BEING INTERNATIONAL: LEARNING IN A CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

by

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Abstract

Many Canadian post-secondary institutions have identified internationalization as a priority. However, internationalization in higher education in Canada is more closely connected to economic and political rationales of globalization than to students’ educational concerns. There is scant research exploring international student experiences. This study examines international student perspectives on their social and educational experiences in a Canadian university to gain insights into how educators might better address students’ purposes, and a more nuanced understanding of the complexity of internationalization of higher education.

This qualitative study is grounded in an interdisciplinary theoretical framework informed by theories from globalization, postcolonial thought, cultural studies, sociocultural theory, race and identity. Following the theorizing of globalization as economic, political, technological and media ‘flows’ (“scapes”), I propose that internationalization of higher education be conceptualized as an “eduscape.” An eduscape, I argue, better reflects and expresses the complexity and multiple dimensions of internationalization than is theorized in the literature. Analyses of power and difference, resistance and transformation are also key in understanding both how students are enmeshed in these forces and how they navigate through them.

The participants in the study are undergraduate and graduate international students enrolled in a mid-sized university in Western Canada. Their perspectives, taken in the context of theory, contribute to understanding of internationalization at the university, its curriculum and pedagogy, and of international education in general. The containment of diversity that came to light in this investigation counteracts the internationalization possibilities, raising questions about institutional goals and purposes. This study indicates that a reconceptualisation of internationalization towards a recognition of students’ experiences is essential in moving away from economic outcomes and realizing educational goals.
Keywords: internationalization; international students; international education; globalization; higher education.

Subject Terms: International education; Internationalization of universities – Canada; Students, international – Canada; Education, Higher – Canada.
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the international students who volunteered their time to share their experiences, opinions, and thoughts with me.

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Shabnam, Peter, Parth, Nimal, Carlos, Shunfu, Rojin, Dana, Andrew, Sonali, Naomi, Michelle, Belinda, Bowei, Pris, Jota and Orange.

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BEING INTERNATIONAL:
LEARNING IN A CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

Fig. 1: At a Canadian university
PART 1
SETTING OUT

Fig. 2:
Chapter 1
On The Road, Again

I was a student in the English department, where my self and interests were rendered more silent than I would have thought possible. I remember feeling confused and a growing sense of frustration and rage. Nothing that was relevant to me seemed to count. I realized the degree to which I was a marginal member of the discipline, whose universality by this time had given way in my mind to being highly local and particular, whose historicity and ideological character became daily more visible. Deprived of a general sense of social belonging, of being a comfortable user of the local cultural grammar, divided by my race, gender and marxism, I was an outsider in and to my discipline and the classrooms that I inhabited. Often I was the only non-white student in these classes. Other students would talk among themselves with ease and were willingly responded to by the professors even when there were disagreements. ... I was an outsider and not much by the way of intellectual performance was expected of me — for or against — in any real way. ... Wading through trivia, fluent in English, but not in aestheticized colonialese, I searched for ways of trying to understand what was happening to me, and whether and how it also happened to others.

Himani Bannerji, Thinking Through (Bannerji, 1995, pp. 57–58)

1.1 Picking up the trail
Many of us who study, work and teach in the Academy would like to believe that Bannerji’s experience was an isolated one, or that things have changed since Bannerji’s (1995) experience of graduate school in Toronto in the early 1970s as a new immigrant to Canada. Demographics have undergone such
dramatic changes in the past three decades that post secondary classrooms, in the big urban centres at the very least, should reflect the diversity of the communities in which they are located. Many would like to believe that this increased diversity of the student population has raised awareness of the need to address issues related to difference; for example, to create curricula, implement teaching approaches, ensure staff and faculty representation that is reflective of diversity, and that recognizes and values difference and diversity.

This was the expectation that I carried with me as I re-entered academia a few years ago, initially, as an instructor in international education programs, and later enrolling as a graduate student in Education. In my previous work with adult immigrants in settlement programs, teaching English as a second language, I had witnessed my clients encounter structural and systemic discrimination and exclusion in the labour force, and in the professional and social circles they were trying to gain entry to. Although we pride ourselves on being a multicultural society, their experience led me to see how this multiculturalism is manifested in ways that trouble the very goals of multiculturalism. I had hoped that places of higher learning would be sites that encouraged research on these and related issues, but, more importantly, fostered and modelled best practices in terms of welcoming diversity, and valuing different ways of being and knowing.

From my observations and teaching experiences I began to wonder whether there were elements of Bannerji's experience that still resonate for many of the students on campus who are 'divided' by their race, ethnicity, gender, language, beliefs and ways of knowing. Do they feel like they are rendered silent, deprived of social belonging, lacking comfort with the local cultural grammar? Do they feel like outsiders and struggle to understand what is happening to them, and whether they are alone in their experience? Fueled in part by hearing stories from fellow graduate students of what could be described as "[t]he subtle, refined cruelty of intellectual racism and colonialism" (Bannerji, 1995, p. 58) my work and research interests have been shaped by this line of questioning.

These concerns about, and questions arising from, the inconsistent and varied practices of higher education that I witnessed both as an instructor and as a graduate student have formed the basis for the research I have undertaken.
Internationalization of higher education and international education, in