outside of the production, the student-customers should be conceptualized as part of the producing and delivery processes. As a matter of fact, this conceptualization of customers is in line with the definition of customers in service marketing rather than product marketing (Hill, 1995). In this view, the customer contributes directly to the quality of the service delivered. If the input provided by the customer is inadequate and or/inappropriate, this may well lead to service problems and failures. Cast in this light, service productivity and quality depend not only on the performance of the service provider, but also on the performance of the consumer. Adopting this definition of customers in service marketing, several authors have emphasized the responsibilities of student-customers in the education process, arguing that " students are not passive consumers of educational knowledge and understanding, but active producers of products and services by using their minds to interpret and analyze issues and thus placing their own mark, personality and thought processes on the construction and reconstruction of ideas and new understanding" in the higher education context (Maringe & Gibbs, 2009, p. 42). Educators are encouraged to adopt the notion of customer labor contributions, which proposed that organizations could realize a competitive advantage by incorporating customers' talents into their service delivery (Schneider & Bowen 1995, cited in Halbesleben, Becker, & Buckley, 2003). In this way, student-customers are encouraged to contribute their talent and skills to the education process, thereby underlining their accountability for education (Halbesleben, et al., 2003). In the same vein, in conceptualizing a model of student socialization and participation which encourage students to co-produce their education, the involvement of student-customer is also highlighted (Kotze & Plessis, 2003).

While the service marketing approach to the conceptualization of student-customer appears to address the incompatibility of the student-as-customer metaphor in the education process, some other differences between students and customers have been highlighted (Maguad, 2007). For example, while retail shops and restaurants do not select customers based on established criteria, colleges and universities often admit students selectively based on certain academic standards and requirements, which means students do not have complete freedom of choice as to which institutions they go to. Also, while students are continually tested and graded to determine how well they have learned their lessons and they must maintain satisfactory academic standing in order to be able to take more advanced courses, businesses do not assess the performance of their customers. Another difference lies in how knowledgeable a person is about the product before a purchase decision is made. While a rational customer is thought to have gone through comprehensive information search before he/she makes a purchase decision which would offer the maximum expected benefits at the minimum costs, it is generally believed that students, being new to a discipline, do not know what combination of skills and knowledge will best equip them for the world of work and therefore are not fully capable of deciding which is the "best pick" (Clayson & Haley, 2005). This is worsened by the fact that while there appears to be much information available to students in form of league tables and university guides, not much is presented in a way that is easily understandable, partly due to the ambiguous nature of higher education and the difficulty in defining its quality (Browne 2010, p 31). From these limitations student-customers face in exercising their choice and the performance evaluation they are subjected to during the process, it could be argued that student-customers are fundamentally different from typical customers in the sense that the former are subjected to the authority of the supplier (the universities/institutions) while the latter are not. As Svensson and Wood (2007) mentioned, universities exercise their authority by admitting students selectively based on their standards, and by passing or failing students through assessments; the relationship between students and their universities are clearly hierarchical, but the relationship between a customer and a supplier is more equal. This difference between a student-university relationship and a customer-supplier relationship offers another piece of evidence for the incompatibility of the student-as-customer metaphor to higher education.

To summarize the ongoing debate on the appropriateness of student-as-customer metaphor in higher education, while critics of the metaphor equate this metaphor with a consumerist attitude in learning, assuming that seeing students as customers naturally engenders a passive attitude towards education on the part of students, this assumption seems to be challenged by the service marketing conception of customer, which suggests that there is no incompatibility between treating students as customers and yet giving them responsibility for their own learning. Indeed, concerns raised about student-consumers having no sense of responsibility to their learning have been discredited as something easier said than proven (Mark, 2013). On the contrary, in studies of the reasons for students' instrumental approach towards higher education, decline in independent learning and expectation of greater entertainment content, lecturers attributed these not to the student-as-customer metaphor but to the rapid expansion of student population, and increasing diversity of student background, the nature of teaching at secondary school and widespread part-time work (Rolfe, 2002 and Lammers et al, 2005 cited in Eagle & Bernnan, 2007) Based on the evidence, it seems justifiable to treat the student-as-customer metaphor and the consumerist attitude towards learning as two separate issues. In future discussion on the appropriateness of seeing students as customers in higher education, the question to ask would be whether the metaphor does engender a consumerist attitude towards learning. Also, as another sign of incompatibility, stemming from the hierarchical nature of student-university relationship in contrast to the more equal customer-supplier relationship has not been examined, a further question on whether the metaphor does reduce the authority of the education institutions or the academics in their relationship with students would be enlightening.

The Community College Movement in Hong Kong

The neo-liberal emphasis of minimal government involvement in the provision of higher education highlighted in the discussion of student consumerism in the previous section is also evident in Hong Kong when one contrasts the phenomenal growth of higher education in the past decade here with the minimal increase in government spending in the same period. As a matter of fact, the government used to support an elitist higher education system with a high unit cost for a small number of people (Mok1999). Only around 3% of the gross domestic product (GDP) went to education in the 1970s and 1980s. But the sudden expansion of higher education from 6% in the mid-1980s to 18% in the 1990s did not come along with a rise in government funding. The University Grants Committee (UGC) under the government decided that funding for such an expansion should come from students' own pockets. Therefore, by the year 2011-12, even though the higher education sector participation rate had risen to 20%, funding for higher education in Hong Kong took only around 4.5% of the GDP, according to the statistics given on the UGC website.

Within the context of neo-liberalism, the blurring of boundaries between the higher education sector in Hong Kong and the economic sector is also evident from the policies of the University Grants Committee (UGC), the advisory committee on the development and funding needs of higher education institutions in Hong Kong. In emphasizing the value of a 'role driven system of higher education', urging each institution to 'fulfil its own unique role, based on its strengths', and acknowledging that 'different institutions will have more internationally competitive centres than the others' (University Grants

Committee, 2004), the business themes of improving efficiency through specialization and enhancing institutional competitiveness are highlighted. Translated in policy terms, one has witnessed market-driven initiatives in terms of funding and organizational restructuring in recent years. In terms of funding, for instance, in an attempt to reduce funding reliance of the institutions, the HKSAR Government, in 2003, introduced a Matching Grant Scheme to 'diversify the funding sources of the sector'. Under the scheme, institutions are encouraged to seek donations from the private sectors by awarding them with grants to match private donations secured by them (Hong Kong SAR Government, 2014). This represents an obvious attempt of the Government to introduce an element of competition among higher education institutions in Hong Kong. As for integration, institutions actually faced a 15% cut in unit funding per place since 1998, so as to promote efficiency and collaboration within and between UGC-funded institutions in areas of business process reengineering, coordinated service provision and back office arrangements to provide common service (University Grants Committee, 2010). What is evident from these official documents from the government is that the economic objective of cost-efficiency, as well as the managerial processes of restructuring, has become the dominant discourse of higher education.

Within the higher education sector, however, it could be argued that the Community College sector has been the largest project of education marketization to-date. In 2000, the government set an ambitious target to boost the post-secondary participation rate of the territory from lower than 30% at that time to over 60% in ten years' time (Hong Kong SAR Government, 2000), and it was made clear that this target was to be reached without resort to additional government funding. Since then, continuing education units of the government-funded universities, as well as some private operators, have offered an increasing number of Associate Degree (AD) and Higher Diploma (HD) programmes targeted at those who have completed their senior secondary years but cannot get a place in a government-funded university. Some continuing education units of government-funded universities even set up their own community colleges to offer such programmes, such as the HKUSPACE Community College, City University Community College, Hong Kong Community College from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, as well as the Tung Wah College in collaboration with the Chinese University of Hong Kong. According to the Information Portal of Accredited Post-secondary Programmes (IPASS), in the academic year 2013/14, a total of 24 such institutions were offering sub-degree programmes on a full-time basis mainly for secondary school leavers, i.e., those who have completed the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE).

It should be emphasized that since the inception, all these community colleges have been operating on a self-financing basis, and government support in this sector has been limited to start-up loans, provision of land grants, as well as accreditation grants for those providers who do not have a self-accrediting status similar to the continuing education units of the universities (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2006). In the most recent review of the sector conducted by the Education and Manpower Bureau, it was made very clear that the 'self-financing' approach would continue to play a key role in driving and sustaining the development of this sector, and the government is content to leave this sector to market forces as long as all course providers are subject to satisfactory quality assurance mechanisms (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2006). From the policy rhetoric of the government, one could see that this newly-born Community College sector, operating fully on a self-funded basis, is subject to the forefront of the marketization of education compared to the other types of subsidized academic institutions in Hong Kong.

As noted by Kember (2009), it is remarkable that, through enrolments in these sub-degree programmes, Hong Kong has moved from elite to mass post-secondary education in a shorter space of time and at a far lower cost to the Government, compared to the same expansion that has happened elsewhere in the world. It should be noted that, due to the enthusiastic response from the community, the government's goal of raising the post-secondary participation rate to 60% was reached in a period of less than 5 years; and more importantly, all these have come at limited costs to the government and the taxpayers, because the institutions offering these sub-degree programmes have been required to operate on a self-financing basis from the inception of the policy. This is in stark contrast with the experience in the West, in which "the costs to governments have been substantial, even if the expenditure per student has progressively declined". (p. 168)

On one hand, it does seem that the community college sector has successfully met the huge demand for post-secondary education by a large and rapid expansion at little cost to the taxpayers; on the other hand, there has also been considerable concern regarding this new provision, mainly with the lack of recognition of the qualification by employers as well as articulation pathways for graduates (Kember, 2009). Press reports of this sector of education are also filled with stories about how quality is compromised to meet the financial motives of these institutions. For instance, programme providers have been criticized for providing sub-standard campus environment for cost-saving purposes, delivering classes in shopping malls or in secondary schools ("Avenues open", 2006). Reports have also been made of programme providers, trying to maximize enrolment (and therefore tuition fee income), violated the conditions of registration for courses requiring registration with professional bodies ("Avenues open", 2006). Even the President of a University which offers Associate Degree programmes through its continuing education unit conveyed his scepticism openly about the quality of programme offerings in this sector of education, claiming that 'quality has been compromised for quantity' ("Authority's responsibility", May 2006). The government also expressed its awareness to the increasing concern that with the rapid increase in student places, quality assurance mechanisms have been 'less stringent' than they should be and that entrance and exit requirements have only been loosely followed (Education and Manpower Bureau, 2006). One recent case in point was the over-enrolment of students by Lingnan University Community College (LUCC) in 2012. As a transition to the new secondary school curriculum, in 2012 Hong Kong had its unprecedented "double cohorts" of 41,000 graduates from the last Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination (HKALE) and those from the newly introduced Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE) – 71,000 of them -- applying to get into tertiary education institutions. With limited expansion in UGC-funded university places, only 15000 places were up for each group of these graduates (Yeung, 2012). Many of the remaining 80,000+ who failed to get a seat at university would go to the Community Colleges. In October 2012, a group of students at the LUCC lodged a formal complaint to the Legislative Council against LUCC for enrolling over 8,000 students when the limit was set at 5,800, claiming that it “jeopardizes the quality of education” (Yeung, 2012). The Dean of LUCC, Dr. Edward Fung Pui Wing, had to subsequently step down, but in a later press interview, he admitted that the school was “under financial pressure to take in more students” (Chong, 2012). The over-enrolment crisis at LUCC was only one of the many stories illustrating how these community colleges are dominated by the market logic of “meeting the bottom line”. Every year, these institutions are portrayed as bargain stores competing fiercely for students via eye-catching advertisements, free language courses, and even lucky draw for attractive electronic products.

Naidoo and Jamieson (2005) posited that there is an uneven impact of consumerism across the higher education sector, arguing that institutions with higher levels of academic, reputational and financial capital are less vulnerable to the impact of consumerism, as they are “likely to draw on superior resources to engage in practices intent on conserving the academic principles structuring the field of education, thereby maintaining their dominant position” (p 271). Following this logic, this paper argues that the community colleges, at an infant stage of development, and operating on a self-financing basis, are the most likely to experience the forces of consumerism in pristine form. In pursuit of a ‘share’ in the market, to respond to their various stakeholders, and to build up and maintain their reputational image in a market-based education sector, Community Colleges inevitably face many tradeoffs between economic goals of efficiency and the educational goals of a more humanistic nature. Specifically, faced with the need to maintain and increase student enrolments, Community Colleges in Hong Kong, among all sectors of education, are believed to endorse the principle of students-as-consumers most highly.

Research Purpose and Significance

Most studies about the changing nature of teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism have been based in the western context: Canada, the US, Australia and the UK, where the higher education *market* is said to be more well-established than elsewhere in the world (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006; Pritchard, 2005). The newly-established Community College sector in Hong Kong offers a promising context to extend the study of student consumerism. Given the fully self-financing nature of the community colleges, which are at the same time at their infancy-stage of development with limited reputational, academic and financial resources, it could be said that they are the most prone to the forces of marketization. Also, while much that has been written in student consumerism has focused on the institutional level: the increasing need of accountability expected of academic institutions, and the associated use of performance indicators and league tables, the drive for efficiency and the prevailing academic managerialism in different institutions, little has been done to systematically explore the effects of student consumerism on the teaching-learning process within these institutions (Hatch and Bossick 2006). The limited literature has either relied mostly on the views of the academics who are skeptical about the recent transformations in higher education (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002; Potts, 2005), or described those changes in the context of student consumerism, without acknowledging the potential effect that other forces such as expanding student population and increasing diversity of students' background could have played in shaping the relationships that students form with the institutions and the teachers. To venture into this uncharted territory, this study will explore the realities of teacher-student relationship in one of the community colleges in Hong Kong, and more importantly, to ascertain those aspects of teacher-student relationship characteristics that are associated with student consumerism by separating the forces of student consumerism from other forces concurrently shaping the higher education landscape.

In terms of the professional significance of this research, given the importance of teacher-student relationship in both students' learning and teachers' job satisfaction, and in view of so much that has been said about the changing nature of teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism, practitioners in higher education would benefit from a closer examination of the relationship, focusing particularly on those aspects of change which are associated with student consumerism.

Literature Review

Having examined the changing context within which teacher-student relationship in higher education takes place in the previous chapter, this one is a review of the literature on the importance of teacher-student relationship, how it is conceptualised in higher education and the effects that student consumerism is said to have casted on this relationship. In so doing, a comparison of the nature of relationship between buyers and sellers and that between teachers and students will be made, and the idea is to provide a synthesis of the literature on teacher-student relationship from various disciplines including instructional communication, teaching effectiveness in higher education, interpersonal relationship, marketing, and student consumerism.

The Significance of Teacher-student relationship in Higher Education

While research on the impact of student consumerism on higher education has mainly described changes in the provision of curriculum, institutional priorities, quality assurance practices and professional identities of academics (Blackmore, 2009; Codd, 2005; Fredman & Doughney, 2012; Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005), this study focuses on the teacher-student relationship as it is the most fundamental connection in the higher education system. The influence of positive teacher-student relationship on students is well-documented. For school students, the presence of high-quality teacher-student relationships has been shown to support students' adjustment to school, contribute to their social skills, promote academic performance and enhance motivation to learn (Baroody, Rimm-Kaufman, Larsen, & Curby, 2014; Eccles, 2004). In the realm of higher education, an expansive body of research examines teacher-student relationship either as an independent variable which affects students' cognitive learning (Goh & Fraser, 2000; Henderson & Fisher, 2008) and affective learning (Derksen, 1995; Setz, van Amelsvoort, & Lamberigts, 1993) as in the case of education research, or a dependent variable, to be explained by behavior or traits which foster or impede it, as in the case of communication research (Cotten & Wilson, 2006). A comprehensive analysis of studies in teacher-student relationship in education is given in Davis (2003), and studies following the communication research paradigm can be found in Mottet, Richmond & McCroskey (2006). More specifically, teacher-student relationship is found to be associated with personal, social and intellectual outcomes as well as student satisfaction (Endo & Harpel, 1982), increase the value students place on their courses and academic effort (Thompson, 2001), stimulate interest in the course content (Spencer & Boon, 2006), enhance students' self-concept and academic skills (Kuk, 1995) as well as promote greater commitment to the institution (Strauss & Volkwein, 2004). From the teachers' perspective, positive teacher-student relationship is associated with teacher motivation, self-efficacy and job satisfaction (Mottet, Beebe, Raffeld, & Paulsel, 2004) while having problems with students was found to be the second most important reason (behind problems with school administration) leading to teacher burn-out (Byrne, 1998). In the context of the marketization of higher education in which institutions become more customer-oriented, teacher-student relationship is given more prominence as it has been found to be one of the key factors affecting students' satisfaction with the institution as well as their sense of belonging to it (Bejou, 2005).

Defining quality of teacher-student relationship

In view of the importance of teacher-student relationship not only to students and teachers but also to higher education institutions, it makes sense to ask what the characteristics of a positive teacher-student relationship are. Research on teacher-student relationship on younger-aged students, notably adolescents and junior schools, has seen well-established measures of relationship quality, with clearly-delineated dimensions contributing to a single measure of quality. For example, the Student-Teacher Relationship Scale (Pianta, 1999), which relies on teachers' self-report as a measurement of relationship quality with young children, identifies a three-factor structure of the relationship construct: Dependency, Closeness and Conflict. The Teacher-Student Relationship Inventory (Ang, 2005), developed to measure relationship quality of adolescents from middle to high school, relies on students' report, also identifies three dimensions: Instrumental Help, Satisfaction and Conflict. In contrast, in the higher education, teacher-student relationship is usually measured as a one-dimensional construct, the quality of which is measured by asking respondents in a survey questionnaire or an interview how positive/negative they perceive a particular relationship is. This lack of clearly-defined dimensions stems probably from the well-documented fact that in higher education, what constitutes effective teaching is still inconclusive (Kember & Leung, 2011), let alone quality teacher-student relationship. Defining clear dimensions for the relationship at the level of higher education is also complicated by the social aspect of relationship which is more likely to develop in universities and colleges than in schools as students gain more maturity. This social aspect of relationship, which can be negotiated beyond the framework of lessons themselves, will almost certainly affect the relationship within the classroom, making the definition of quality in teacher-student relationship even more difficult (Gaunt, 2011). Although no standard measures of relationship quality exist in the higher education literature, qualitative studies following a phenomenological approach were conducted which identify what students and university faculties see as high-quality teacher-student relationship. In a study by L.E. Anderson & Carta-Falsa (2002), participants reported a desire for an open, supportive, comfortable, respectful, safe or non-threatening and enjoyable interpersonal climate in a teacher-student relationship. Another study following a narrative approach to the nature of a high-quality teacher-student relationship conducted by Zhan & Le (2004) looked at the similarities and differences in perceptions of good teacher-student relationship by students from Chinese and Australian culture. Among other things, students from both countries generally agreed on the following qualities of a good teacher-student relationship: closeness, mutual trust, harmony, cooperation, equality and mutual understanding.

In conceptualizing the teaching-learning process as a form of communication, Wubbels and Brekelmans (2005), citing Watzlawick et al. (1967), delineated the content and relational aspect of teacher-student interactions, suggesting that every message comprises both aspects. Over time, through repeated interactions, mutual perceptions between students and teachers will be confirmed and reconfirmed, forming a stable basis for reactions which subsequently evolve into typical relational patterns between the two parties. In the same vein, Leki (2006) coined the term ‘socioacademic relationship’, which captures both the social dimension of student-faculty relations and the academic context that helped to define the interactions and determine their nature (139). In the area of instructional communication, a similar distinction is made between rhetorical approach and relational approach: the former focuses on the use of both verbal and non-verbal messages by teachers with the intent to result in students learning, the latter concerns the emotions and feelings that are a part of the teaching and learning process (Myers, 2010). What is suggested in all these is that there are two dimensions to look at teacher-student relationship: the relational /social / emotional dimension and the content/ academic / rhetoric dimension.

It should be noted that the two dimensions described is not peculiar to teacher-student relationship in higher education. In the literature on interpersonal relationships, previous research has been relying on the dimensions of dominance vs submission and hostility vs affection in understanding various interpersonal outcomes based on the interpersonal circumplex model by Leary (1957), although different names have been used: Dominance vs Love, Control vs Affiliation; Competence vs Warmth (Brekelmans, Mainhard, Brok, & Wubbels, 2011). Wubbels and Brekelmans (2005), adopting the Leary circumplex model to the classroom context, developed the Model of Teacher Interpersonal Behavior, labeling the dimensions as influence and proximity. Proximity is conceived as the warmth and care, and Influence is seen as the authority or control a teacher conveys in class. The model has been used extensively to identify the association between teacher-student relationship patterns and a variety of cognitive and affective outcomes (Evans, 1998; Goh & Fraser, 2000; Henderson, 1995). Among these studies, those investigating associations between teacher-student relationships and affective outcomes display a very consistent pattern. All studies find a positive relationship of both influence and proximity with affective outcome measures, usually in terms of subject-specific motivation, and in general, effects of proximity are comparatively stronger than the effects of influence. The higher perception of proximity, the higher the motivation of the student is (Wubbels and Brekelmans 2005).

Between the two dimensions of teacher-student relationship, the prevailing discourse in teaching effectiveness underscores the importance of the emotional aspect in defining quality in a relationship. Hargreaves (1994) defined a positive relationship as one "charged with positive emotion" and argued that good teachers are "emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and classes with pleasure, creativity and joy (p. 835). Nightingale and O'Neil (1994) called on universities to create an institutional climate conducive to high-quality learning, one which is *emotional and caring*, in view of the challenge of increasing class sizes with student from different backgrounds in many aspects. Likewise, by holding that students are 'human first and learners second', Barry & Len (1999) argued that teaching is seen fundamentally as a person to person activity, and university is "not only an educational institution for teachers to enhance students' learning, but also an interactive community of human being". In other words, only by interpersonal interactions and group interactions can a teacher fulfill the necessary job of teaching, and maintaining and improving positive relationships with students is therefore the *most* important ingredient for effective teaching. Its importance is said to surpass all other factors traditionally seen to be core components, including knowledge of the subject matter, use of appropriate techniques and media, awareness of principles of learning and classroom management skills (Gazda, 1995). More importantly, between the two parties in this teacher-student dyad, teachers are often seen to exert a great deal of influence and therefore primarily responsible for cultivating the relationship. For instance, Schultz (1972) emphasized the ability of the teacher to fulfill the helping role in the process of facilitating student learning, seeing a positive teacher-student relationship as a helping relationship. Jones (2004) regarded the ability of teachers to maintain and improve a positive relationship with students, to cater for students' needs and interests as the most important ingredients of effective teaching. Jacobson (2000) advised teachers to get to know each student first to develop rapport that can in turn facilitate and support students' learning. But by far the strongest emphasis on the teachers' responsibility in building positive teacher-student relationship is found in the research on immediacy and affinity seeking in the field instructional communication (Mottet, Richmond & McCroskey, 2006), where teachers are recommended to use verbal and non-verbal cues to seek-affinity from and to be liked by students in order to build close relationships. As it will be revealed in the next section, the emphasis on the emotional dimension of the relationship with teachers being held primarily responsible for creating this emotional climate echoes the literature on student consumerism, particularly when teacher-student relationship is concerned.

Effects of student consumerism on teacher-student relationship

As pointed out in the introduction, divergent views have been expressed as regards how appropriate it is to see students as customers in the teaching and learning process. Those in favor of it point to the importance of applying quality management in the academia (Lewis and Smith, 1994; Vazzana and Winter, 1997; Hughey, 1997; Seymour, 1992) and teachers' adopting a more student-centred approach to teaching. On the other hand, others insist that the metaphorical implication of student-customers make its application in the core higher education processes, particularly in academic instruction, questionable (Keller, 1992; Jaugh and Orwig, 1997; Barnard, 1999). When the focus is on teacher-student relationship, one would expect mostly critical views, considering the fact that those who work on this topic, namely, academics involved in teaching students, mostly despise the student-as-consumer metaphor, equating it with a consumer mentality towards learning characterized by passivity and disengagement (Meirovich & Romar, 2006).

Transactional nature of teacher-student relationship To many writers, rhetoric of education-as-commodity and students-as-consumers seem fundamentally misplaced when applied to educational processes and the relationship therein (Cooper, 2004). The teacher-student relationship, translated into market rhetoric, resembles a business exchange between buyers and sellers which is less conducive to learning. As Pitman (2000) put it, the relationship of students with an educational institution, academics and administrative staff tend to be more intimate and long-term than that found between customers and sellers in business environments, which can often be superficial, based on immediate one-off transactions. Therefore, seeing students as customers is seen to have threatened the richness of relationship which is supposed to characterize teacher-student relationship in education. Gumport (2000) echoed this view, saying that enrolled students-consumers “. . . are encouraged to think of themselves as consumers of services rather than as members of a community. …The basis for exchange is the delivery of an academic service (e.g., lecture, course, piece of advice). This conception of students drastically reduces the potential richness of teaching and learning relationships, inclinations toward mentoring and sponsorship, and students forging meaningful bonds with their peers. In effect, it would place an emphasis on the campus as a business of academic transactions rather than as a community of inquirers, teachers and learners. Pritchard (2005) warns of ‘a loss of a close apprenticeship relationship between faculty members and students’ (p. 319). According to him, the notion of community of scholars, which forms part of the traditional ideology of higher education, according to which ‘staff are expected to care about their students and to be close to them; to pass on their knowledge in a sympathetic manner; and to give pastoral care’, is being challenged by student consumerism.

That student-consumerist culture reduces the richness of a teacher-student relationship seem to gather some grounds when one looks at the limited frequency and scope of teacher-student interactions documented in a number of studies in the higher education sector (Kuk & Hu, 2001; Nadler & Nadler, 2001). The nature of interaction is also limited, with interactions lasting only briefly (Nadler and Nadler 2001), and centering primarily on specific course-related issues (Anaya & Cole, 2001; Fusani, 1994). Although these studies did not explicitly look at the association between students’ consumerist attitude and faculty-student interactions, the study by Cotton and Wilson (2006) did show some hints of such co-relations. Their study of the determinants of faculty-student interactions found minimal contact outside the classroom, which generally occurred when a student was experiencing difficulty with a course or needed help with a specific assignment, or when a student was looking an internship or job opportunity, or a higher grade. However, the study rarely noted instances when students approached faculty out of intellectual curiosity or to pursue an in-depth discussion. More notable in their study are the reasons behind students’ avoidance of such interactions. Students avoided contact with faculty members because they saw it as increasing the effort required to their work in order to please, or avoid disappointing a faculty member, and they were uncertain, or even skeptical of faculty members' willingness to establish a close relationship with them. Such instrumental attitude towards interaction with faculty and their distrust of faculty members are also frequently identified in studies related to student consumerist attitude (Emanuel & Adams, 2006; Strand, 2006; Ting, 2000).

Changing role expectations Apart from the instrumental and transactional nature of the teacher-student relationship characterized by a reduction in richness, collegiality and intellectual rigor, a number of writers have also expressed their views as regards incompatible role expectations between that of teacher-student and supplier-customer relationship. Meirovich and Romar (2006) described the duality of teachers' and students' roles in their discussion of the applicability of total quality management (TQM) principles to the higher education sector. Students play the dual roles of knowledge-seeker and a grade-seeker; the former represents 'an active participant of the learning process…whose purpose is to acquire knowledge', while the latter represents 'someone engaging in destructive conduct, whose purpose is to achieve high grades with as little effort as possible' (326). The corollary of student-as-consumer, the academic-as-service provider, depicts teachers playing the dual role of providing quality learning environment and facilitating knowledge enhancement on one hand, and retaining and seeking affection from students on the other. The authors held that the grade-seeking role and student-retention role are indispensable parts of being a student and teacher respectively. They are unavoidable in the sense that they cannot disappear totally, and their presence is tolerable when the knowledge-seeking role of students and knowledge-enhancement role of teachers occupy the dominant position. Otherwise, the entire learning system would become distorted.

The knowledge-seeking role of students could be evident when students uncover knowledge by being "active discoverers and constructors of their own knowledge" (Barr & Tagg, 1995, p. 21) actively engaged in learning for deeper understanding (Cross, 1999); when they reflect on learning experiences from various perspectives, form concepts, and develop theories to guide further learning (Gardner & Korth, 1997); when they generate alternatives, interpret meanings, and judge consequences (Schubert, 1986); when they are able to relate to the content being taught (Beane, 1997) clamoring for learning experiences that test their decision making skills, challenge their ability to interpret meanings, or demand deeper understanding. All these require students to play an active role in the learning process. Nevertheless, many writers have provided anecdotal evidence to show that what Meirovich & Romar (2006) have called the grade-seeking role does dominate over the knowledge-seeking role among students today. Grant (1997) gave the following examples which illustrate the conflict between students' grade-seeking behavior and teachers' knowledge enhancement role: (1) when students insisted the lecturer should teach in ways which they claimed would facilitate understanding; the same ways which were seen as 'spoon-feeding' by some other students; (2) when a student who was barred from attending a lecture because she was late complained about the lecturer not having the 'right' to do so because she had paid; (3) when a student complained of unsympathetic university staff's lack of concern when she was extremely sick before the exam and wanted to get help from someone to not have to sit the exam.

While traditional students are expected to be in their very nature autonomous, rational, thinking individuals, with personal qualities of competitiveness and independence, in so far as the student is responsible for her or his own success (Grant, 1997), student-customers are at the other extreme of the continuum. Delucchi (2000) found student-customers 'do not expect higher education to involve effort, challenge or constructive criticism. Rather, students expected to be amused, to feel comfortable and to put forth little effort, to be rewarded liberally for self-disclosure, and to be given high grades in return for paying tuition and showing up. Neikirk highlighted the unwillingness on the part of students to take personal responsibility, but instead to feel quite free to blame the teacher when they fail a course:

> When things are not going well in the classroom, students look to others rather than to their own resources and expect others to correct the problem rather than correcting their own shortcomings. Self-victimization provides a convenient scapegoat for students. Under the corrosive influence of victimology, the principle of individual responsibility becomes a relic, and institutions of learning have a

> difficult time functioning when every student is a victim. (Neikirk, cited in Hwang, 1995, p. 485)

Jacob and Eleser (1997) echoes the unwillingness of students to take responsibility of their learning in US:

> The disease in this country is the ‘It’s not me’ attitude. It’s never us, it’s them, and that ‘them’ is a nebulous array of unconsciously invented demons that prevent us from looking within, where the real fault lies (p. 464).

Apart from the evasion of responsibility of learning, the ‘passivity’ of students in the learning process is also commonly raised in writings about student-customers. Howell (2002), citing Jacob and Eleser (1997), claimed that most college students are the product of an educational system that has placed the responsibility for learning on the instructor and consequently are unaware of their own responsibility in learning. They expect to act as passive recipients of knowledge:

> They sit quietly in their seats, take notes, perhaps ask a question or discuss a point or two, and cram the knowledge into their short-term memories in order to pass a test. These are the students who have multiple excuses for failure, who attend class physically but not mentally, who may even participate but without real contribution (p. 118)

Changing power relations Another recurring theme in discussions relating to the impact of student consumerism on teacher-student relationship is the changing power relations. While it is commonly acknowledged that teacher-student relationship is marked by an inherent power differential, and socially structured difference, an undue emphasis on customer service in the higher education marketplace inverts the teacher-student relationship by vesting authority in students as customers (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002). For example, student evaluation of teaching (SET), which is now approximated through course and instructor evaluations at nearly all colleges and universities, allows students to play the role of 'the informed consumer, letting the provider know where he's come through and where he's not quite up to'(Edmundson, 1997, p. 44). And in common situations where SET ratings are tied to merit raises or to support promotion and tenure decisions, many teachers feel compelled to 'be popular' and be liked by students. As such, no matter how critical teachers might be of SET, they reported adjusting their teaching styles in response to the consumer orientation of today's students.

As the faculty considers student ratings to be nothing more than a measure of teacher popularity, it is believed that some of them might reduce academic standards and demands in order to secure higher ratings (Aleamoni, 1987; Braskamp & Ory, 1994; Martin,1998; Wachtel, 1998 cited in Nasser & Fresko, 2002). Although research on the association between grade-inflation and high student ratings is still inconclusive (Gump, 2007), and some argued that students from the higher education sector, because of their so many years of experience being taught by numerous teachers, are indeed able to distinguish between an empty performer and a good teacher (Ramsden, 2003), an empirical study of faculty perception towards SET by Sojka et al (2002) does establish that faculty are more likely to think that students award easier, more entertaining instructors higher ratings, and they believe that they can get higher ratings by grading more leniently. More importantly, they do believe that a potential action to get higher evaluation from students is to 'make course "easy" for students (47). One could see the sociological adage apply to the relationship between academic vigor and popularity here: if people define situations as real, it does not matter whether they are real or not, they have real consequences. If teachers believe that they can secure higher evaluations from students by making the course easy, they are most likely to reduce the academic rigor of their courses.

Results from a qualitative study looking at the impact of students' ratings of faculty capture the impact of student consumerism on the power relation between teachers and students in the following way:

> … students' ratings of faculty are found to be normative assessments of a

> professor's conformity with students' pedagogical role expectations that have been derived from a market ideology. Through the use of rating forms, academic control and professional authority are transferred from faculty to students, who, as discriminating consumers, are granted the power to further their own interests and, consequently, shape the nature and form of higher education that serves them. (Titus, 2008, p. 397)

The above discussion has made it evident from the perspectives of many academics, the inversion of teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism, which involves vesting authority to student customers who are "to be served only in ways they find pleasing" (Long and Lake 1996, as cited in Delucchi & Korgen, 2002) "undermines the concept of merit" which is essential to effective pedagogy.

As a conclusion to this chapter, one can see that the increasing emphasis on the emotional dimension of teacher-student relationship to instructional effectiveness in higher education, with teachers being held responsible for creating a supportive climate for the students, coincides with the call for increasing student-centeredness as a key theme in student consumerism. From the perspectives of the teacher academics, student consumerism has not only turned an otherwise rich collegial relationship between teachers and students into a superficial business transaction, but also eroded teachers authority in the relationship by vesting power to the student customers, whose role expectations have also changed from an active participant of knowledge creation to a passive recipient of the wisdom of the teacher. All these are said to be doing a disservice to the higher education sector, threatening the required academic rigor in the teaching and learning process.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to show whether changes in the relationship between students and teachers are associated with the prevailing student-as-consumer culture. As mentioned in the previous section, rather than being committed members actively participating in the teaching and learning process, the claim is that student customers are passive and detached; they go for courses that make few demands, and see requests from teachers for intellectual rigor as burdensome, unduly challenging and awfully harsh. When this is translated into teacher-student relationship, it can be deduced that the more the students see themselves as consumers, the less likely they are to comply with their teachers' demand for work. From the teachers' perspectives, a few researchers have expressed their concern over the transfer of academic control and professional authority from faculty to students under a consumerist regime, under which 'all was negotiable even if the curriculum was not' (Kogan, 2001). Also, subsumed under the pressure of student evaluation forms, teachers feel compelled to 'give students what they expect and perceive they need' to achieve customer satisfaction which is the 'proxy assessment of quality based on declared levels of satisfaction of students' in higher education nowadays (Clouder, 1998).

While studies of student consumerism to date have shed some light on the issue (Bella, 1999; Delucchi & Smith, 1997; Shepperd, 1997) much of what has been said either has been anecdotal in nature (e.g., Bella, 1999), or relies on simple descriptive findings that have been generalized to college students and "student culture" broadly (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002). Such generalizations look at all students as consumers, overlooking conflicting responses provided within the student samples. More importantly, while previous studies offer an insightful description of changes in role expectations and nature of teacher-student relationship in the contemporary education sector, the extent to which such phenomena are attributable to student consumerism per se has not been confirmed. Studies to date have discussed the changing student culture in the education sector in the context of marketization and student consumerism, but this cannot be taken to mean that all those changes are attributable to the rising consumerist culture.

To ascertain the link between the changes in teacher-student relationship as described in previous studies and the rising student consumerist culture, the present study follows an empirical approach, looking at the association between students' consumerist orientation and their role in a teacher-student relationship. This approach is especially suited for studies which aim to confirm hypotheses; most contemporary quantitative researchers search for probabilistic causes (Humphreys, 1989) and try to identify cause-and-effect relationships that enable them to make probabilistic predictions and generalizations.

Conceptualizing teacher-student relationship in the present study

As mentioned in the literature review, despite an expansive body on research examining teacher-student relationship in higher education, very few options are available for systematically assessing the quality of it, and this lack of research instrument has been echoed elsewhere:

> In a recent meta-analytic review of mentoring programs, only 12 of the 55 studies reviewed included data on relationship characteristics—even though mentoring is an explicitly relationship-based model—and the relationship characteristics were limited to frequency of contact and relationship duration (DuBois, 2002). Although these factors are important components of relationship, a comprehensive assessment also should include an assessment of relationship factors such as warmth, trust, and emotional closeness. Currently, the reasons for this lack of attention to relationship quality are unclear; however, the oversight is likely due, at least in part, to the lack of assessment measures available for this express purpose (Mustillo, Dorsey, & Farmer, 2005)

One of the very few measures of teacher-student relationship in higher education is the Questionnaire on Teacher Interaction (QTI), developed by Wubbels, Creton and Hooymayers (1985), which was intended to measure students' perceptions of teacher-student relationships in terms of teacher behavior. Initially intended for use in secondary education, the QTI formed the basis of several new versions, including one for higher education teachers, and has been translated into many languages (Wubbels & Brekelmans, 2005). The US version comprises 64 items, and based on participants' responses to these items on five-point likert scale ranging from "Never/Not at all" to "Always/Very", eight broad types of teacher-student relationships, measured along the two dimensions of influence and proximity, can be identified: directive, authoritative, tolerant/authoritative, tolerant, uncertain/tolerant, uncertain/aggressive, drudging and repressive.

Despite the demonstrated reliability and validity of the instrument and its extensive use in previous research, the QTI has not been used for the purpose of the current study. As mentioned previously, the QTI provides a promising measure of teacher-student relationship covering key relationship characteristics such as emotional closeness and feelings of influence, but it is noteworthy that such assessment is based on students' perception based on their observation of *teachers' behavior*. The underlying assumption is that it is the teachers' behavior which governs the nature of relationship between him/her and his/her students. When a teacher takes the lead to structure the classroom situation, for instance, the resultant teacher-relationship is said to be of a directive nature. In doing so, the dyadic nature of the relationship between a teacher and his/her student is compromised. As pointed out by Frymier and Houser (2000), teacher-student relationship is commonly seen as a kind of interpersonal relationship, in which both parties, exchanging information, and adjusting and developing expectations similar to what any two individuals would go through in developing a relationship, try to achieve their goals. As such, it is the interaction between the two parties in this teacher-student dyad, but not the action of any one party in the dyad, which determines the nature of the relationship. By assessing teacher-student relationship in terms of teachers' behavior, the QTI does not provide a comprehensive picture of teacher-student relationship suitable for the purpose of the current study. As can be seen in the next section, a process approach of looking at teacher-student relationship, stressing the dyadic nature of it, governs the framework of the current study.

As the education literature does not include what it takes to observe the nature of teacher-student relationship for the purpose of this research, the predominant approach in social psychology to look at interpersonal relationship will be adopted. Accordingly, the nature of teacher-student relationship will be observed based on the two basic dimensions of control and affiliation identified in the interpersonal circumplex model, which dates back to Leary's typology of personality styles (1957). Leary proposed that most descriptions of personal and social behaviour can be characterized according to a grid with 2 bipolar dimensions: friendliness-hostility and dominance-submission. These form the horizontal and vertical axes of the interpersonal circle (figure 1) respectively. This figure portrays how the major dimensions can be combined to produce a systematic array of personality types or social identities. For example, the combination of submission and hostility, at the lower left of the circle, produces such qualities as skepticism and suspiciousness. On the other hand, the combination of friendliness and dominance, at the upper right, yields qualities such as supportiveness and responsibility (Andrews, 1989).

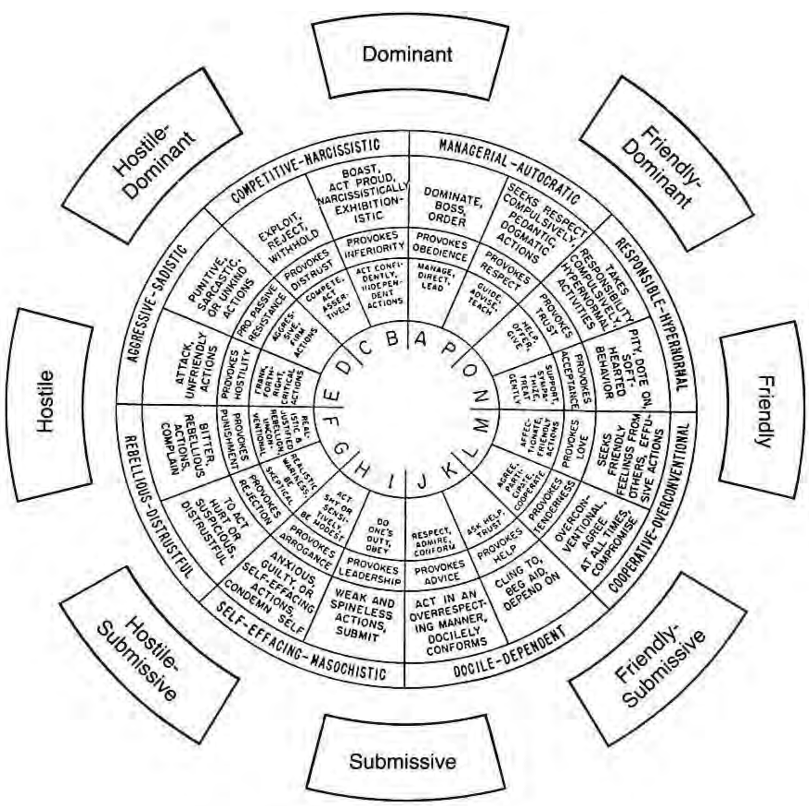

Figure 1. The Interpersonal CircleNote. Adapted from Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality (p. 65) T. Leary, 1957, New York: Ronald. Copyright 1957 by Ronald Press.

One line of research in education, 'Power in Classroom', looked at how the two dimensions of control and affiliation is communicated between teachers and students. This series of studies looks at power relations between teachers and students as a communication process, a complex phenomenon in which teachers and students are jointly responsible for constructing power in their interactions (Manke, 1997). This view looks at power as a relational phenomenon, and interpersonal power can be defined as an individual's potential to cast an effect on another person's behaviour. This is a very different way of looking at power, which is commonly believed to be an attribute owned by a teacher who has the 'control of resources' and 'formal authority in an organization or society' (Barraclough & Stewart, 1992). With this conception, "power is a perception; for teacher power to exist, it must be granted by the students" (Richmond & Roach, 1992). Everyday classroom environment shows that the legitimate title of a teacher, or his or her adult status, may render some initial power to the teacher; but if students do not consent to compliance with teacher directives, the teacher actually has no power.

Framework of study -- Interpersonal Power Interaction Model (IPIM)

Seeing teacher-student relationship as a process of power negotiation, this study adopts the typology of social power put forward by French and Raven (1959) in conceptualizing the 'social power' teachers have on their students. According to French and Raven (1959), social power can be seen as "the resources one person has available so that he or she can influence another person to do what that person would not have done otherwise." (Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998) Their formulation emphasized the *potential* resources a person has, but not the actual power techniques used in influencing the target. This means that compliance is a function not only of powers actually used but also of the power sources assumed to be available to the influencer.

In its latest version, the taxonomy comprises six power types: reward, coercive, legitimate, expert, referent and informational (Raven, et al., 1998). Coercion is further subdivided into personal threats (agent threatens to disapprove or dislike the target for noncompliance) and impersonal threats (threat of being dismissed); likewise, reward also comprises personal ones (promises to approve or like the target) and impersonal ones (promise of a promotion). Legitimate power is divided into four categories. Legitimate reciprocity stems from target's obligation to comply with the agent's request after the agent has done something positive for the target. Legitimate equity draws on the agent's demand for compliance to compensate for either hard work or sufferance by the agent, or harm inflicted by the target. Legitimate dependence is based on a social responsibility norm which obliges one person to assist another who is in need of assistance. Legitimate position is conceived as the agent's right to prescribe behaviour for the target, accompanied by the target's obligation to comply. Referent power refers to the target's desire to identify with the agent and expert power draws on the agent's superior knowledge or experience in a particular field.

Further elaboration of the power taxonomy has led to the development of the Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence (IPIM) (Raven, 2008), which is used as the guiding framework for the present study. The model describes, from the perspective of the influence agent, their motivation to influence, their assessment of the costs and benefits of invoking different power bases, preparatory devices for implementing the power bases, the actual implementation of the power strategy and the assessment of after-effects. It delineates socio-cultural, situational and personal dimensions that serve as antecedents of social power preference. For instance, the choice of power strategies have been found to be a function of gender, status, self-esteem, locomotion and assessment regulatory mode orientation, and need for closure (Pierro, Cicero, & Raven, 2008).

The IPIM model has been used to study a wide array of interpersonal interactions ranging from salesmen and customers to children attempting to influence other children (Raven, 1993). In many of these studies, an underlying structure for the taxonomy has been consistently observed, with coercive, reward, legitimate equity and reciprocity being classified as "hard" power bases while expert, referent, informational, legitimate dependence and position power being "soft" power bases.   Hard power often rely on social or organizational resources and emphasize the agent's advantage or superiority over the target and are typically found in situations where a hierarchical relationship is formalized, while soft power, arising from personal resources, reflect a more egalitarian approach towards the target (Schwarzwald, Koslowsky, & Izhak-Nir, 2008). In a similar vein, other studies have grouped French and Raven's sources of power in two broad categories: formal and informal power (Peiró & Meliá, 2003). Formal power is a role characteristic, socially and impersonally determined, rather than a personal one, and it includes legitimacy, reward, coercion and informational power. Personal power refers to a personal characteristic, connected to personal competencies, background and experience and it comprises expert and referent power sources.

From the perspective of the influence target, the model describes a number of considerations which affect a person's decision to comply or not (Raven, 1992). For example, the target may evaluate the influence attempt in terms of the propriety of the attempt (is it appropriate or justified?), whether there is good logic or information which would argue for compliance, the influence of the attempt on his/her self-esteem, how he/she would look to third parties if he/she complied or did not comply, cost of compliance or non-compliance and surveillance. And in a later paper, Raven (2008) presented four motivational and personal orientations variables which are related to the degree of compliance with different power bases of an influence target. Compliance with soft power strategies is found to be positively related to intrinsic motivation, desire for control, a "getting-ahead" self presentation style, and self-esteem; while compliance with hard power strategies is positively related to extrinsic motivation, the "getting-along" self-presentation style, but negatively related to intrinsic motivation, desire for control and self-esteem.

Hypotheses

With what has been frequently said about student consumerism and its impact on teacher-student relationship based on the anecdotal evidence in the literature, this paper sets out to argue for the role of student consumerism in explaining one's compliance with different power bases in applying the IPIM model to the analysis of teacher-student relationship. This will be done in two stages. In the first stage, the association between students' consumerist orientation and compliance with teacher power will be established. In the second stage, this paper sets to establish the role of student consumerism in moderating the association between the four personal factors identified in the IPIM model (i.e. motivation orientation, desire for control, self-presentation style and self-esteem) and one's compliance with different power bases.

To establish the association between students' consumerist orientation and compliance with different power bases (hard vs soft), two hypotheses will be tested.
As mentioned by Schwarwald and Koslowsky (2006), one of the more consistent findings across power studies has been the preference for soft tactics over hard ones for gaining compliance across a wide spectrum of relationships in different organizational settings and national contexts (Israel, United States, Italy). Indeed, in the academic setting, the use of hard power has also found to be associated with negative outcomes. Kearney and Plax (1992) found that the use of coercion would result in increased competitiveness among students, feelings of exclusion and reduction in self-esteem. The present study argues that this negative reaction towards hard power would be more pronounced among consumerist students. First and foremost, as repeatedly mentioned in the literature on student consumerism, the idea that decision making power on classroom processes should be shared with students, just as customers should be given a say on what they would like from a transaction, has led to a decline in the teacher's ability to command legitimacy in the classroom (Smith, 1977). When institutions increasingly define quality as giving customers what they want, not what the institution decides is best for them (Schwartzman, 1999) , the authority of teachers is further reduced, as they no longer have the power to make the decision as to what is considered useful knowledge. Of particular relevance to the present study, Plax, et al. (1986) reported a decrease in students' compliance in response to coercion. According to the previous studies in student consumerism, consumerist students are, in particular, "disengaged" from education and "want to avoid the rigors and pains of learning" (Trout, 1997) and they simply expect to "be served in ways they find pleasing" (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002). When this is the case, any

challenge from teachers will be perceived negatively (Edmundson, 1997). As Long and Lake (1996) observed, by critiquing students' work and expecting them to perform to academic standards, faculty will displease some students. Titus (2008), in studying how students play the role of customers evaluating their professors using student evaluations of teaching (SETs), found that students actually did not expect instructors to criticize or correct their views; any attempts by teachers to challenge students would be seen as "condescending" and "unacceptable". Considering that customer-students do not accept even the slightest discomfort from teachers, it can be deduced that while the use of hard power is generally associated with negative outcomes, compliance with hard power will be even lower when students' consumerist orientation is strong. Hence, the first hypothesis of this study is:

H1: Students' consumerist attitude will be negatively associated with compliance with hard power.

When the IPIM was applied to the study of salesman-customer interactions, the soft power bases have been found to be influential on a range of customer behaviour, including customer's purchasing decision (Busch & Wilson, 1976; Taylor & Woodside, 1982; Woodside & Davenport, 1976, 1974). Taylor and Woodside (1982), in analysing dialogues between three insurance agents and their customers, found that the frequency of an insurance agent's attempts to establish referent social power is significantly and positively related to the client's likelihood of purchase. A less significant, but still positive association was found with expert social power. Busch and Wilson (1976) employed an experimental approach in exploring the influence of the two power bases of a salesperson on a number of customer responses. Results revealed that referent and expert power of a salesperson is positively associated with perceived trustworthiness and his/her effectiveness in producing intended behavioural changes in a customer.

It is plausible that in a consumerist regime, when the relationship between students and teachers in higher education is transformed to one between customers and service providers, referent and expert power would be equally important for a teacher to exert influence on his/her students. Smith (1977) suggested that in a consumerist regime, teachers are encouraged to resort to referent and expert power, and the argument advanced is that if a teacher really knows the material and presents it in a pleasing manner, students will comply willingly with the teacher's directives, and the learning atmosphere is actually more pleasant if students comply out of their own willingness with no surveillance required. Furthermore, when students are asked to play the role of customers in the form of evaluating their satisfaction with a course or teacher through the widely practiced student-evaluation of teaching (SET), they tend to rate higher teachers with customer service traits such as likeability, helpfulness and caring (Titus 2008). Hence, the second hypothesis of this study is postulated as follows:

H2: Students consumerist attitude will be positively associated with their compliance with soft power.

As mentioned previously, the second stage of this study involves establishing the role of student consumerism in moderating the relationships between the four personal factors identified in the IPIM and compliance with power. It is noteworthy that the four factors which have been identified as antecedents of a target's compliance with hard or soft power bases are all personality traits which are 'enduring patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and oneself that are exhibited in a wide range of social and personal contexts' (American Psychiatric Association). For example, the work preference inventory (WPI) used to measure one's motivational orientation was designed to measure the construct as a trait like, enduring individual-difference characteristics that are relatively stable across time and situation (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey, & Tighe, 1994)). The Concern for Appropriateness Scale was also designed to measure one's "tendencies to adopt the protective or acquisitive style of self-presentation". While it is true that there is a tendency for a person to display largely consistent patterns of behavior over time, it is also widely acknowledged that one's behavior can be a function of the social contexts in which the person is engaged. For instance, while a person with a protective style of self-presentation may have a tendency to comply with hard power bases, if he/she sees him-/herself as a customer in the education process, he/she might not comply with hard power bases despite his/her usual tendency to get along. As such, it is highly plausible that student consumerism, the situational measure of one's attitude in the specific education setting, may moderate the association between the personal factors identified in the IPIM and one's compliance. The third and fourth hypothesis is therefore set as follows:

H3: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate all relationships between the personal factors identified in the IPIM and compliance with soft power.

H4: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate all relationships between the personal factors identified in the IPIM and compliance with hard power.

Primary factors in the study

The primary variables in this study, namely, students' consumerist attitude and their compliance with teacher power, will be measured by the consumerist scale and the power base measure respectively.

Consumerist Scale (CS) The literature on student consumerism describes consumerist attitude as instrumentalism in learning, an expectation to be entertained and a sense of entitlement to success (Sacks, 1996), Empirical studies of undergraduate students' perception of their learning process reveal other dimensions of consumerist attitude (Delucchi and Korgen, 2002)

- a belief that payment of tuition entitled them to a degree
- a tendency to enrol in a course in which they would learn little or nothing but would receive an A
- an expectation that faculty should consider non-academic criteria (e.g. financial and personal needs) when they assign grades
- an expectation on faculty to be held responsible for students' attentiveness in class

One systematic attempt to establish an index to measure the extent of students' consumerist attitude can be found in the Consumerist Scale developed by Fairchild et al

(2011). Factor analysis of a 64-item battery tested on a group of 531 students at Indiana University Bloomington (IUB) using a maximum likelihood solution with an orthogonal (varimax) rotation resulted in 10 factors with eigenvalues higher than 1, which were subsequently reviewed in terms of conceptual clarity and utility, resulting in 5 factors. Separate principle components factor analysis of each of the 5 factors confirmed that all of the factors were uni-dimensional, with no evidence of items loading on other than the primary factor.

The first, "Consumerist Attitudes toward Undergraduate Education" ("Consumerism, Cronbach alpha .80, Eigenvalue 2.30), measures the overall consumerist orientation toward higher education and is comprised of five items. The other four factors reveal additional dimensions derived from the literature on consumerism: Expectations of instructors (Cronbach alpha .78, Eigenvalue 1.88), Job Preparation and Placement (Cronbach alpha .82, Eigenvalue 2.06), Grade emphasis (Cronbach alpha .72, Eigenvalue 1.64) and Student responsibilities (Cronbach alpha .74, Eigenvalue 1.31). Correlation coefficients of the "Consumerism" factor with each of the four other factors have also been provided, and it is noteworthy that a statistically significant correlation is found ($p<.05$) between "Consumerism" and all other factors but not "Student Responsibility". More importantly, the correlation coefficient, which ranged from absolute values of .01 to .22, are weak in strength, and the authors used this to support their view that consumerism scale taps an attitude "that is more than simply a conglomeration of the others'. In other words, as the authors have highlighted in their discussion, many of the student attitudes mentioned in the literature regarding student consumerism, such as concern for high grades and importance of getting a job, are not necessarily tied to the market ideology with which they are often linked.

Academic Entitlement Scale Since the consumerist scale is a relatively new measure which has not been used subsequently in other studies, the current study attempts to examine its relationship with another construct – academic entitlement – which is another common theme running across discussions on the marketization of education and the effects on students' mentality. Academic entitlement is an expectation held by students that they should be given some positive outcomes (e.g. good grades) in academic-related tasks, regardless of actual performance. Traditionally, entitlement has been seen as a personality variable that is stable across time and situation. It has been conceptualized as an aspect of narcissism and has therefore been mainly measured by the NPI entitlement subscale, or the psychological entitlement scale, both of which are strongly rooted in research on narcissism (Kopp, Zinn, Finney, & Jurich, 2011). Yet, recent studies (Greenberger, 2008; Chowning and Campbell, 2009) show that academic entitlement is related to, yet distinct from a generalized form of psychological entitlement. In all these studies, academic entitlement was found to be a context-specific construct which only moderately associated with a generalized psychological construct of entitlement. In other words, while students may exhibit traits of both academic and psychological entitlement, they may do so to a different extent or may exhibit one type of entitlement and not the other.

Three commonly-used measures of academic entitlement have been developed by Achacoso (2002), Chowning and Campbell (2009) and Greenberger, et al (2008). Achacoso (2002) developed a 12-item Academic Entitlement Scale comprising two factors: entitlement beliefs and entitlement actions. The entitlement beliefs factor measured how strong students' beliefs of entitlement is (e.g. I should only be required to do a minimal amount of thinking to get an A in a class) while the entitlement actions factor examined what actions an entitled student would take (e.g. I would argue with the professor to get more points on a test). As mentioned by the author, using the results of exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and a series of confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs), an initial pool of 75 items were reduced and refined to a two-factor model comprising 12-items, using the criterion of an eigenvalue greater than 1, and discarding items that did not meet a criterion of .50 loading or higher. Items with the lowest squared loadings in the standardized solution were also deleted to achieve model fit, and factor loadings for all the items range from .542 to .853. Goodness for fit statistics were also provided for the instrument. Although the model X^2 (53, n=331) = 200.66 $p < 0.05$, indicates a lack of fit, the author argued that it is acceptable to consider other indices as X^2 is very sensitive to sample size and the sample was large. Other indices showed a moderate degree of fit.

The normed fit index (NFI) was .893, the nonnormed fit index (NNFI) was .898, and the comparative fit index (CFI) was .918. A moderately positive correlation was found (.343, $p < .05$) between the two factors.

Another measure was a 15-tem Academic Entitlement measure developed by Greenberger et al. (2008) in exploring the personality, parenting and motivational correlates of this construct. While it is unclear how their measure was developed, it was demonstrated in the study that their scale reported high internal consistency among items, with Cronbach's α ranging from .86 to .87. While no factor structure was hypothesized nor tested on the instrument, it was found in the study that academic entitlement did positively correlate with the Psychological Entitlement Scale (W. K. Campbell, Bonacci, Shelton, Exline, & Bshman, 2004) which is a uni-factorial measure of generalized sense of entitlement $r = .40$, $p < .001$).

The third scale, developed by Chowning and Campbell (2009), defines academic entitlement based on college incivility. An initial pool of 31 items was analyzed using Principal Components Analysis (PCA) with quartimax rotation. This resulted in two factors, comprising 15 items, which accounted for 39.2% of the variance. The first factor, Externalized responsibility (10-item), measures the extent to which students believe that others are responsible for their academic outcomes. It possessed an eigenvalue of 7.66 and accounted for 24.38% of the variance. The second factor, Entitled Expectations (5-item), explores students' expectations of positive outcomes and allowances in study. It possessed an eigenvalue of 4.65, and accounted for 14.82% of the variance. But it should be noted that Cronbach's coefficient alpha of internal consistency reliability for scores from the two subscales ranged from .71 to .83 for the Externalized Responsibility subscale, but only .62 to .69 for the Entitled Expectation subscale. This low value may be due to the inadequate items in the latter subscale. As the Entitled Expectation subscale comprises only five factors, PCA would not separate these items into sub-factors or components, as there would be insufficient indicators for each factor. As no other entitled expectations were discussed by the authors, it is difficult to determine whether these five items cover all relevant entitled expectations to adequately measure academic entitlement.

Hence, although goodness of fit statistics were also provided to show that the two-factor model provides a good fit to the data. (X^2 =410.08, GFI = .938, CFI = .897, RMSEA = .064), as noted by Kopp et al (2011), the lack of examination of localized model-data fit renders the use of fit indices insensitive and hence the adequacy of model-data fit is in question (110).

In this study, the Academic Entitlement Questionnaire (AEQ) developed by Kopp et al (2011) will be used. After reviewing the substantive, structural and external validity of the three scales, Kopp et al (2011) set out to develop a separate measure that "aligned strongly with prior research and theory", "was internally consistent" and is "related to other constructs in theoretically expected ways" (123). Specifically, the AEQ departs from other measures of academic entitlement in the sense that it puts more emphasis on the student-as-customer paradigm, which, according to the authors, "seemed necessary, given the emphasis on this in other AE research." Based on the first published work pertaining to entitlement in education (Dubovsky, 1985 cited in Kopp et al 2011), an initial pool of 26 items were mapped into five hypothesized facets of academic entitlement. Fit indices for four hypothesized models were calculated: 5-factor model, a bifactor model, a second order model and a one-factor model and results of Confirmatory Factor Analyses revealed that the one-factor model provided the best fit of data, suggesting that academic entitlement is a uni-dimensional construct. Further revision of the scale resulted in an 8-item measure, which was found to fit the data very well (SBX2 ranges from 39.46 to 45.75 ($p < .05$), SRMR = .024, SB-RMSEA ranges from .03 to .04 and SB-CFI = .99). R^2 values ranged from .21 to .54, and reliability, as indexed using coefficient omega, was .814, suggesting adequate reliability. Pearson Correlation coefficient was calculated between AEQ and psychological entitlement (Campbell, et al., 2004) (r =.39 $p < .01$), and although a statistically significant positive correlation is found, the moderate magnitude of the relationship indicates that they are distinct constructs.

The Power Base Measure Students' degree of compliance with different power bases will be examined using the Power Base Measure (PBM) (Roach, 1995). This 20-item instrument was developed based on the theoretical grounding of the French and

Raven (1959) power typology to study power use among teaching assistants. According to the author, factor analysis with promax rotation and scree procedure were used to examine the factor structure of the instrument, and the loading criteria were 60/40. Alpha reliability of the PBM was reported to be .86 (Roach, 1995). But it should be noted that the original factor loadings for the scale indicated that a number of items tended to cross-load onto multiple factors, and in a more recent study (Turman and Schrodt, 2006), weak factor loadings were reported for legitimate and coercive power, and the authors called for future researchers to "examine the factor structure and validity of the PBM using confirmatory procedures" (275). This leads to the development of another scale, the Teacher Power Use Scale (TPUS, Schrodt, Witt and Turman 2007), which was found to produce a better model fit than the PBM for the latent construct of teacher power, and the internal factor structure of which is more consistent with the theoretical explanations of antisocial and prosocial forms of power compared to the PBM.

Despite this shortcoming of PBM and the availability of the TPUS, the PBM is still chosen for the present study for two major reasons. First, despite the weaker factor loadings, PBM has demonstrated acceptable reliability estimates, with alpha coefficient ranging from .72 to .90 in various studies (Roach 1995b, Golish 1999, Golish & Olson 2000, Turman & Schrodt 2006). Moreover, while items in the TPUS centre around teachers' behaviour in exercising a specific type of power, the items in the PBM were phrased using an "attributional approach" (Raven 1998), and so the scale is more in keeping with the psychological definition of social power initially proposed by French and Raven (1959). Raven (1998) made a clear distinction between power bases and influence techniques: "the former refers to potential and the latter to the actual use of power" (307). This distinction is important, because a teacher may glare at misbehaving students as a form of coercion, but the act of glaring does not give the teacher coercive power if the students do not feel pressured by the glare and stop misbehaving. Raven stressed that the psychological definition of social power concerns the potential of the power welder to exercise particular bases of power, but not the actual use of power strategies. He also emphasized that social power differs from an agent's possession of ostensible power resources, as it is not uncommon to see a power resource failing to result in effective power and influence. For instance, a student may say that his/her teacher has had much training and experience in an academic discipline, but he/she may still not trust the teacher's judgment, and in this case, the teacher's possession of resources (subject knowledge) does not effectively result in expert power. Therefore, an attribution approach in the measurement of social power, such as the one used in PBM, is considered more appropriate than an observation approach focusing on behaviour in exercising power, or other approaches focusing on students' perception of teachers' characteristics. In the PBM, a situation is presented where a student, though initially reluctant, eventually complies with a teacher's request. The respondent is then asked to indicate the likelihood that specific sources available to the teacher might lead to such compliance. This attributional approach for defining social power, although not without its problems (e.g. self-serving bias in respondents' answers), is considered the most appropriate approach to tap social power for the purpose of this study.

Other antecedent variables affecting teacher power identified in the IPIM

As mentioned previously, the current study argues that students' consumerist attitude would also moderate the relationship between the personal factors identified in the IPIM and the target's willingness to comply: motivation orientation, self-presentation style, desire for control and self-esteem. This section first presents an overview of how these four factors have been found to be associated with one's compliance with hard and soft power bases.

Motivation orientation. In general, a person's motivation orientation refers to the driving force behind a person's behaviour. Some people may be driven by a passionate interest in their work and involvement in what they do, while others seem to be motivated by external inducements such as rewards or recognition. Amabile, et al. (1994) define intrinsic motivation as "the motivation to engage in work primarily for its own sake, because the work itself is interesting, engaging or in some way satisfying" (950). By contrast, extrinsic motivation is defined as "the motivation to work primarily in response to something apart from the work itself, such as reward or recognition or the dictates of other people" (950). Deci and Ryan (1985) also found that intrinsically motivated people are usually more autonomy-oriented while extrinsically-motivated people are usually more control-oriented. As such, it can be deduced that extrinsically-motivated people will base their compliance with power on hard bases such as legitimate, reward and punishment, whereas intrinsically motivated people will base their compliance with power on soft bases.

Motivation orientation has been measured by the Work Preference Inventory (WPI) by Amabile et al (1994). Two versions of WPI have been in use, for working adults and students respectively, and the Cronbach coefficient of internal reliability for the student version, which is used in the current study, ranged from .71 to .79 (Amabile et al. 1994). Despite this, the test-retest reliabilities for periods from 6 to 54 months were quite high, mostly in the .70s and .80s. Recent applications of the WPI in the education setting include establishing the association between motivation orientations and learning approaches (Prat-Sala & Redford, 2010), and time perception (Conti, 2001), as well as identifying cultural variation in the flow theory among Chinese college students (Moneta, 2004).

In studying the association between compliance with different power bases and one's motivational orientation, Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) found a Cronbach's alpha of .73 for the intrinsic motivation subscale and .74 for the extrinsic motivation subscale. Two separate multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the relation of the two motivation orientations and compliance with the hard and soft power strategies. It was found that compliance with hard power was significantly positively related to extrinsic motivation ($ß=.42$, $p<.001$) and significantly negatively associated with intrinsic motivation ($ß=-.18$, $p<.01$). As for soft power, only a significant positive association was found with intrinsic motivation ($ß=.17$, $p<.01$).

Desire for control. While a desire to have control over outcomes appears to be a universal human need, it has been proposed that people differ significantly in terms of how strong their desire is. And previous research also established that a higher desire of control is associated with a higher drive to achieve and compete, more beneficial outcomes in terms of academic performance (Burger, 1992) and general wellbeing (Cooper, Okamura and McNeil 1995). Seeing desire of control as an antecedent to a person's compliance with power, Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) proposed that people with a strong desire for control would be more resistant to hard power, which involves influencing agent or power figure exerting greater control, and at the same time, they would be more ready to comply with soft power which are characterized by credibility features.

The Desire for Control (DC) scale developed by Burger and Cooper (1979) will be used in this study. According to Gebhardt and Brosschot (2002), this scale has been used extensively ever since it is developed, and it has been cited in at least 130 articles (424). The scale is considered to be a reliable and valid instrument. Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the scale range from 0.74 (Smith, et al. 1984) to 0.81 (Burger & Cooper 1979). In the study by Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008), the reliability of DC scale was satisfactory at .84. To examine the relationship between desire of control and compliance with different power bases, two separate partial correlation analyses were conducted, statistically controlling for the alternative bases. A significant and negative association was found between compliance with hard tactics and desire for control ($r=-.22$, $p<.05$), and a significant and positive association was found between compliance with soft tactics and desire for control ($r=.43$, $p < .001$).

Concern for appropriateness As cited in Lennox and Wolfe (1984), Arkin (1981) elucidated two differing self-presentational styles, protective and acquisitive (cited in Lennox and Wolfe, 1984). According to Arkin, "the protective style is in the service of avoiding disapproval and is associated with social anxiety, reticence and conformity; the acquisitive style serves to enhance undefined favored treatment in unknown future circumstances via the accumulation of social approval" (p. 313). Specifically, people with a protective style would act in such a way as to avoid disapproval. In their study, Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) hypothesized that people who are committed to a protective style, with a higher tendency to conform to external pressure, will respond more to hard power. Using the Concern for Appropriateness Scale (Lennox and Wolfe 1984), these authors measured the protective motive of a person's self-presentation. In previous studies, this measure was found to exhibit good reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranging from .75 to .89) as well as considerable convergent and discriminant validity (Cutler & Wolfe, 1985; Lennox & Wolfe 1984; Wolfe, et al., 1986). In the study by Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008), reliability of the scale was satisfactory at .86, and results of two separate multiple regression analyses to examine the relation of concern for appropriateness to compliance with each type of power strategy (hard and soft), statistically controlling for compliance with alternative strategies, largely confirmed the hypothesis. Compliance with hard power tactics was significantly positively associated with participants' concern for appropriateness ($r = .38$, $p < .001$).

Self-esteem. The concept of global self-esteem is typically defined as "the extent to which one prizes, values, approves or likes oneself" or "the overall affective evaluation of one's worth, value or importance (Blascovich, 1991). It has been studied extensively in psychology, probably due to its profound and wide-ranging effects on human cognition, motivation, emotion and behaviour (Campbell & Lavallee, 1993). In the IPIM model, self-esteem has been explored from the perspective of the influencer, seen mainly as a moderator of the choice of power strategies together with other personal variables (e.g. need for power, dominance, status, confidence). For example, Schwarzwald and Koslowsky (1999) demonstrated experimentally that greater concern for self-esteem motivates people to use differential power strategies, and they found that adolescents with lower self-esteem preferred reciprocity. In Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008), self-esteem was included as a factor affecting compliance of the target to offer "a parallel examination… in order to understand fully the power/interaction process". Although no detailed justification was given, self esteem was taken to relate to one's feeling of independence and therefore high self esteem is assumed to be associated with a tendency to comply based on the rationale, but not pressure. Therefore, a person with high self esteem is assumed to comply based on the logic of the influence attempt, rather than the pressure to comply. Accordingly, the study hypothesized a positive association between a person's self-esteem and compliance in response to soft power tactics and a negative association between a person’s self-esteem and compliance in response to hard power tactics.

Using the Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) and the Interpersonal Power Inventory (IPI), Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) conducted two separate partial correlation analyses to measure the relationship between self-esteem and compliance with different power bases, statistically controlling for the alternative base. Results showed that tendency to comply in response to hard power was significantly negatively associated with a person’s self-esteem ($r = -.40$, $p < .001$) and the tendency to comply with soft ones was significantly positively related to a person’s self esteem ($r = .22$, $p < .01$).

The effect of gender and class standing on compliance

Apart from the four aforementioned personal factors, this study also included gender and class standing as moderating factors as they have been found to be closely related to social power. Carli (1999) reviewed previous research on gender differences in power which suggested that men generally possess a greater number of influence resources than women do. It was further suggested that gender differences in influence are mediated by such gender differences in power resources. Elias and Loomis (2004) examined how an instructor’s gender might impact his or her ability to gain compliance from his or her college students, and Kearney and Plax (1987) found that female instructors report using more soft power bases than do male instructors. From the target’s perspective, less research has been conducted, and results have been inconclusive. Burroughs (2007) found that compared to male students, females were significantly more willing to comply with a request made by a teacher, while Elias and Mace (2005) and Kearney, et al (1988) failed to reveal a significant effect of gender on compliance with the different power bases. As for class standing, Kindsvatter (1990) proposed that how far along a student is in his or her academic career will impact how compliant he or she will be. He theorized that as a student progresses through his or her academic career, legitimate power becomes less prevalent as expert and referent power bases are established. Based on this, Elias and

Mace (2005) examined the differences in compliance between lower-division students (freshmen and sophomores) and upper-division students (juniors and seniors) in a college and established a significant overall effect for student class standing. Specifically, lower-division students attributed greater compliance than did upper-division students.

Method

Participants Full-time students at the HKU SPACE Community College in the academic year 2013/14 were asked to participate in the study. As mentioned previously, HKUSPACE Community College was established in 2000, and was the first Community College established in Hong Kong. Since its inception, it has been one of the leading Community Colleges in terms of both student enrolment and articulation to further studies. Over the past 12 years, nearly 24,000 graduated from the College with an Associate Degree or a Higher Diploma, and over half progressed to university studies after graduation. Among those who progressed to universities, nearly 50% have been offered places in the UGC-funded programmes at local universities, which are the "preferred" choices in Hong Kong.

In terms of student population, in the academic year 2012-13, HKUSPACE Community College has over 8,000 students. Among them 4,435 are studying for the Associate Degree, 3,828 for the Higher Diploma, 337 for Pre-AD / Certificate of General Studies. Both the Associate Degree and Higher Diploma are two year programmes; the former one is usually taken by those who aspire to articulate to university upon graduation while the latter prepares students to enter the workforce. The Pre-AD / Certificate of General Studies programmes have the same curriculum, which is to be taken by students to fulfill the entrance requirements of the Associate Degree or the Higher Diploma programmes. The only difference between the two is that students of the former one can apply for government loan while those from the latter cannot.

The questionnaire The questionnaire contained 9 sections covering the 8 scales mentioned in the previous section and a personal particulars section covering 3 pieces of demographic data (number of years with the college, gender and programme of study).

The Consumerist Scale Students' consumerist attitude will be measured in this study using the "Consumerist attitudes toward undergraduate education" subscale of the Consumerist Scale (CS) developed by Fairchild, et al (2011). Two items in this subscale, as examples, are "College education is a product I am buying" and "My relationship with College is similar to the relationship between a customer and a seller." Participants answered each question by filling in one out of five circles, ranging from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree". A global score will be obtained by averaging a participant's responses to all the items. The higher the score, the more consumerist a participant is assumed to be.

Academic Entitlement Scale The Academic Entitlement Scale (AES) developed by Kopp et al (2011) comprises 8 items measuring one's sense of entitlement in an academic setting, e.g. "If I'm struggling in a class, the lecturer should approach me and offer to help" and "Because I pay tuition, I deserve passing grades." .Participants answered each question by indicating their level of agreement with each of the statements from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree". A higher score on the AE scale indicates a higher degree of academic entitlement.

Power Base Measure The Power Base Measure (PBM) developed by Roach (1995) comprises 20 items. Each of the five bases of power is measured by four items, describing perceived effects of teacher power on student behaviour in the classroom, e.g., ''The student will be punished if he/she does not comply with instructor requests'' and ''The student should comply to please the instructor''. Participants were asked to think of a situation in which they complied with a teacher's request despite their unwillingness to do so, and they were asked to indicate their level of agreement to 20 statements from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree". A global PBM score will measure the degree of compliance with teacher power, while two PBM sub scores, namely PBM (soft) and PBM (hard) will measure a participant's compliance with soft and hard power respectively.

Work Preference Inventory The Work Preference Inventory (WPI) developed by Amabile, et al (1994) has 30 items, half of which represent intrinsic motivation (e.g., "I enjoy doing work that is so absorbing that I forget about everything else.") and the other half represents extrinsic motivation (e.g., I have to feel that I'm earning something for what I do."). Ratings were made on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (never or almost never true for me) to 4 (always or almost always true for me). In this study, the two primary subscales of the WPI, namely, the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation subscales, will be used to measure a participants' level of intrinsic (WPI – intrinsic) and extrinsic (WPI-extrinsic) motivation orientation respectively.

Desire for Control The Desire for Control (DC) scale developed by Burger and Cooper (1979) has 20 items (e.g., "I would prefer to be a leader than a follower", and "I enjoy making my own decisions") measuring one's desire to make his/her own decisions, to take preventive actions to ensure that situations are within control, to avoid situations in which others have control, and to control others. Responses were made on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and a composite DC score was computed by summing across responses to each item. In this study, the composite score from the DC scale will be taken to measure a participant's desire of control level (DC total).

Concern for Appropriateness Scale The Concern for Appropriateness scale (Lennox and Wolfe, 1984) is a 20-item instrument (e.g. the slightest look of disapproval in the eyes of a person with whom I am interacting is enough to make me change my approach") that are rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (always false) to 6 (always true). It consists of two subscales: Cross-situational variability of behavior (7 items; e.g. I tend to show different sides of myself to different people) and Attention to social comparison information (13 items; e.g. I try to pay attention to the reactions of others to my behavior in order to avoid being out of place). Responses were made on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (Not applicable at all) to 7 (Always apply) and a composite score was computed by summing across responses to each item. A high total score on the Concern for Appropriate Scale will be taken to indicate a participant's strong desire to "get-along", as manifested in a protective style of self-presentation.

Self-Esteem Scale The Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) is a widely used scale that purports to provide a one-dimensional assessment of global self esteem. Many studies have attested to the validity of this scale (Quilty, Oakman & Risko 2006). The Self-Esteem Scale comprises 10 statements measuring global self-esteem as a one-dimensional construct (Rosenberg, 1965). An example statement is “I feel that I have number of good qualities”. Participants’ responses were recorded on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all true or characteristic of me) to 6 (extremely true or characteristic of me). A composite score was computed by summing across responses to each item, and a high score (SES total) is taken to reveal a high level of self-esteem of a participant.

Procedure Between February and March 2013, questionnaires were distributed in class to students during generic English lessons. As generic English courses are compulsory for all students regardless of their programmes of study, distributing questionnaires in these lessons helped to ensure that students from all disciplines could be covered. With the help of lecturers teaching generic English courses, a total of 1,000 questionnaires were given out. As this research focuses on the power dynamics between teachers and students, extra caution was exercised in various instances to minimize the bias in favour of or against a particular power base. For example, the sample did not include students from the researcher to ensure that those who participated in this study did not feel constrained to take part. Lecturers who helped to distribute the questionnaires were also reminded to emphasize to students the fact that participation was entirely voluntary, and that they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time.

Ethical Issues The rights of the participants in this study were secured not only by stressing voluntary participation but also obtaining prior informed consent from the participants. A covering letter was attached to the questionnaire explaining the objectives of the study, and participants were given the opportunity to ask the researcher questions to clarify things. They then completed an informed consent form when they were satisfied that they were fully informed about the objectives of the research and the procedures involved.

Ethical research also requires that the privacy of participants should be protected. Students who took part in the present study were guaranteed confidentiality of the data collected from the questionnaire survey. They were explicitly told the right to remain anonymous, which essentially meant that they were not required to fill in any of their personal particulars

Results

The main research question of this study concerns the association between students' consumerist attitude and teacher power, as well as the moderating effect of students' consumerist attitude on the relationship between personality factors and one's compliance with teachers' power. Based on the Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence (IPIM) (Raven, 2008), five predictor variables (Concern for Appropriateness, Intrinsic Motivation Orientation, Extrinsic Motivation Orientation, Self-Esteem and Desire of Control), two outcome variables (Soft power and Hard Power) were identified, and Consumerist Attitude was included in the study as the moderator variable. Data was collected in form of a questionnaire survey, and data analysis was conducted using SPSS version 16. This chapter presents the results of the study in three major sections: (1) the profile of the research participants, (2) reliabilities of the measurement instruments and (3) results of the statistical analyses.

Profile of research participants

A total of 650 questionnaires were returned, but not all of them were considered valid responses. Missing data was handled using listwise deletion when only a single value is missing from a measure. However, in cases where one or more portions of the questionnaires were not complete, these responses were discarded entirely, and there were altogether seventeen such cases. After excluding these cases, a total of 633 students at the HKUSPACE Community College took part in this study, representing a response rate of 63.3%. Among all the respondents, 306 of them were males (48.3%) and 327 of them were females (51.7%). A majority of them (447) were Associate Degree (AD) students, accounting for 70.6% and 149 of them were Higher Diploma (HD) students, accounting for 23.6%. The remaining participants were studying for the Pre-Associate Degree. Most of them had spent less than 1 year in the College (66.7%) and the second largest group had spent between 1 and 2 years (22.1%). Slightly over 10% of the participants had spent over 3 years in the College at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Figure 1 reveals data on the distribution of consumerist attitude among students in the study. With a mean of 16.17 out of 25 and a standard deviation of 2.99, the distribution of this scale closely approximates a normal curve with only a slight negative skew (Skewness = -0.123), suggesting that while there was substantial variation in consumerist attitude, more students reported a higher value than the mean.

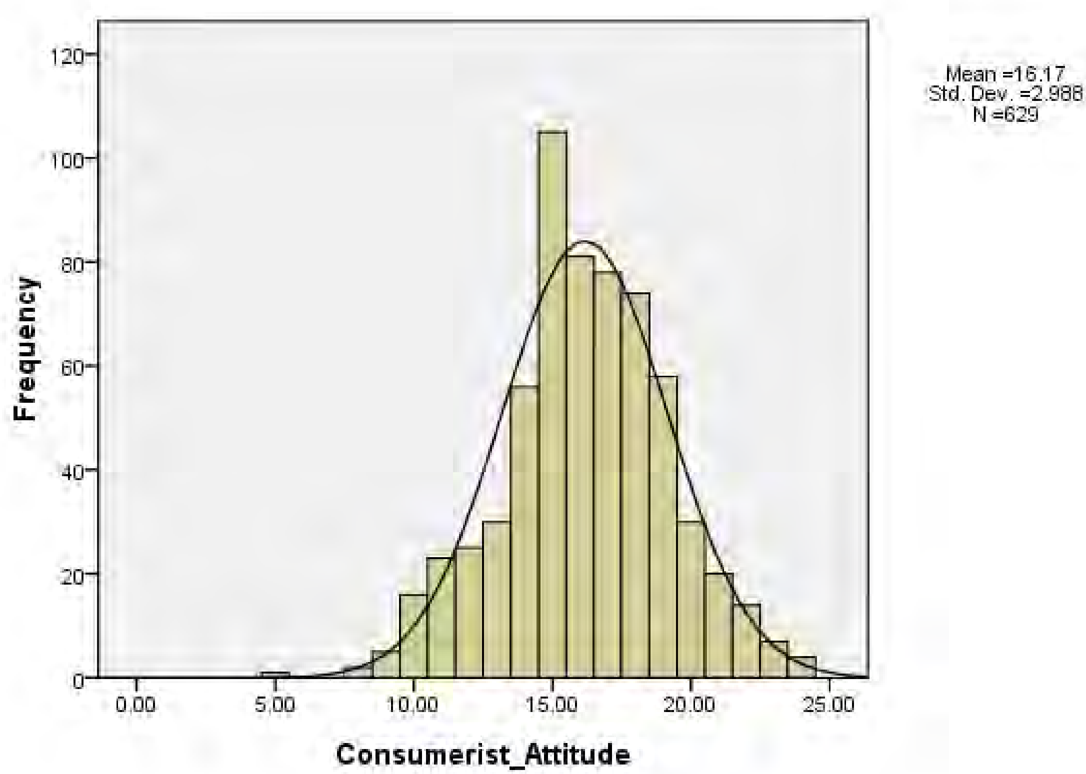

Figure 2 Distribution of Consumerist Attitude among Respondents

Figure 2 and 3 show data on students' compliance with hard power and soft power respectively. Consistent with previous studies (Pierro, et al., 2008), students reported a slightly higher level of compliance with soft power (M=3.25, SE = 0.16) than hard power (M=3.17, SE = 0.16). Paired samples t-test shows that the difference (0.08) is significant (t (614) = -6.54, 95%CI [-0.11, -0.06], $p < .001$), although the effect size was small (d = 0.2)

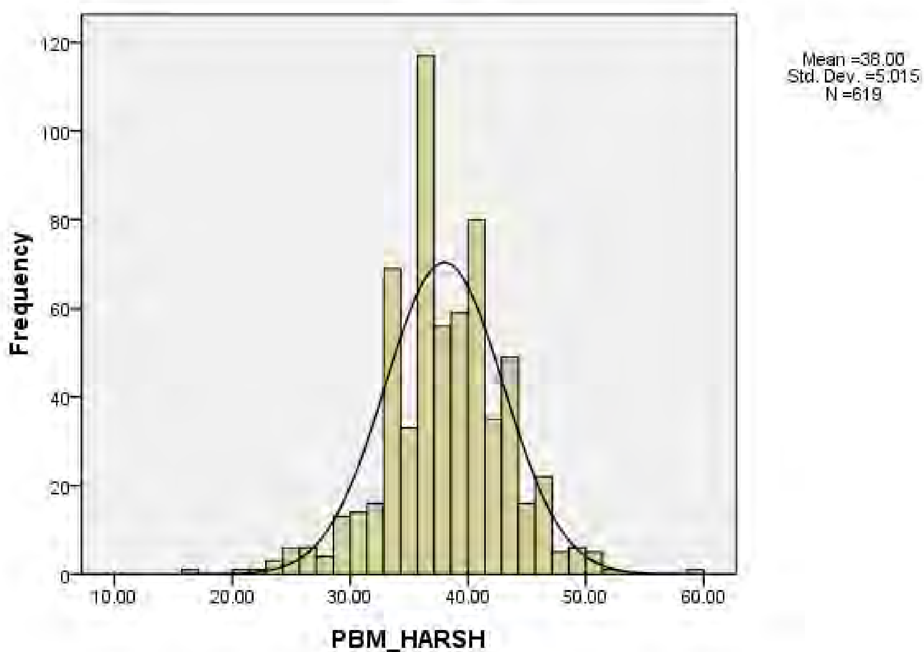

Figure 3 Compliance with Hard Power Bases

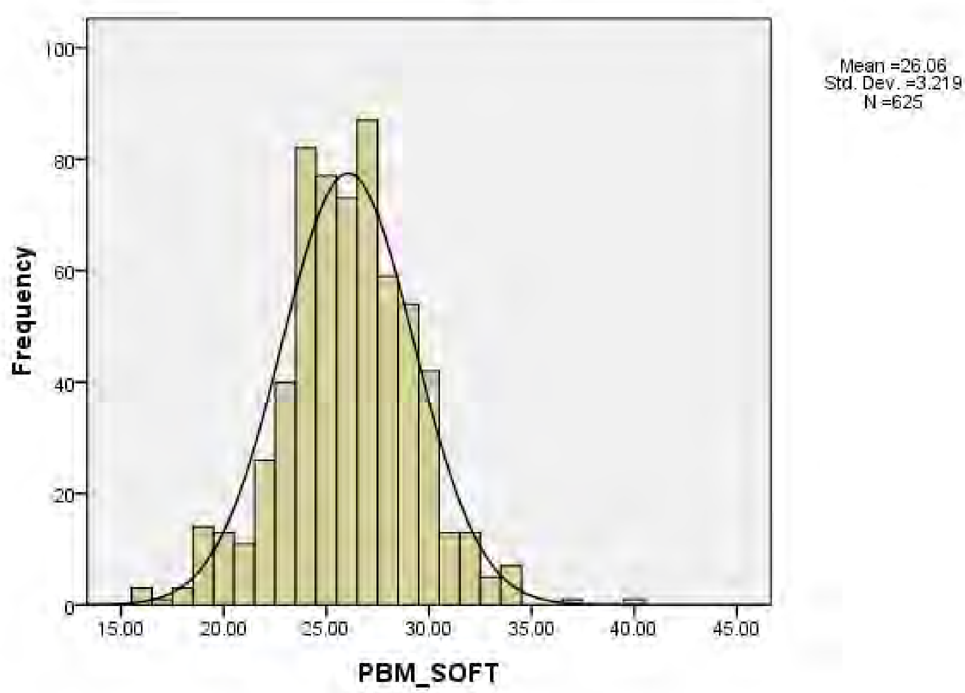

Figure 4 Compliance with Soft Power Bases

Scale reliability

Cronbach's alpha was used to assess the reliability of each of the measures. The reliability coefficients are summarized in Table 1. Overall, the alpha coefficients reported in the present study are generally consistent with prior research with two notable exceptions. The first one was the consumerist scale. In their scale development paper, (Fairchild, Suzanna, Bernice, & Martin, 2011) reported the reliability coefficient for the consumerist scale as 0.80. However, in the present study, reliability coefficient for this scale was found to be 0.62. Also, the extrinsic motivation subscale of the work preference inventory was reported to demonstrate good reliability of 0.75, but the same value in this study was a low of 0.59. This discrepancy in reliability estimates deserves some mention in the interpretation of findings of this study, and will be addressed in the Discussion section.

Table 1

Reliability Coefficients of Major Factors

		Cronbach's Alpha
Concern for appropriateness		0.83
Consumerist scale		0.62
Academic entitlement		0.73
Desire of control		0.70
Self Esteem		0.73
Power Base Measure - Hard Power		0.78
Power Base Measure – Soft Power		0.67
Work Preference Inventory	Intrinsic motivation	0.73
Work Preference Inventory	Extrinsic motivation	0.59

As the consumerist scale is a relatively new measure, its inter-correlation with academic entitlement was explored to further substantiate its validity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the academic entitlement scale is a theoretically similar measure of students' attitude towards teaching and learning in a marketized education sector. Hence, convergent validity can be established if these two scales are found to be statistically related. In the present study, Pearson's correlation coefficient reveals that the consumerist scale was significantly related to academic entitlement ($r = .585$, $p < .01$), suggesting support for the validity of the consumerist scale.

Statistical analyses

To determine whether students' consumerist attitude moderates the predictive relationship between personality factors and compliance with teachers' hard/soft power bases, the five predictor variables (Concern for Appropriateness, Intrinsic Motivation Orientation, Extrinsic Motivation Orientation, Self-Esteem and Desire of Control), one moderator variable (Consumerist Attitude) and two outcome variables (Soft power and Hard Power) were entered into a series of hierarchical regression analyses. Moderation is determined by a statistically significant ($p < .05$) interaction effect between the personal factors and consumerist attitude. Follow-up questions explored the relationship between the predictor and outcome variables at high and low levels of the moderator using simple slopes analyses. Descriptive statistics for the variables are presented in Table 2 and bivariate correlations among variables are shown in Table 3.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics of major variables in the study

		Consumerist Attitude	Hard Power	Soft Power	Desire for control	Self-Esteem	Extrinsic Motivation	Intrinsic Motivation	Concern for Appropriateness
N	Valid	629	619	625	618	621	618	609	620
	Missing	4	14	8	15	12	15	24	13
Mean		16.17	38.00	26.06	87.62	25.97	40.73	41.90	88.02
Std. Deviation		2.99	5.02	3.22	8.76	3.38	3.56	4.63	11.48
Skewness		-.123	-.169	-.015	.058	-.051	-.010	-.205	.078
Kurtosis		.167	1.327	.788	.491	1.265	.601	.819	.300

Table 3

Bivariate correlations among major variables in the study

	Consumerist attitude	Concern for Appropriateness	Desire for control	Hard power	Soft power	Self-Esteem	Extrinsic Motivation	Intrinsic Motivation
Consumerist attitude	1.000	.252**	.349**	.226**	.207**	-.070	.361**	.250**
Concern for Appropriateness		1.000	.061	.310**	.240**	-.201**	.056	-.113**
Desire for control			1.000	.090*	.143**	.191**	.184**	.414**
Hard power				1.000	.688**	-.032	.162**	.057
Soft power					1.000	.010	.228**	.173**
Self-Esteem						1.000	.030	.192**
Extrinsic Motivation							1.000	.520**
Intrinsic Motivation								1.000

* p < .05 two-tailed ** p < .001 two-tailed

Before running the main analyses, associations between gender and year of study and compliance with both hard and soft power bases were analysed. As regards gender, independent sample t-tests were performed to examine possible sex difference in compliance with power bases. Male students reported a slightly higher level of compliance ($M = 26.21$, $SD = 3.04$) with soft power as compared to female students ($M = 25.91$, $SD = 3.37$), but the difference was not significant ($t = 1.17$, $p = .24$). Similar findings were identified for compliance with hard power. Male students reported a slightly higher level of compliance ($M = 38.12$, $SD = 5.00$) than female students ($M = 37.88$, $SD = 5.02$), but the difference was also not significant ($t = 0.601$, $p = .55$).

In addition to gender differences, Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated between year of study and compliance with hard and soft power. While a negative association between the year of study and compliance with both power bases was identified (Hard: $r = -.042$, $p = 30$; Soft: $r = -.033$, $p =.41$), the association was not significant.

Based on the results of these analyses of associations, it was concluded that the effects of gender and year of study on one's compliance with teachers' power bases were insignificant in the sample of this study. As such, these two variables were excluded from the subsequent procedures when measuring moderating effects.

Testing of hypotheses

H1: Students' consumerist attitude will be negatively associated with compliance **with hard power.**

H2: Students consumerist attitude will be positively associated with their compliance with **soft power**.

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was used to test hypothesis 1. Consistent with the hypothesis, consumerist attitude was found to be positively correlated with compliance with soft power ($r = .224$, $p <.01$), suggesting that the more the students see themselves as consumers, the more they comply based on the teachers' soft power bases including expert and referent power bases. But contrary to hypothesis 1b, a significant, but also positive association was found between consumerist attitude and compliance with hard power ($r = .27$, $p < .01$), suggesting that student-customers would actually base their compliance more, instead of less, on hard power bases including a teacher's reward, coercion and legitimate power.

To test hypotheses 2 and 3, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to evaluate the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on compliance with soft power bases. In the first step, the personal factor in question and the consumerist attitude were entered into the equation (Model 1). In the second step, the interaction term between consumerist attitude and the personal factor in question was also entered (Model 2). A significant interaction effect is taken to represent moderation, and ΔR^2, representing the change in the percentage of the variation in compliance accounted for by the two models, indicated the strength of the moderator effect.

H3a: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted confirmed the hypothesis ($b = .007$, 95% CI [0.001, 0.013], $t = 2.204$, $p < .05$). Consumerist attitude and concern for appropriateness together accounted for 8.3% of the variation in compliance with soft power (R^2 (model 1) = 0.083), but when interaction is added, the model explained 0.7% more of the variation (R^2 (model 2) = 0.09). This increase in R^2 yields an F-ratio of 4.859 which is significant ($p = .03$).

As a moderator effect was confirmed, simple slopes analyses were conducted to probe the interaction. Results revealed that at high values of consumerist attitude, the relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power is insignificant ($b = .043$, $t(605) = 1.79$, $p =.07$). However, at low values of consumerist attitude, there is a significant and positive relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power ($b = 0.65$), $t(605) = 4.35$, $p < .001$)

Table 4

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Concern of Appropriateness on Soft Power

	Soft Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			0.83	27.83***
Consumerist Attitude	.223	.000		
Concern for Appropriateness	.043	.000		
Model 2			0.09	4.859*
Consumerist Attitude	-.384	.198		
Concern for Appropriateness	-.065	.169		
Consumerist Attitude x Concern for Appropriateness	.007	.028		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H2b: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between desire for control and compliance with soft power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Although adding the interaction term increases the R^2 by 0.005, making the R^2 of the new model 0.080, this increase yields an F-ratio of 3.022, which is not significant (p = .08).

Table 5

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Desire for Control on Soft Power

	Soft Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.075	24.668***
Consumerist Attitude	.254	.000		
Desire for Control	.047	.001		
Model 2			.005	3.022
Consumerist Attitude	-.423	.280		
Desire for Control	-.073	.303		
Consumerist Attitude x Desire for Control	.008	.083		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H3c: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted confirmed the hypothesis (b = .022, 95% CI [0.05, 0.040, t = 2.568, p < .05). Consumerist attitude and intrinsic motivation together accounted for 30.8% of the variation in compliance with soft power (R^2 (model 1) = 0.308), but when interaction is added, the model explained 1.6% more of the variation (R^2 (model 2) = 0.324). This increase in R^2 yields an F-ratio of 6.595, which is significant (p = .01).

As a moderator effect was confirmed, simple slopes analyses were conducted to probe the interaction. Results revealed that at high values of consumerist attitude, the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power is insignificant (b = .067, t (593) = 1.70, p =.09). However, when consumerist attitude is low, there is a significant and positive relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power (b = .202, t (593) = 5.61, p < .001).

Table 6

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Intrinsic Motivation on Soft Power

	Soft Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1		.	.095	31.129***
Consumerist Attitude	.274	.000		
Intrinsic motivation	.142	.000		
Model 2			.010	6.595*
Consumerist Attitude	-.689	.068		
Intrinsic motivation	-.229	.120		
Consumerist Attitude x Intrinsic Motivation	.022	.010		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H3d: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between extrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term increases the R^2 by 0.001, making the R^2 of the new model 0.321, this increase yields an F-ratio of 0.716, which is not significant (p = .08).

Table 7

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Extrinsic Motivation on Soft Power

	Soft Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.102	34.294***
Consumerist Attitude	.239	.000		
Extrinsic motivation	.196	.000		
Model 2			.001	.716
Consumerist Attitude	-.143	.752		
Extrinsic motivation	.044	.810		
Consumerist Attitude x Extrinsic Motivation	.009	.398		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H3e: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between self-esteem and compliance with soft power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term does not change the R^2 (0.061 for both models), and the F-ratio of model 2 is 0.015, which is not significant ($p = .90$).

Table 8

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Self-Esteem on Soft Power

	Soft Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.061	19.739***
Consumerist Attitude	.273	.000		
Self-esteem	.063	.102		
Model 2			.000	.015
Consumerist Attitude	.273	.000		
Self-esteem	.063	.102		
Consumerist Attitude x Self-esteem	-.002	-.121		

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

H4a: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with hard power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term does not change the R^2 (0.123 for both models), and the F-ratio of model 2 is 0.982, which is not significant ($p = .33$).

Table 9

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Concern of Appropriateness on Hard Power

	Hard Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			0.122	41.537***
Consumerist Attitude	.457	.000		
Concern for Appropriateness	.070	.000		
Model 2			0.001	.982
Consumerist Attitude	.037	.930		
Concern for Appropriateness	-.004	.956		
Consumerist Attitude x Concern for Appropriateness	.005	.332		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H4b: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between desire for control and compliance with hard power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term increases the R^2 by 0.004, making the R^2 of the new model 0.104, this increase yields an F-ratio of 2.835, which is not significant (p = .09).

Table 10

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Desire for Control on Hard Power

	Hard Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.099	33.127***
Consumerist Attitude	.503	.000		
Desire for Control	.043	.055		
Model 2			.004	2.835
Consumerist Attitude	-.505	.402		
Desire for Control	-.136	.211		
Consumerist Attitude x Desire for Control	.011	.093		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H4c: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted confirmed the hypothesis (b = .04, 95% CI [0.014, 0.066], t = 2.98, $p < .05$). Consumerist attitude and intrinsic motivation together accounted for 31.7% of the variation in compliance with soft power (R^2 (model 1) =0.317), but when interaction is added, the model explained 2.1% more of the variation (R^2 (model 2) = 0.338). This increase in R^2 yields an F-ratio of 8.883 which is significant (p = .00).

As a moderator effect was confirmed, simple slopes analyses were conducted to probe the interaction. At high values of consumerist attitude, the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power is insignificant (b = -.019, t (588) = -.317, p = .75). However, at low values of consumerist attitude, there is a significant positive relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power (b = .219, t (588) = .39, $p < .001$).

Table 11

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Intrinsic Motivation on Hard Power

	Hard Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.101	32.942***
Consumerist Attitude	.527	.000		
Intrinsic motivation	.110	.011		
Model 2			.013	8.883**
Consumerist Attitude	-1.190	.041		
Intrinsic motivation	-.546	.015		
Consumerist Attitude x Intrinsic Motivation	.040	.003		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H4d: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between extrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term increases the R^2 by 0.004, making the R^2 of the new model 0.117, this increase yields an F-ratio of 2.489, which is not significant ($p = .12$).

Table 12

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Extrinsic Motivation on Hard Power

	Hard Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.113	38.271***
Consumerist Attitude	.493	.000		
Extrinsic motivation	.215	.000		
Model 2			.004	2.489
Consumerist Attitude	-.629	.379		
Extrinsic motivation	-.232	.421		
Consumerist Attitude x Extrinsic Motivation	.027	.115		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

H4e: Students' consumerist attitude will moderate the relationship between self-esteem and compliance with hard power.

Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis conducted did not confirm the hypothesis. Adding the interaction term increase R^2 by 0.004, making the R^2 of the new model 0.101, this increase yields an F-ratio of 2.928, which is not significant ($p = .089$).

Table 13

Interaction effect of Consumerist Attitude and Self-Esteem on Hard Power

	Hard Power			
	B	p	R^2	F change
Model 1			.097	32.054***
Consumerist Attitude	.532	.000		
Self-esteem	.051	.389.		
Model 2			.004	2.928
Consumerist Attitude	.525	.000		
Self-esteem	.053	.370		
Consumerist Attitude x Self-esteem	.033	.088		

* p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Summary

Not all the hypotheses were confirmed in the present study. While consumerist attitude was found to be positively associated with compliance with soft power bases, which was consistent with the hypothesis, its association with hard power bases was also found to be positive. This is inconsistent with the hypothesis which suggests a negative association between the two.

As for moderation effects, consumerist attitude was found to moderate the relationships between (a) concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power bases, (b) intrinsic motivation orientation and compliance with soft power bases, and (c) intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases. However, for the other personal factors including extrinsic motivation, self-esteem and desire for control, the present study has not provided adequate support to establish the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on the relationship between them and compliance with hard and soft power bases.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to show whether the relationship between students and teachers is affected by the prevailing student-as-customer culture. While anecdotal evidence has supported the negative influence of seeing students as customers on the teacher-student relationship, empirical research addressing the issue has been lacking. Consequently, while there seems to be consensus among educators that, for example, grade grubbing (i.e., students' begging or arguing for a higher grade) is increasingly common and student customers are disengaged, to what extent these are attributable to students' consumerist attitude per se has not been confirmed. Studies to date have discussed the changing student culture in the education sector in the context of marketization and student consumerism, but this cannot be taken to mean that all those changes are attributable to the rising consumerist culture. To fill this gap in the literature, the present study set out to explore the relationship between student consumerist attitudes and the teacher-student relationship by (a) revealing the association between students' consumerist attitude and compliance with teachers' power and (b) testing the moderation effect of students' consumerist attitude on the relationships between students' motivational and dispositional characteristics and their compliance with teachers' power. Using the Interpersonal Power Interaction Model (IPIM) as a framework, the present study has revealed mixed results concerning the association between students' consumerist orientation with hard and soft power bases, as well as its moderating effect on the relationship between a target's motivation and dispositional orientation and his/her compliance with hard and soft power bases.

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of the findings from the study and is divided into three major sections: (a) the association between consumerist attitude and compliance with soft power bases; (b) the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on the relationships between students' motivation and dispositional orientation and their compliance with teacher power and (c) the association between consumerist attitude and hard power bases. Before going into these hypotheses, however, a discussion of selected instruments used in this study will be given.

The Research Instruments

This section serves two purposes: (a) to discuss the reliability estimates, measured by Cronbach's alpha, of two of the primary variables in this study, and (b) to present a comparison of the power base measure (PMB) used in this study and the Interpersonal Power Inventory (IPI)(Raven, Schwarwald, & Koslowsky, 1998), both of which measure the power bases in the IPIM.

Reliability Estimates As revealed in the previous section (Table 1, p. 66), the reliability estimates of the instruments measuring two of the primary variables in the present study, the consumerist scale and the soft power base sub-factor of the PBM, fell into the range of 0.60 to 0.68, suggesting questionable internal consistency of these two measures. Admittedly, this level of alpha value marginally fell below the widely- recognized 0.7 level; however, Kline (1999) noted that when dealing with psychological constructs, values below 0.7 can realistically be expected because of the diversity of the constructs being measured. Therefore, the level of reliability estimates of the two measures, although less stringent than the widely-recognized level of 0.7, is considered acceptable (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). The small number of items in these two scales might be one of possible explanations for their low alpha estimates, considering the fact that the consumerist scale has only 5 items and the soft power sub-factor of the power base measure only has 8 items. It has been mentioned repeatedly in the literature that the value of the Cronbach's alpha is sensitive to a number of factors including the scale length, scale width, response centrality and departures from normality (Voss, Stem, & Fotopoulos, 1998). If the number of items in the scale is too small, it will reduce the reliability estimate. Swailes and McIntyre-Bhatty (2002) suggested that the effect on alpha is particularly noticeable when the number of items is below seven. Therefore, while the marginal reliability coefficients of these two measures warrant some attention, suggesting a possible need for improvement, this should not discredit the subsequent inferences made in this study.

Comparison between the power base measure (PBM) and the interpersonal power inventory (IPI). It should also be noted that although the present study was based on the Interpersonal Power Interaction Model (IPIM), the Interpersonal Power Inventory developed to operationalize the expanded power bases in the model was not used (Raven, et al., 1998); instead, the power base measure (Roach, 1989) was selected to measure teacher power, because of its relevance to the academic context. Since the PBM includes only five power bases in the original power taxonomy (French & Raven, 1959) rather than the expanded version comprising eleven bases, a comparison of the two measures would be helpful before proceeding to the discussion of the findings.

Information Power. One of the power bases included in the IPI but not the PBM is information power, which is operative when compliance of the target is based on the presentation of persuasive material or logic (Raven, et al., 1998). But it is interesting to note that even French and Raven did not agree whether information-based influence should be seen as a source of power (Raven, 2008). Focusing on the definition of power as potential influence, Raven argued that information is a form of influence and as such, informational influence, in its potential, must be called information power. However, the way power is measured following the IPIM makes information as a source of power questionable. In the IPI, respondents are requested to refer to a hypothetical situation in which they, *initially reluctant to do so*, comply with a request. They are then asked rate the likelihood of each of the power bases being responsible for that compliance. An influencer is said to possess a power if compliance is reported to be attributed to that particular power base. In this conceptualisation, since the possession of power carries the connotation of getting the target to do what he/she would otherwise be *reluctant to do,* one could argue whether an information-based, internalized change in behaviour, in Raven's term, 'socially independent change'(2008), can be attributed to the power of the influencer. In other words, it could be said that the kind of influence based on presenting information or logic is not compatible with the conceptualisation of power in the IPIM. Given the controversial nature of information as a source of power, it not being included in the PBM should not be a matter of concern.

Legitimate power. In the IPI, legitimate power was further divided into four forms including legitimate position, reciprocity, equity and dependence, all of which were seen as hard power bases except legitimate dependence, which was seen as a soft power base. Although this fine distinction was not included in the PBM, the fact that the current study only concerns the hard-soft distinction of power bases on a broader level renders this distinction not very relevant to the study. The only exception to this is legitimate dependence, which is considered a soft power base. Legitimate dependence is based on "a social responsibility norm which "obliges one person to assist an other who is in need of assistance" (Raven, et al., 1998, p. 310) and is sometimes called the power of the powerless. It could be argued that this power base may not be very applicable to the current study which examines a teacher-student relationship, since although it is not impossible, it is rare for students to conceive of a teacher being in a powerless situation and therefore feel obliged to make his/her job easier. As such, the lack of this finer distinction of legitimate dependence as a power base would not invalidate the PBM as a measure of teachers' power.

Personal and impersonal coercion and reward power. Another finer distinction introduced in the IPI was between personal and impersonal forms of reward and coercion. While the original taxonomy conceptualized reward and coercion power as impersonal ones, such as promise of reward and threat of dismissal, the expanded taxonomy also considered an agent's threat to disapprove or dislike the target for non-compliance as a personal form of coercion, and a promise to approve or like the target in return for compliance a personal form of reward. According to Raven, et al. (1998), such a distinction is warranted, since the implications of personal and impersonal forms of power may be different, and previous research has shown gender differences in the use of personal and impersonal forms of sanctions (Johnson, 1976, as cited in Raven, et al., 1998) Again, it should be noted that in the IPI, reward and coercion are usually seen as hard power bases, regardless of whether it is the personal or impersonal form. As the current study concerns the broader distinction between hard and soft power bases, the fine distinction between personal and impersonal forms of reward and coercion power, while not being included in PBM, is again not a cause of concern. On an added note, reward and coercion power are conceptualized as impersonal ones in the PBM, such as tangible benefits, better/worse grades and punishment.

From this comparison, it can be concluded that although the PBM does not take into consideration further elaboration of the power bases as the IPI does, it is still considered a valid measurement compatible with the IPIM which forms the framework of the present study.

Positive Correlation between Consumerist Attitude and Soft Power

It would appear intuitive that different power bases will be more salient in different types of relationships and influence situations. Specifically, in a study of the power sources of managers in downward and lateral relations in organisations, it was found that managers had more legitimate and coercive power over subordinates (in downward relations) than over peers (in lateral relations) (Yukl & Falbe, 1991), suggesting that the power sources available to the influencer can be quite different depending on the nature of the relationship, for example, whether it is a hierarchical one like teacher-student and supervisor-subordinate relationship or an equal one, like those between friends, co-workers and in many cultures, husband and wife.

One would expect that a buyer-seller relationship is more lateral, compared at least to the teacher-student relationship. Whereas a teacher has the authority conferred by his/her position as a teacher to exercise control, a seller does not have the same. In the absence of authority, a seller has to resort to other bases of power to exercise his/her influence. Indeed, the literature on personal selling has an abundance of research to highlight the importance of expert and referent power in influencing consumer attitudes and behaviour, including their purchase decision (Busch & Wilson, 1976; Taylor & Woodside, 1982; Woodside & Davenport, 1976, 1974). Weitz and Bradford (1999), in arguing for the changing nature of personal selling from making short-term sales to building long-term relationships, emphasized the importance of knowledge and interpersonal skills required of salespeople, which are presumably related to the expert and referent sources of power. In the marketing literature, Frazier and Summers (1984) developed taxonomy of six influence tactics in buyer-seller relationships in industrial markets, and found that the most often-used one is information exchange, which is associated with expert power. Threat and legalistic pleas, which are associated with coercive and legitimate power respectively, were used to very limited extent. While this taxonomy of influence tactics applies to business-to-business relationship, McFarland (2000), based on the work of Frazier and Summers (1984), developed a three-factor taxonomy of influence tactics which specifically assess the influence tactics used by salespeople in consumer markets. In the study, it was found that in person-to-person encounters, the buyers' trust in the salesperson, as well as his/her sales performance, is positively associated with the use of tactics associated with expert power (rational appeals) and referent power (emotional appeals) but negatively related to the use of threat, which is associated with coercive power. While these studies suggest that soft power is used more often and is seen to produce more desirable outcomes in buyer-seller relationships in both the business and consumer markets, it is even more enlightening to see that, within the literature on the use of power in buyer-seller relationship, the use of threats and legalistic pleas was more common in asymmetric power situations between the buyer and seller, in cases where, for example, limited supply of a product in the market creates an asymmetrical power situation in favour of the manufacturers (Fraser, Gill and Kale 1989; Kale 1986 as cited in McFarland, 2000).

The fact that students' consumerist orientation was found to be positively associated with their compliance with the soft power bases, including expert and referent power bases of teachers (Table 3) provides further evidence to what has been repeatedly suggested in the literature relating to student consumerism in an increasingly marketized higher education sector, namely that teacher-student relationship increasingly resembles that of a seller-buyer. The positive correlation suggests that as students become more consumerist nowadays, their compliance will be increasingly based on their affection toward and the credibility they see in the teacher, which, it should be highlighted, depends on the teacher's personal characteristics, but not his/her position as a teacher and the authority that goes with it. Indeed, in the leadership literature, expert power and referent power have been collectively taken to define one's charisma (Kudisch, Poteet, Dobbins, Rush, & Russell, 1995), which is often used to describe leaders who "by the force of their personal abilities are capable of having profound and extraordinary effects on followers" (House & Baetz,1979 p.399 as cited in Yorges, Weiss, & Strickland, 1999). Moreover, the two forms of power were commonly seen to "rest on a foundation of a good relationship between the student and the teacher" (Richmond, & McCroskey, 1984). The implication is that in an age of student consumerism, teachers find themselves increasingly reliant on building close relationship with students in order to influence them. This category of power requires a teacher to establish trust and positive relationship with students as a pretext to exercising influence. This emphasis on the relational dimension of teaching is a dominant theme in the field of instructional communication, which "centres on the study of communicative factors in the teaching and learning process" (Myers, 2010). The process is characterised by teachers and students mutually exchanging information and ideas to generate shared understanding, cultivate a positive relationship and foster simultaneous learning. One line of research in this domain, the study of teacher immediacy, makes explicit the principle that "people are drawn toward persons and things that they like, evaluate highly, and prefer" (Mehrabian, 1971, p.1 as cited in Beebe & Mottet, 2009). Accordingly, effective pedagogy involves a teacher establishing closeness/intimacy with students by verbal and non verbal means. Teacher are therefore encouraged to use immediacy cues including non-verbal ones such as forward body leans, head nods and eye contact (Anderson 1979, as cited in Beebe & Mottet, 2009) and verbal ones such as saying “we” rather than “me” and using students’ names (Gorham, 1998, as cited in Beebe & Mottet, 2009). Another line of research within the field of instructional communication on affinity also makes it explicit the value of teachers deliberately engaging in behaviour to seek affinity from students such as assuming equality, eliciting others’ disclosure and facilitating enjoyment. This line of research has offered abundant evidence to show that student liking toward the teacher engenders increased affinity with both the teacher and the subject matter, and is moderately correlated with student motivation to learn (Frymier, 1994).

It should not be denied that over the last few decades, research in instructional communication has offered solid support on the teachers’ building close relationship with students to build affect and positive learning outcomes. Students tend to respond more favourably to teachers who exhibited warmth-inducing behaviour (Best & Addison, 2000) and teachers who were perceived as caring were rated more positively in terms of how students liked the class and how much they thought they had learnt (Teven & McCroskey, 1997). Immediacy has also been found to result in increased students’ affection towards the teacher and the subject matter, increased compliance with teachers’ requests, as well as reduced resistance (Burroughs, 2007; Burroughs, Kearney, & Plax, 1989; Kearney, Plax, & Burroughs, 1991; Kearney, Plax, Smith, & Sorensen, 1988). In general, the effect of immediacy and affect on positive learning outcomes has been confirmed by such an overwhelming majority of studies that McCroskey and Richmond (1992) could conclude “at this point, only the morbidly sceptic among us is likely to question whether increased teacher immediacy has a positive effect on student learning" (p. 111).

It is also important to emphasise that while there is nothing wrong for teachers to establish physical and psychological closeness with their students through verbal or non-verbal immediacy and affinity-seeking strategies, the fact that this emphasis on teacher-student relationship is positively associated with consumerist attitude is worthy of attention. What this association suggests is that the more students see themselves as customers, the more teachers' influence is based on positive relationship and how much students like their teachers. The downside of this is that as higher education operates in an increasingly consumerist context, undue emphasis may be placed on relationship building; and in an age where students are seen as passive recipients in the process, cultivating this relationship becomes the responsibility of the teachers. The risk is that, to establish relationship with consumerist students who are unwilling to engage in learning, teachers may find themselves compelled to build relationship at the expense of the teaching and learning goals, which should be more fundamental in an effective teacher-student relationship. As Richmond (1990) put it, positive affect towards a teacher does not guarantee subsequent learning and from a classroom management perspective, gaining affect should always be secondary to improving students' cognitive learning. Kearney, et al (1988) cited research to show that those variables which promote student affect are not necessary the same as those which promote student on-task compliance in class and therefore their cognitive learning as follows:

> Recognizing that students' academic engagement time is the single best predictor of cognitive learning (Denham and Leiberman, 1980; McGarity and Butts, 1984; Rosenshine, 1979; Sameuls and Turnure, 1974; Woolfolk and

> McCune Nicholich, 1984), effective classroom managers are responsible for eliciting and maintaining students' on-task behaviours (Emmer and Evertson, 1981). Even though a number of theorists argue that positive student affect should promote on-task compliance and increased cognitive learning (Woolfolk and McCune-Nicholoich, 1984), several studies point to discrepancies in this presumed relationship. For instance, Peck and Veldman (1973) found that teachers who were rated the least interesting or pleasant were those who were most successful in promoting student cognitive learning. Similarly, Abrami, Perry and Levanthal (1982) reported that the most popular teachers were not those who helped students learn more.

Consequently, one cannot readily assume that those variables which promote student affect will also be associated with students' on-task compliance and cognitive learning. In other words, a teacher might be likeable and friendly but at the same time "off task" (Richmond, McCroskey, Kearney, & Plax, 1987).

While some instructional communication scholars have emphasized that establishing closeness and gaining affect from students, while essential in effective instruction, should not be seen as primary focus of teaching and learning (Mottet, Richmond, & McCroskey, 2006), in the consumerist literature, there has been ample of anecdotal evidence of teachers pandering to students by designing courses to make them more appealing as they compete with other instructors for students (Barker & Copp, 1997; Shepperd, 1997), bowing to a range of customer service demands that could affect teaching evaluations (Barker & Copp, 1997), relaxing standards (Arum & Roska, 2011) and allowing a kind of permissiveness that would encourage students to misbehave (Redding, 1997), all of which would naturally be counterproductive to the goal of teaching and learning. Concerns have been raised over the danger of a teacher losing credibility and authority in seeking to be liked by students, and therefore a loss of classroom control, which is considered an issue of utmost importance for any educational endeavour (Sibii, 2010). As Sibii (2001) put it, “pedagogy is a ‘messy’ enterprise and the best-laid plans often fail in the face of the context-dependent human idiosyncrasies that characterise the classroom interaction”(531). In a similar vein, in the context of a marketized higher education sector with increasing consumerist mentality among students, any well-intentioned pedagogical advice for teachers to establish positive relationship with students might be turned into teachers’ obsession with seeking likeability and popularity from students at the expense of students’ learning.

Although there is a paucity of empirical studies to suggest that students’ actual learning has suffered as teachers are pre-occupied with establishing positive relationship, previous research on affinity-seeking strategies used by teachers as well as their beliefs and behaviours in teaching ethics has offered some evidence in this regard. For the first area on affinity-seeking, it should be noted that a cursory glance at the 15 affinity-strategies reveals that some of those strategies do not appear compatible with what an ideal classroom environment conducive to learning in higher education requires. Indeed, the two strategies found to be most commonly-used by Chinese instructors in a university classroom (Myers & Zhong, 2004), conversational rule-keeping and facilitate enjoyment, require teachers to “do things students will enjoy by being entertaining and telling jokes and interesting stories” , and to “follow cultural rules for socializing with students by being polite and friendly” respectively (McCroskey & McCroskey, 1986). Using these strategies, it is believed that teachers can develop positive relationship with students, and subsequently based on it to exercise their influence to promote learning. On the other hand, a teacher using these strategies to seek affinity creates an entertaining, pleasurable classroom experience in which students and teachers socialize with each other, but this does not appear to be conducive to the deep learning characteristic of higher education, in which students "give of themselves, give themselves up to the material and experiences before them such that they can form their own authentic responses and interventions" (Barnett, 2011). The kind of learning in higher education involves what was described as "existential responsibility" on the part of the students (Gibbs, 2004, as cited in Barnett, 2011), and it involves them being challenged by rigorous intellectual work and high standards of performance, instead of being amused and entertained by jokes. In the same vein, Elshtian (1976, as cited in Titus, 2008) remarked that higher education is supposed to nurture "critical intelligence" which is associated with "perplexity, confusion, anxiety and doubt rather than nurtured through entertainment" and Slevin (2002, as cited in Titus 2008) defined learning in higher education as a commitment to "critically engaging the difficult", things which would "evoke an invitation to think and to get to work" (Titus, 2008). What these suggest is that the pleasure and ease that teachers have to instil in their classroom interaction with students to establish positive teacher-student relationship appears at odds with the hard work and rigour students are supposed to be subjected to in a higher education classroom. And in an increasingly consumerist context, with increasing emphasis on the use of soft power to exercise influence, there is no guarantee that the learning goal in a pedagogical relationship always takes priority over the relational goal.

Another study on the beliefs and behaviours of educators on teaching ethics (Tabachnick, Keith-Spiegel, & Pope, 1991) suggested the negative effect of an over-emphasis on using personal power to exercise influence. In this study, psychologists whose primary work setting was in an institution of higher education were presented 63 behaviours, based on which they were asked the degree to which they engaged in each of them and the degree to which they considered each of them to be ethical. The range of behaviours covered engagement in sexual relationships, harassment, discriminatory practice, unprepared teaching, falsifying information and unfair grading practices. The most apparent in the findings, in the researchers' words, was 'the importance of objective grading procedures versus the frailties of human nature' (513). A majority of educators did admit to having engaged in unethical behaviour for the sake of seeking affinity and popularity. For instance, over 20 % admitted giving easy courses to ensure popularity, 50% admitted to having allowed students' likability to influence grading and over 25 % using films to fill class time with enjoyable stuff without regard for education value. It should be highlighted that these categories of behaviour, which were all associated with the motive of relationship building, were among the most common ones reported by the respondents. Two thirds of the respondents, at the same time, believed such actions to be unquestionably unethical. This is quite clear from the findings of this study that, for many educators, building positive relationship has indeed overridden the primary goals of teaching and learning in their relationships with students, even if these educators are aware of the ethical implications of such behaviour.

Moderating effect of Consumerist Attitude

In an attempt to identify the antecedents of compliance with hard and soft power bases, Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) found the target's intrinsic motivation, desire for control and self-esteem to be positively related to compliance with soft power bases but negatively related to compliance with hard power bases. Also, one's extrinsic motivation and concern for appropriateness was found to be positively related to compliance with hard power bases. This study, seeing these antecedents as relatively stable aspects of personality, and consumerist attitude as situation-specific - a trait that students bring into their learning in an academic setting, hypothesized the moderating role of consumerist attitude on those relationships identified by these researchers. Results of the hierarchical multiple regression analyses revealed that consumerist attitude moderated the relationship between compliance with hard and soft power bases and two such motivational and dispositional factors: intrinsic motivation and concern for appropriateness.

Intrinsic motivation Based on previous research which showed that intrinsically motivated people are more autonomy-oriented (Deci & Ryan, 1985) and therefore drawn to tasks which involve challenge, enjoyment, personal enrichment and self-determination (Amabile, et al., 1994), Pierro, Cicero and Raven (2008) hypothesized a positive association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power bases, which is characterised by a high degree of “freedom that the target feels in choosing whether or not to comply” (p. 1923). Results of their study did not only confirm this hypothesis but further ascertain the negative association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases. The present study took this further to confirm the moderating role of students’ consumerist attitude on the positive relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power bases, revealing that the positive association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power bases was only found to be significant when a students’ consumerist attitude was at a low level (Table 6). At higher values of students’ consumerist attitude, the association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with soft power became insignificant. This suggests that intrinsic motivation orientation only explains compliance with soft power when a student is not very consumerist. If a student is highly consumerist, however, his/her intrinsic motivation may no longer be a factor that explains his/her to the decision to comply with soft power bases.

As for the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases, it is interesting to point out that although Pierro, et al (2008) had not initially hypothesized it, nor did they offer any theoretical explanation, they did find the two factors, intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power, to be significantly negatively correlated. Given the autonomy-oriented nature of those who are intrinsically-motivated (Deci & Ryan, 1985), it could be argued that their compliance would less likely be based on hard power bases, which involves a sense of obligation and "oughtness" on the part of the target of influence (Pierro, et al., 2008). Therefore, the negative association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases identified in Pierro, et al (2008) seems to be consistent with what had been previously suggested about the nature of intrinsically-motivated individuals and hard power bases. In the present study, however, while a moderating effect of consumerist attitude on the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power was confirmed (Table 11), it should be highlighted that at a low level of consumerist attitude, intrinsic motivation was significantly and positively, rather than negatively, associated with one's compliance with hard power bases. It was only at a high level of consumerist attitude that a negative association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases was found, although the relationship was not statistically significant. At the first glance, it seems difficult to reconcile the conflicting results between this study and the one by Pierro, et al. (2008). As mentioned, intrinsically-motivated people are driven more by a "passionate interest in their work, a deep level of enjoyment and involvement in what they do" than the external inducements such as rewards or recognition or "the dictates of other people" (Amabile et al., 1994). Consequently, with respect to power bases, intrinsically-motivated individuals would logically be less inclined to base their compliance on hard power bases, which are by definition more controlling and therefore give the target less freedom to decide whether to accept the influence or not. However, as can be revealed in the following paragraphs, these may not be generalized to the present study, owing to the difference in cultural background between the subjects in this and those in the previous ones.

In many conceptualisations of intrinsic motivation, autonomy has been seen as one of its key determinants. Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), for example, postulates that the satisfaction of the needs of competence and relatedness contributes to intrinsic motivation only if the need of autonomy is also sufficiently satisfied. In a similar vein, the flow theory (Csiksentmihalyi, 1990) postulates that individuals who develop an "autotelic personality", in which the teleonomy of the self dominates other motivations, are likely to experience flow – a state of operation in which a person performing an activity is fully immersed in a feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and enjoyment in the process of the activity. The constructs of autotelic personality in the flow theory and person with a high-autonomy orientation in the self-determination theory are very similar, and both fundamentally describe a person with a high level of intrinsic motivation. However, the universality of the need of autonomy has been criticised by cross-cultural researchers. Moneta (2004), in arguing that Chinese students from a collectivist culture experienced the highest level of intrinsic motivation in conditions which were different from what has been suggested by the flow theory, one that was characterised by high-challenge and high skill, cited numerous studies which challenged the universality of the need of autonomy. For example, experienced freedom was less strongly correlated with subjective well-being in collectivist cultures relative to individualist cultures (Oishi et al, 1991, as cited in Moneta 2004), and the provision of choice in experimental tasks has a stronger motivational effect on Anglo-Saxon participants than on Asian participants (Iyengar and Lepper 1999, as cited in Moneta 2004).

It has become quite clear from the previous cross-cultural research that the need for autonomy appears generally less salient in explaining intrinsic motivation of people from a collectivist culture, and this has important implications to the present study. Subjects in this study are Chinese students in Hong Kong, whose culture has commonly been assessed, based on Hofstede's categorization (1980), as being collectivist. It could therefore be argued that the need for autonomy, even among those intrinsically-motivated students in this study, might not be very strong. Therefore, the degree of freedom they feel they have in making the decision to comply or not may not be an important consideration in responding to a teacher's influence attempt. Consequently, while one could predict that, based on the conceptualisations of intrinsic motivation and hard power bases, intrinsically-motivated individuals are generally less likely to comply with the controlling form of hard power bases because of their autonomy-oriented nature, this reasoning seems to be less valid for students from collectivistic culture, as in the case of this present study. This may explain why the negative association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases was not found in the present study.

Another possible explanation related to cultural differences is related to the perception of power difference. Hofstede identified power distance as one of the four fundamental dimensions of culture and defined it as "the extent to which the less powerful persons in a society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal".

(1986, p. 307) While egalitarian values are more strongly supported in low power-distance cultures, in high power-distance cultures, authority figures are valued and obeyed, and parents and teachers are expected to tell young people what they should do. It could therefore be argued that in these cultures, when obedience and respect for authority figures have been internalised as core cultural values, and vertical practices such as deference to authority and following traditional rules might be strongly endorsed, complying with a teacher based on his/her authority in the hierarchy might be regarded as a kind of autonomous, rather than controlled motivation. Empirical evidence for this was offered by Thijs (2011), in a comparison of the achievement motivation between Turkish- and Moroccan- Dutch (high-power distance) versus Dutch students (low-power distance) in the Netherlands. In this study, teacher-oriented motivation was found to be positively associated with intrinsic motivation among students from the high-power distance culture but not the low-power distance culture, suggesting that teacher-oriented motivation, which is generally associated with the controlled form of extrinsic motivation, could be seen as autonomous in a power distant culture. Moreover, a comparative study of tutor-student role relations in Britain and China did reveal that Chinese respondents did not only perceive greater power differential but demonstrate a higher degree of acceptance towards it (Spencer-Oatey, 1997). Referring to the current study, as Hong Kong has been described as a high-power distance culture (Hofstede, 1980), it could be argued that students' compliance with legitimate power, stemming from the target's acceptance of the right of the influence agent to assert power (Raven, et al., 1998), could be compatible with their intrinsic motivation orientation even if this form of power is seen as a hard power base. This argument appears even more plausible in view of the fact that the positive association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases is only significant when students' consumerist attitude is at a low value and that the relationship between the two actually became negative at high levels of consumerist attitude. For the more consumerist students, their perception of teacher-student relationship resembles that of a buyer-seller relationship, which is considered more equal and less hierarchical. This means that their acceptance towards power distance in the teacher-student relationship and deference to authority would be lower. Consequently, compliance attributed to legitimacy among these consumerist students may be less compatible with students' intrinsic motivation orientation when compared to the same among the less consumerist students.

For fear of appearing having over-simplified the situation, it should be made clear that the explanation offered regarding the association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power bases in the present study is speculative. With adherence to Confucian values and traditional Chinese customs, Hong Kong appears collectivist in culture with a high power distance. However, it is also justifiable to argue that its colonial past and its development into a capitalist economy out of western influence might render it less collectivist and more individualistic in culture. Hence, any conclusions made on whether Hong Kong is collectivist or individualistic in cultural orientation and whether it is a power distant culture are at best tentative. Indeed, even though Chinese-majority societies like Hong Kong have usually been assumed to be collectivist, previous research on collectivism and individualism has produced inconsistent results. While a number of studies pointed to the low levels of individualism, group orientation and high levels of social needs among subjects in Hong Kong, other studies identified individualistic orientation of Hong Kong Chinese in job expectations and organisations as well as more significant individual conflict as opposed to collective conflicts (Wong, 2001). Also, whether, for instance, a score of

25 on individualism according to the Hofstede's model (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010) renders Hong Kong collectivist enough to make the autonomous orientation irrelevant to the explanation of intrinsic motivation is an empirical question to be tested. The same applies to power distance. Does a score of 68 make Hong Kong power-distant enough to turn deference to legitimacy an internalised value among students, such that they are intrinsically motivated to base their compliance on legitimacy power? In conclusion, therefore, while the explanation offered for the positive association between intrinsic motivation and compliance with hard power seems to be laudable, particularly when such a relationship no longer holds at a high level of consumerist attitude, further research is needed to ascertain the cultural orientation of students in Hong Kong and the effect it might have on the applicability of the measures of motivation orientation.

Concern for Appropriateness. Apart from the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with both soft and hard power bases, consumerist attitude was also found to moderate the positive relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power bases in the present study (Table 4). Similar to the case of intrinsic motivation, the predictive relationship between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power was found to be significant only at a low level of consumerist attitude. At higher levels of consumerist attitude, concern for appropriateness ceased to explain students' compliance with soft power bases.

Pierro, et al. (2008) hypothesized and confirmed a positive association between concern for appropriateness and compliance with hard bases of power. Concern for appropriateness is associated with traits such as shyness, modesty and neutrality, and people who demonstrate high concern for appropriateness “describe their actions as an inducement of others and a conforming action, and show susceptibility to peer pressure” (p. 1931). Based on this, it could be deduced that the readiness of people high on concern for appropriateness to conform would be translated to their tendency to comply with hard power bases. While the hypothesis was confirmed in their study, it is interesting to note that they also found a negative association between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power bases which was not initially hypothesized nor subsequently explained. The present study also identified an association between the two but in the opposite direction, and a closer examination of the development of concern for appropriateness as a psychometric construct would reveal that this positive association is theoretically more justifiable.

Concern for Appropriateness (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984), which purports to measure people’s tendencies to comply with social demand characteristics of the situation, was developed from the larger self-monitoring scale (Snyder, 1974, as cited in Lennox & Wolfe, 1984), which also measured patterns of individual differences in the extent to which people regulate their self-presentation by tailoring their actions in accordance with immediate situational cues. The two differ in the sense that the Concern for Appropriateness scale measures such a tendency associated with social anxiety, while the self-monitoring scale are associated with both social anxiety and effective social interaction. According to Lennox and Wolfe (1984), since social anxiety and effective social interaction are theoretically incompatible, the inclusion of both constructs in the self-monitoring scale “rendered the scale multidimensional, with sub-factors competing with one another, defying the interpretation of the total score from the scale” (p. 1350). Emphasising social anxiety as the underlying motivation for behavioural variability, later work (Wolfe & Lennox, 1986) proposed that the concern for appropriateness scale offered empirical evidence to Arkin's protective self-presentation style, which refers to the tendency of people complying with situational demand characteristics out of a fear of negative evaluation and a desire to avoid social disapproval (p. 1981). Scores from the Concern of Appropriateness scale were found to be positively associated with measures of social anxiety, shyness, neuroticism and importance of social identity, but negatively correlated with measures of self-esteem and individuation (Cutler & Wolfe, 1985). More importantly, scores of the scale was found to be indicative of self-reported yielding to peer pressure (Wolfe, Welch, Lennox, & Cutler, 1985) and a valid measure of tendencies to conform (Johnson, 1989). According to Cialdini and Goldstein (2004), people often engage in conscious and deliberate attempts to gain the social approval of others and to build rewarding relationships with them through conformity. It follows that people high on concern for appropriateness, with a stronger need for affiliation, would show a stronger tendency to conform. The implication is that, by definition, people who demonstrate high concern for appropriateness have a strong desire to seek acceptance, approval and popularity and therefore tend to conform to environmental clues and social demands anyway, whether it is an overt request for compliance initiated by another person, or it is a covert form of influence when people conform to social pressure. In distinguishing referent power base from impersonal coercion (e.g. threat of ridicule or expulsion) and impersonal reward (e.g. promise of praise for conformity), French and Raven (1959) made it clear that referent power, not the other two, is operative when a person comply to avoid discomfort or gain satisfaction by conformity based on identification, regardless of the responses of the influence agent. Taken together, it could be argued that people high on concern for appropriateness, because of their strong desire to seek social approval and affiliation from the others, would tend to be more compliant, regardless of the responses of the influence target.

This, according to the formulation of social power bases, can be taken to mean their tendency to comply based on referent power. Cast in this light, the positive association between concern for appropriateness and compliance with soft power bases is theoretically justifiable.

As a sum-up of this section, a moderating effect of consumerist attitude was evident on the relationship between compliance with soft power and intrinsic motivation orientation and concern for appropriateness, and the relationship between compliance with hard power and intrinsic motivation. In all cases, when students are less consumerist, their motivation and dispositional orientations can predict their compliance with the power bases. But as students become more consumerist, the predictive power of these factors on one's compliance would be lost. One could claim that, based on the results of this study, the consumerist culture in an increasingly marketized higher education sector does influence the usual power dynamics in the teacher-student relationship. The implication is that, in an age of student consumerism, teachers may have to rethink the way they interact with and exercise their influence on students.

Limited moderation effects identified

In the present study, taking a significance level of $p < .05$, moderating effect of consumerist attitude was established in only three out of the ten relationships (five motivational and dispositional orientations x compliance with soft and hard power bases). Where interaction effect was detected, the ΔR^2 values were all very small, ranging from 0.7% to 2.1%, showing weak moderating effects of consumerist attitude on these relationships. A skeptical deduction would point to the lack of solid evidence to support the effect of consumerist attitude on teacher-student relationship. On the other hand, the widely-recognized difficulty of detecting interactions and moderator effects in field studies such as the present one could offer some explanations for this apparent lack of support for the hypotheses. McClelland and Judd (1993) noted that while experimentalists frequently detect interaction effects between variables, researchers doing field works have found moderator effects to be extremely difficult to establish despite frequently compelling theoretical reasons for expecting moderator effects. Even when nonoptimal designs successfully detect an interaction effect, the reduction in variation attributable to adding the interaction term to the additive model is usually so low that researchers were advised to see even those explaining as little as 1% of the total variance (Evans, 1985, as cited in McClelland & Judd, 1993). As a matter of fact, it was reported that in the social science literature, field study interactions typically account for about 1% -3% of the variance (Champoux and Peters, 1987, as cited in McClelland & Judd, 1993). In view of what has been said in the literature, the moderating effects established in this study, although limited, should be seen as some support to the hypothesized effects of consumerist attitude on teacher-student relationship.

Positive Association between Consumerist Attitude and Hard Power

The present study hypothesized a negative association between consumerist attitude and compliance with hard power bases, based on previous studies which highlighted (a) a general preference for soft over hard approaches to exercise influence not only in work (Schwarzwald & Koslowsky, 2006) but also in academic settings (Burroughs et al., 1989; Kearney et al., 1991; Paulsel & Chory-Assad, 2004; Plax, Kearney, & Tucker, 1986); (b) the unwillingness of consumerist students to accept hard work and challenge in the learning process (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002; Titus, 2008; Trout, 1997) and (c) the overt, punitive and heavy-handed nature of hard power bases (Raven, 2008). It would appear that consumerist students, who expect "to be served only in ways they find pleasing" (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002), will not accept any challenges from teachers, let alone attempts to influence them following a hard and heavy-handed approach. However, data from this study revealed a positive, rather than a negative association between the two which deserves some further analysis (Table 3). A closer examination of the hard-soft distinction between the power bases and the characteristics of student consumerist attitude in the following paragraphs might shed some light on the apparent contradiction between the hypothesis and the findings revealed by the present study.

To commence with, a brief summary of the development of the power taxonomy would be useful. In the original formulation (French & Raven, 1959), the power taxonomy comprised only five power bases : legitimate, expert, reward, coercion and referent. As mentioned, in a later elaboration in 1965, informational power was added, giving the typology six power bases and further differentiations were made with the introduction of the IPIM (Raven, et al., 1998). Despite these subsequent revisions to the original taxonomy, the hard-soft distinction between the power bases still remain, with coercion, reward and legitimate power largely seen as 'hard bases' – power bases that are more overt, punitive and heavy-handed, and referent, expert and information seen as 'soft bases' – those which are subtle, positive and non-coercive. The two bases were also said to differ in the amount of freedom that the target feels in choosing whether or not to comply (Pierro, et al., 2008). Empirical support for this hard-soft distinction has been abundant, and a summary of selected studies using the taxonomy to study several types of hierarchical relationships was given by Erchul, Raven & Ray

(2001). What has been highlighted in the summary is that all studies using the taxonomy presented a strong two-factor solution which explained 60% variance using principal components analyses or factor analytic techniques, showing the robustness of the two-factor structure of the taxonomy.

It should be noted, however, that while a two-factor structure was consistently found in studies using the taxonomy, not all studies replicated the exact pattern. For instance, legitimate position power shifted from hard to soft in studying psychologists-teachers relationship in consulting situations (Erchul, Raven, & Ray, 2001; Erchul, Raven, & Wichard, 2001). Greater differentiation was also found between expert and information in doctor-patient relationships, and greater differentiation between impersonal reward and impersonal coercion in husband and wives relationships (Raven, et al., 1998) It would seem that the factor structure of the power taxonomy could vary depending on the interpersonal influence and power situations. Raven et al. (1998) also called on readers using the power taxonomy to keep in mind the wording of the questionnaire in interpreting the data. Following an attribution approach in measuring power of the agent, the questionnaire presents a hypothetical situation in which compliance in fact did occur and then asks for a rating of the likelihood of each of the power bases being responsible for the compliance. In this way, the power bases are distinguishable in terms of their effectiveness in causing compliance. But it should be noted that this is only one of the many ways to classify the different power bases, which are also distinguishable in other ways such as the importance of surveillance in relying on a certain power base (Raven, 1993) and subsequent liking or disliking for the influence agent. (Raven, 2008).

In view of the fluidity of the factor structure of the power taxonomy, it is interesting to note that while certain power bases such as coercion has always been classified as a hard base and referent, expert and information has always be casted as soft in all studies using the taxonomy, the classification of reward power has been less consistent. In many studies, items in the reward power loaded on hard bases, together with coercion and legitimate power (Elias & Mace, 2005; Koslowsky, Schwarwald, & Ashuri, 2001; Pierro, Kruglanski, & Raven, 2012; Yukl & Falbe, 1991). In some other studies, however, the contrary was identified. For example, contingent reward behaviour by the supervisors was found to be positively associated with subordinates' job satisfaction and performance (Williams & Podsakoff, 1988). Hinkin & Schriesheim (1994) also concluded that supervisors' contingent reward behaviour enhanced expert and referent power to a large magnitude, and was negatively correlated with coercive power. It is interesting to note that, in the same study, non-contingent reward behaviour was found to be unrelated to any of the power bases. In a similar vein, in the academic setting, Elias & Mace (2005) also cited a study to show that reward power would lose its impact if used frequently as a result of the target interpreting such manipulations as bribery attempts on the part of the power holder. All these suggest a possible explanation of the inconsistent categorisation of reward power in previous studies; that is, whether reward power is perceived as hard or soft depends on the manner it is implemented.

Apart from the fluidity of the structure of the power bases, the nature of consumerist students may also explain the apparent contradiction in the association. Research linking student consumerism and grade emphasis has shown that student customers believed that a grade, not learning, is the measurement of academic success, as they view education as something tangible, something that can be possessed. Therefore, these students are oriented towards documents that represent a particular qualification that will have a value on the market (White, 2006). The desire for higher grades unaccompanied by the same desire for learning has been one of the dominant themes in the literature on student consumerism (Baer, 2011; Delucchi & Smith, 1997; Martin, 2007; White, 2006), and is manifested by students choosing to take a course that would give them an A even if they learn nothing and believing that high grades should come as a result of paying tuition (Delucchi & Korgen, 2002), arguing for grade with the refrain "I'm paying for the course" (Bella, 1999), insisting that the professors acquiesce to their unreasonable demands and expecting special accommodations for faculty (Baer, 2011), and evaluating the teachers more highly when they were given a higher grade (Powell, 1977). Moreover, when unhappy about their grades, students tend to view grading as prone to the teachers' own standards, which are potentially subjective and inconsistent (White, 2006).

The student-customers' concern over grades, together with their belief that the grading process is subjective, one in which teachers can exercise their discretion to mark according to not just performance but students' effort and circumstances, has important implication on their compliance with teacher power. Raven et al. (1998), in clarifying the concept of power in the IPIM, stipulated two conditions for a person to have power, using reward and coercion as examples: (a) the target must feel the influencer would utilise this power source contingent on compliance and (b) the target is sufficiently concerned about having the reward / avoiding the punishment. Accordingly, a teacher who is judged as having the ability to fail a student does not necessarily possess coercive power. A teacher would be perceived as having coercive power available to him or her only if the students believe that he/she would utilise this power and they are concerned about failing a course. Therefore, consumerist students, even if they perceive reward and coercion as controlling and punitive, would tend to comply with these hard bases, driven by their concern over grades. In other words, it could be argued that the among consumerist students, their grade emphasis would be translated into their acquiescence to the hard power bases despite the unwelcoming nature of these bases, and this explains the positive association between consumerist attitude and compliance with hard power bases.

Conclusion, limitations and implications

The current literature on the changing nature of teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism has mostly pointed to a gloomy picture, in which a close and rich apprenticeship between a caring teacher and a motivated student, characterized by meaningful exchanges and intellectual interactions, is transformed into a business transaction between an academic vendor and a student buyer, in which the former offers something comfortable and enjoyable rather than intellectual to ensure the satisfaction of the latter, whose primary goal is not to learn but to secure some credentials with the minimum of effort (Cooper, 2004; Gumport, 2000; Pritchard, 2005; Riesman, 1998a)

As much of what has been said about these changes has either been anecdotal in nature (e.g., Bella, 1999), or relied on simple descriptive findings that have been generalized to college students and "student culture" broadly (e.g., Delucchi & Korgen, 2002), several questions arise: are all students equally consumerist in their orientation in an age of student consumerism? Are all those changes in teacher-student relationship as described in the literature attributable to student consumerism but not to other contextual factors in higher education, such as the expanding student population? It is against this background that this study sets out to empirically ascertain the link between student consumerism and teacher-student relationship by examining their correlations and identifying the moderating effect of student consumerist attitude on teacher-student relationship. Seeing teacher-student relationship as an ongoing communication process in which teachers and students constantly negotiate to construct power in their interactions, this study focuses on teacher power – a teacher’s potential to influence students – measured by students’ attribution of compliance. If students attribute their compliance based on a teacher's expertise, this teacher is said to possess expert power. If students attribute their compliance based on a teacher's position, the teacher is said to have legitimate power. Two sets of hypotheses were tested: the first set hypothesized that students' consumerist attitude would be positively associated with soft power and negatively associated with hard power bases, suggesting that teachers would have more soft power and less hard power in an age of student consumerism, and the second set hypothesized that students' consumerist attitude would moderate the relationship between students' motivational and dispositional orientations and their compliance with hard and soft power bases, suggesting that consumerist attitude, a situation-specific state of mind that a student brings into the academic setting, would alter the student's compliance with teacher power as predicted by his/her more enduring personal traits. For example, while a student who has high concern for appropriateness is usually compliant with hard power bases, the fact that he / she is also highly consumerist in attitude as a student may reduce his/her compliance with the same power bases.

Summary of key findings

Statistical analysis on the data collected from a survey using SPSS 16 confirmed some, but not all of the hypotheses. A positive correlation was found between consumerist attitude and soft power bases as hypothesized, but a positive correlation was also found between consumerist attitude and hard power bases, which is contrary to the hypothesis. The positive correlation between consumerist attitude and soft power bases can be interpreted as a sign that as students become more consumerist, teacher-student relationship increasingly resembles that between a buyer and a seller, changing from an inherently hierarchical to a more equal one. The higher emphasis on soft power is not only a typical feature of a buyer-seller relationship but also consonant with the prevailing discourse about positive teacher-student relationship in instructional communication – one which stresses the relational dimension over the learning dimension of it (Hargreaves, 1994). As argued in the discussion, while there is nothing wrong with establishing a positive teacher-student relationship as a power base, the fact that this emphasis is positively associated with student consumerist attitude is a cause for concern. The potential downside is that in an age of student consumerism, the relationship agenda might be pushed too far, to the extent that seeking affinity from students might take priority over teaching and learning which are considered primary goals in a pedagogical relationship. As for the association between consumerist attitude and hard power bases, the negative correlation between the two identified in the present study goes contrary to what has been hypothesized. In view of the nature of consumerist students who expect only to be pleased and entertained, the most logical deduction is that they would be the least prepared to take the slightest discomfort from teachers, let alone the controlling, punitive form of hard power bases. However, data from the present study suggests the contrary, showing an increasing compliance with hard power bases on the part of students as they become more consumerist, suggesting that teachers actually have more hard power in an age of student consumerism. Possible explanations for this contradiction include the fluidity of the factor structure of the PBM, as well as the particularly strong emphasis on grades of consumerist students, which may have caused their deference to the reward and coercive power of teachers. In other words, it may be the case that even though consumerist students dislike the heavy-handed, punitive nature of the hard power bases, when faced with the promise of reward or threat of punishment, they would still comply with a teacher's request, driven by their concern over grades.

Taken together, from the positive correlations of consumerist attitude with both the hard and soft power bases, one can actually see teachers having more power from both bases. This implies that in an age of increasing student consumerism, teachers actually are in a more influential position in a teacher-student relationship, which is a direct opposite of what is commonly claimed in the literature on student consumerism. The implication of this will be discussed in the following subsection.

Apart from the correlations between consumerist attitude and teacher power, the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on the relationships between students' motivation and dispositional orientations and teacher power have also been examined with an aim to offer further empirical support to the link between student consumerist attitude and teacher-student relationship. Based on Interpersonal Power Interaction Model (IPIM), this study examined if students' consumerist attitude would moderate the relationship between the five motivational and dispositional factors of the students and their compliance with soft and hard power bases: intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation, concern for appropriateness, desire for control, and self-esteem. Moderating effect was established only in three out of the ten relationships: consumerist attitude was found to moderate the relationship between intrinsic motivation and compliance with both hard and soft power bases, as well as the relationship between concern for appropriateness and soft power bases. In all cases, the personality variables in question predicted compliance with teacher power when consumerist attitude was at a low level, but when students' consumerist attitude was at a high level, the predictive power of the personality factors in question could be no longer established. This can be taken to suggest the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on teacher-student relationship. Although moderating effect was only identified to a very limited extent, given the widely-recognized difficulty in establishing moderation effect via statistical means for fieldwork research, this study concludes that the results do suggest a meaningful association between consumerist attitude and teacher-student relationship.

Limitations of the study

Despite caution exercised in each and every stage of the study from the initial design to the conduct and eventually the analysis of the data, this research is not free from limitations. First of all, the study is confined to a single community college in Hong Kong which limits the generalisability of the research conclusions to other institutions of higher education, particularly students from other community colleges in Hong Kong. Institutional culture and other idiosyncrasies associated with different community colleges might also play a role in shaping teacher-student relationship which have not been taken into consideration in this study. Nevertheless, since the present study does not examine teacher-student relationship in a consumerist culture per se, but rather such changes in relation to the consumerist orientation on an individual level, focusing on one single community college, which is also one of the leading colleges with the highest number of students according to the Information Portal for Accredited Post-secondary Programmes (IPASS) (HKSAR Government, 2014), does not reduce the representativeness of the sample.

The second limitation is related to the inherent weaknesses associated with a survey design. First of all, the present study is liable to the criticism of method variance – a kind of variance that is attributable to the measurement method rather than to the construct of interest. (Podsakoff, MacKensie, Jeong-Yeong, & Podsakoff, 2003, p.

879). Specifically, all the constructs in the present study were measured using the same method, that is, self-report of respondents using attitude and personality inventories, with largely the same response format, which might result in shared method variance - a systematic effect exerted on the observed associations between the measures attributable to the use of common measurement methods rather than the genuine relationships between the constructs. One example of bias as a result of this shared method variance, one that was acknowledged by Raven et al. (1998) in the developing the Interpersonal Power Inventory (IPI), a measure to operationalise the power taxonomy following an attribution approach, similar to the power base measure (PBM), is social desirability – the tendency of people to present themselves favourably, regardless of their true feelings about an issue or topic. As the IPI follows an attribution approach to the measurement of power, asking respondents to explain the likelihood of different power bases as a cause of their compliance in a hypothetical situation, responses might be biased by self-serving needs when, for example, respondents feel that they cannot admit the fact that their compliance was as a matter of fact due to the fear of punishment.

Another weakness inherent to cross-sectional survey design, one which has been echoed repeatedly in research textbooks, is related to its limited capacity in making causal inferences between variables. While the present study aims to determine whether teacher-student relationship has been affected in the student-consumerist culture through exploring the association between consumerist attitude and teachers' power, as well as establishing the moderating effect of consumerist attitude on the relationships between student characteristics and teachers' power, it should be highlighted that while confirming these relationships does offer some evidence to the changing teacher-student relationship in a consumerist culture, this is different from saying that student-consumerist culture has caused the teacher-student relationship to change. To establish such a cause-effect relationship would require a true experiment design to control for all possible extraneous factors (Cross & Gabriella, 2004), such as institutional culture, policies, teachers' dispositional orientation, all of which have been shown to potentially affect teacher-student relationship. As a matter of fact, the potential factors that affect teacher-student relationship is so wide-ranging that to claim control of all extraneous factors in any study seems to be a fallacy.

Despite these criticisms against cross-sectional surveys, this research design is deemed the most appropriate for the present study, since for most of the constructs involved, such as consumerist attitude, the motivational orientation, as well as dispositional orientation of the participants, experimental manipulation is unfeasible. Moreover, arrangements were put in place to minimize the potential confounding effect of this design on the validity of the research conclusions following the advice of Hutchinson (2004) on the proper conduct of a survey. These include having in place the Interpersonal Power Interactional Model (IPIM) as the guiding conceptual framework for the study, having a sample representative of the College population, the inclusion of widely-cited scales with proven reliability and validity in the survey, as well as following stringent data analysis procedures commonly employed in similar studies. As such, while the use of cross-sectional survey design for the present study does call for caution in the interpretation of results, it is considered robust enough considering the constraints surrounding the research process.

The third limitation has to do with the quantitative nature of the study which makes it unavoidably reductionist in nature. In an attempt to rely on statistical associations to ascertain the widely cited claim based on anecdotal evidence that teacher-student relationship has changed in an age of student consumerism, this study focused only on one aspect of the multifaceted concept of teacher-student relationship - teacher's power - measured through students' attribution for compliance. This admittedly has reduced the complexities of teacher-student relationship, which also involves, among other things, communication, closeness, faith and trust, conflict and resolution, into a mechanistic influence process. In doing so, this study has depersonalized teacher-student relationship, setting aside its humanitarian nature, characterized by individual intentions, freedom and choice, and inner experience of both dyads. In addition, despite defining teacher-student relationship from a communication approach, taking into account students' attribution in measuring teacher power, this study, in focusing on teacher power but not student power, conceptualizes the teacher-student relationship as a one-way process only, ignoring the fact that students also exercise influence on teachers using various power bases. In doing so, the study has not fully taken account of the dyadic nature of the relationship.

The loss of potential richness in the study of teacher-student relationship notwithstanding, this study has met its objective of offering empirical evidence to the literature on teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism, which has been generally dominated by qualitative studies based on personal anecdotes. Having identified regular patterns of associations between student consumerist attitude and teacher-student relationship, the scene is now set for further investigations of, for example, how such patterns are manifested in everyday life interactions or whether and where irregularities in the patterns of association appear.

Implications for teaching

One clear cause of concern revealed from the findings of this study is the positive association between students' consumerist attitude and soft power bases. The argument in this study is that in an age of student consumerism, teachers may feel compelled to push the relationship agenda too far, to the extent that it is accorded priority over students' cognitive and intellectual development, which is traditionally believed to be primary goals of an effective teacher-student relationship. Studies on student consumerism and teaching ethics have been cited to provide some support to the argument. On the other hand, those who argue for the primacy of relational goals over learning goals in a teacher-student relationship assume that as long as the teacher establishes relationship with students characterized by care and comfort, learning will naturally take place. This assumption has also been supported by numerous studies linking teacher immediacy and affinity-seeking strategies with students' cognitive and affective learning. It thus appears that evidence from different areas of research has pointed to divergent conclusions regarding the importance of the two dimensions of teacher-student relationship. To address the issue, perhaps more elaboration on how the two dimensions of teacher-student relationship – the relational and learning – contribute to students' development is warranted.

Another line of discussion concerns the desired power difference between teachers and students. Although not explicitly stated, the dominant discourse favors a teacher-student relationship that is egalitarian in nature instead of the traditional conception which is marked by hierarchy. The claim is that if teachers attune to the feelings of a classroom as a social place where students are individuals and mix with teachers like their *peers*, creating a positive teacher-student relationship resembling *friendship*, students will be willing to ask questions, to raise different opinions, and to disclose their lack of understanding rather than hide it from their teacher (Barry, 1999). Several questions arise from this conception of positive teacher-student relationship: is it really feasible to remove the inherent hierarchical structure in a teacher-student relationship, given the inevitable role of the teacher to evaluate students' performance and monitor standards (Leki, 2006)? And if so, is an egalitarian relationship in which the teacher constantly seeks affection from students necessarily conducive to the intellectual development of students? How can teachers create a supportive environment with a minimal of anxiety and a maximum of enjoyment (Barry, 1999) but at the same time challenge students with a rigorous learning process and high standards? As mentioned by Thao (2004), it appears that teachers nowadays are given expanded responsibilities: not only do they have to provide learning settings to enhance cognitive development and intellectual achievement, but they also have to cater to the non-intellectual factors of the pedagogical relationship. Skeptics see this as overstretching the responsibilities of the teacher and diminishing the responsibilities of the learner (Silcock, 1993), but a more proactive approach might be to work out a model of teacher-student relationship characterized by affinity from both sides of the dyad without compromising the required rigor in the teaching and learning process.

The brighter side of the story suggested by the findings in this study is that teachers do retain their power to influence students even though students have become more consumerist. Under the fear of student complaints and litigation, as well as the pressures from performance indicators and league tables which characterize the higher education sector in a consumerist regime, most academics have lamented the consequential reduction of their power to define the curriculum, determine acceptable standards of student achievement and decide on appropriate pedagogic strategies (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005). In this area of literature, as well as related areas on how recent reforms on higher education “deprofessionalise” teachers by reducing their autonomy (Milliken, 2004), teachers are casted in a reactive position. For instance, Cushman (2003), in explaining why it would be so difficult to curb grade inflation in America higher education, described how institutions and professors could not but forsake their commitment to academic excellence; the former faced with the pressure to secure adequate enrolment, and the latter threatened by the prospect of getting poor teaching evaluation. In this case, inflating grades could be seen as a coping response on the part of the institutions as well as the teachers to the consumerist levers imposed in a marketized higher education sector. However, what this study suggests is that teachers are actually not in a powerless situation, at least from the perspective of their students. The positive association between consumerist attitude and both power bases suggests that in a consumerist regime, teachers have at their disposal both hard and soft power bases to exercise influence. By skillfully using both hard and soft power bases, teachers can actually play an influential role in students’ learning process without compromising academic rigour and intellectual excellence. The “companionship” metaphor in the practice of pedagogy is a step in this direction (Sibii, 2010), in which a teacher “has to be a friendly individual but not a friend, … who can connect to college-age students without any visible effort … who makes explicit use of the power dynamics to foster academic excellence” (p. 531).

Implications for further research

Given the fact that empirical research on the impact of student consumerism on teacher-student relationship in higher education is still at an infancy stage, there appears much potential for further research. One possible area for further investigation highlighted from this study stems from the grade emphasis nature of consumerist students. In view of the fact that grade emphasis has been identified as one of the prominent characteristics of students' consumerist orientation in the literature (Fairchild, et al., 2011), and the same has coincidentally been highlighted in studies of community college students in Hong Kong, most of whom see the qualification obtained from their college study "the last chance" to get into their desired Bachelor degree programmes (Kember, 2009), it would appear that among consumerist students, the emphasis on grades would be more pronounced for those who are studying in community colleges in Hong Kong. In the present study, the grade emphasis of community college students was proposed as a possible reason explaining why consumerist attitude and teachers' hard power were found to be positively correlated, but not negatively correlated as hypothesized. Further research to ascertain whether this is the case will be enlightening; for instance, by conducting a similar study comparing response from students pursing terminal qualifications (Bachelor degrees) and intermediate qualifications (Associate degree/higher diploma). In the same vein, as student consumerism has always been related to the fee-paying status of students' in the literature, it will also be interesting to conduct a research similar to this one comparing the response of the students studying for the same qualifications but under different funding statuses, for example, between undergraduates from UCG-funded programmes and self-financed programmes. In Hong Kong, as a number of UGC-funded universities run both self-financed and funded programmes in parallel form (UGC, 2010), an arrangement under which students from both self-financed and funded programmes attend the same lectures and are taught by the same professors inside the same university campus. With such an arrangement, meaningful comparisons between the two groups can be made more easily because confounding factors such as institutional culture and differences in classroom experience can be ruled out.

Another area worthy of further investigation relates to the two primary scales used in this study, the power base measure (PBM) and the consumerist scale. Despite evidence of high internal consistency of the two scales offered in previous studies, the reliability statistics of the present study, though acceptable, do suggest a need for further investigation. For the consumerist scale, following the general guidelines of Clark and Watson (1995), perhaps revision should be undertaken by writing additional items because the scale might appear too brief. For the PBM, considering the limited scope of legitimate power defined in the scale compared to the expanded version of the interpersonal power inventory (IPI), as well as the lack of distinction between personal and impersonal reward and coercion power, a revision of the scale incorporating these finer subdivisions is called for. Moreover, while previous studies using the PBM (Golish, 1999; Golish & Olson, 2000; Roach, 1989) have taken the hard-soft distinction in power bases for granted without validation using confirmatory procedures, in view of the fluidity of the hard-soft structure of the scale suggested in the present study, the need for a review of the factor structure of the PBM as it applies to different samples becomes apparent.

Concluding remarks

It might appear uncontroversial that teacher-student relationship is different from a seller-customer relationship, but whether the difference between them would render the two entirely incompatible deserves further consideration. Love (2008) raised the following question in discussing the “customerization” of teaching and learning in higher education:

> Are we in danger of surrendering the relationship between teacher and student, a distinct social relation with a long and notable history, to a rampant business model? If so does this reduction, that subtly realigns and rearticulates the educational relation, elide something essential? (p. 19)

As far as the current study is concerned, the teacher-student relationship does not necessarily have to be *surrendered,* particularly when the focus is on the potential influence that teachers can have on their students. In an age of student consumerism, teachers can still influence their students towards desirable learning goals, even when the traditional hierarchical power relation between them has been reconfigured. Instead, the birth of the student-as-customer metaphor offers an opportunity for teachers to re-think the way they forge relationships with their students, encouraging them to leverage a wider base of power sources, instead of solely relying on the traditional sources available to them.

Appendix - The Research Questionnaire

Dear Students,

Take part in a questionnaire survey to win a chance to get a SONY tablet

You're cordially invited to take part in a study which aims to explore teacher-student relationship in an age when students are seen as "customers". All you have to do is to complete the attached questionnaire.

There are a few reasons why you should help:

1. This study is the first of its kind which addresses, in a scientific manner, the highly contentious issue of seeing students as customers in education. It will offer empirical evidence to the widespread notion that student consumerism alters the traditional teacher-student relationship, rendering the teaching-learning process less effective.
2. The findings of this study will be highly enlightening, and you'll have a chance to read them first-hand, simply by providing your email address at the end of the survey.
3. You'll automatically enter a lucky draw which entitles you to the chance of winning a SONY tablet S Series. (16GB - 3G+Wifi)

I would also like to assure you that:

(1) all information will be held in strict confidence, and will be used for the purpose of this research only. All information will be destroyed within two months after the study.
(2) you will not be personally identified in the presentation of findings in any form in anyway.

This study, once completed, will generate useful insights to anyone involved in higher education. But to make things happen, your support is crucial. Please do complete this questionnaire and return it to your lecturer.

If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact me by email: sylviahon@yahoo.com.hk . In anticipation of your time and effort in completing the questionnaire, I Thank You!

Yours sincerely,

Sylvia Hon
College Lecturer
HKUSPACE Community College

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Your perception towards education

Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

1. College education is a product I am buying.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

2. Instructors should make sure class is interesting for students.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

3. Students should be given a good grade as long as they focus on learning what is necessary to satisfy the requirements of a course.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

4. Students should pay attention during class, even if they think it is boring.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

5. Career prospect is an important factor in the choice of university degree programmes.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

6. My relationship with College is similar to the relationship between a customer and a seller.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

7. Instructors should be required to relate course material to "real life".

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

8. Instructors should avoid harming students' GPAs with bad grades.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

9. Students should expect to have to put a lot of effort into a course to get a good grade.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

10. Universities should provide an education that prepares students to enter the workforce.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

11. Students should be entitled to a an associate degree / higher diploma if they are paying for their college education.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

12. Instructors should relate well interpersonally with students

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

13. I would take a course in which I will receive an A, even if I will learn little or nothing.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

14. Students should study outside of class as much as necessary to learn the material.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

15. A good job as a result of university education is important.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

16. Students should get tuition and fee refund for classes they think they have not learnt anything from.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

17. Instructors should communicate class concepts clearly.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

18. I would do whatever is necessary to get good grades, even if it may be dishonest.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

19. Career service from universities which guides students through the process of finding a job is important.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

20. There is nothing wrong for students to see education as a product that they are buying.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

21. Instructors should offer some classes that are "easy As".

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Academic entitlement

1. If I don't do well on a test, the lecturer should make tests easier or curve grades.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

2. Lecturers should only lecture on material covered in the textbook or assigned readings.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

3. If I'm struggling in a class, the lecturer should approach me and offer to help.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

4. It is the lecturer's responsibility to make it easy for me to succeed.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

5. If I cannot learn the material for a subject from lecture alone, then it is the lecturer's fault when I fail the test.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

6. I should be given the opportunity to make up a test, regardless of the reason for the absence.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

7. Because I pay tuition, I deserve passing grades.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Reasons for compliance with lecturers' requests

Consider those situations in which you complied with your lecturers even though you were initially unwilling to do so.
What made you comply?
Indicate the extent to which you agree/ disagree with the following statements as reasons for your compliance.

1. I will be punished if I do not comply with requests from lecturers.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

2. I should comply out of my friendship with my lecturer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

3. I must comply because it is required by the lecturer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

4. I should comply because the lecturer has great wisdom / knowledge behind the request.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

5. I will receive some kind of tangible or intangible reward for complying with lecturer requests.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

6. The lecturer would ensure that something bad will happen to me if I do not comply.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

7. I should comply so that I can imitate beneficial characteristics from the lecturer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

8. I must comply because it is required by the College.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

9. The lecturer is only seeking compliance because he/she knows it is in the students' best interest.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

10. The lecturer will see to it that I acquire some desirable benefits if I do what is suggested.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

11. I will experience negative consequences for non-compliance with the lecturer's requests.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

12. I should comply to please the lecturer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

13. I should comply because it is a college rule or expectation.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

14. The lecturer is seeking compliance from students based on his/her experience in this area.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

15. I will gain, short-term or long-term, from compliance with lecturer requests.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

16. There will be a corrective discipline for non-compliance with the lecturer's requests.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

17. I should comply so that I can model or be like the lecturer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

18. I must comply because lecturers have the authority/ right to direct students in this college.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

19. I should comply because the lecturer has much training/skill/mastery in this area.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

20. If I comply with the lecturer's requests, I will receive some type of prize or compensation.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
○	○	○	○	○

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Desire for Control

Some people may like to relinquish control and avoid making decisions, and to some others, their desire of control may be so strong that they would even like to control the others. How strong is your desire to be "in control"?

For all the following statements, a response from 1 to 7 is required. (1 - the statement does not apply to me at all; 7 - the statement always applies to me)

1. I prefer a job where I have a lot of control over what I do and when I do it.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

2. I enjoy political participation because I want to have as much of a say as possible in the running of the government.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

3. I try to avoid situations where someone else tells me what to do.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

4. I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

5. I enjoy being able to influence the actions of others.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

6. I am careful in checking if I've got everything before I leave for school/work.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

7. Others usually know what is best for me.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

8. I enjoy making my own decisions.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

9. I enjoy having control over my own destiny.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

10. I would rather someone else take over the leadership role when I'm involved in a group project.

1 Not apply at all ◯ 2 ◯ 3 ◯ 4 ◯ 5 ◯ 6 ◯ 7 Always apply ◯

11. I consider myself to be generally more capable of handling situations than others are.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

12. I'd rather run my own business and make my own mistakes than listen to someone else's orders.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

13. I like to get a good idea of what a job is all about before I begin.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

14. When I see a problem I prefer to do something about it rather than sit by and let it continue.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

15. When it comes to orders, I would rather give them than receive them.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

16. I wish I could push many of life's daily decisions off on someone else.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

17. I try to avoid putting myself in a situation where I could be hurt by someone else's mistakes.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

18. I prefer to avoid situations where someone else has to tell me what I should be doing.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

19. There are many situations in which I would prefer only one choice rather than having to make a decision.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

20. I like to wait and see if someone else is going to solve a problem so that I don't have to be bothered by it.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Concern for appropriateness

When your own values, needs and preferred outcomes are in conflict with how people expect you to behave, do you usualy behave according to social demand characteristics of the situation? Or do you hold on to your own values and beliefs?

For all the statements below, a response from 1 to 7 is required. (1 - the statement does not apply to me at all; 7 -- the staement always applies to me)

1. I tend to show different sides of myself to different people.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. It is my feeling that if everyone else in a group is behaving in a certain manner, this must be the proper way to behave.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. I actively avoid wearing clothes that are not in style.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

4. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

5. At parties I usually try to behave in a manner that makes me fit in.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

7. Although I know myself, I find that others do not know me.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

8. I try to pay attention to the reactions of others to my behavior in order to avoid being out of place.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

9. I find that I tend to pick up slang expressions from others and use them as part of my own vocabulary.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

10. Different situations can make me behave like very different people.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

11. I tend to pay attention to what others are wearing.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

12. The slightest look of disapproval in the eyes of a person I'm interacting with is enough to make me change my approach.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

13. Different people tend to have different impressions about the type of person I am.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

14. It is important to me to fit in to the group I'm with.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

15. My behavior often depends on how I feel others wish me to behave.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

16. I am not always the person I appear to be.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

17. If I am the least bit uncertain as to how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

18. I usually keep up with clothing style changes by watching what others wear.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

19. I sometimes have the feeling that people don't know who I really am.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

20. When in a social situation, I tend not to follow the crowd, but instead behave in a manner that suits my particular mood at the time.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Self-monitoring

How much are you able to adjust the way you behave or the image you project in response to social situations?

For all the statements below, a response from 1 to 7 is required. (1 - the statement does not apply to me at all; 7 -- the statement always applies to me)

1. In social situations, I have the ability to alter my behavior if I feel that something else is called for.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. I am often able to read people's true emotions correctly through their eyes.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. I have the ability to control the way I come across to people, depending on the impression I wish to give them.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

4. In conversations, I am sensitive to even the slightest change in the facial expression of the person I'm conversing with.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

5. My powers of intuition are quite good when it comes to understanding others' emotions and motives.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. I can usually tell when others consider a joke to be a bad taste, even though they may laugh convincingly.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

7. When I feel that the image I am portraying isn't working, I can readily change it to somthing that works.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

8. I can usually tell when I've said something inappropriate by reading it in the listener's eyes.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

9. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

10. I can adjust my behavior to meet the requirements of any situation I find myself in.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

11. If someone is lying, I usally know it at once from that person's manner of expression.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

12. Even when it might be to my advantage, I have difficulty putting up a good front. (put up a good front = act courageously although one is actually afraid)

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

13. Once I know what the situation calls for, it's easy for me to regulate my actions accordingly.

1 Not apply at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Always apply
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Self Esteem

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Indicate the extent to which you agree with these statements.

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

2. At times, I think I am no good at all.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

6. I certainly feel useless at times.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree

Teacher-student relationship in an age of student consumerism

Personal particulars

1. Are you...

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female

2. How many years have you been in this College?

- ◯ Less than 1 year
- ◯ Between 2 and 3 years
- ◯ Between 1 and 2 years
- ◯ More than 3 years

3. Which programme are you in?

- ◯ Associate Degree in
- ◯ Higher Diploma in
- ◯ Pre-Associate degree
- ◯ Certificate in General Studies

4. If you're interested in obtaining a summary of the findings, please write your email address here:

5. To enter the lucky draw and get the chance to win a SONY Tablet S Series, please fill in your mobile phone number:

6. I hereby give my consent to participate in this study. I have read the participants' information sheet (the cover letter), and I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give reason, and that my withdrawal would not affect my position in this College.

Signature: ______________________________ **Date:** ____________________________________

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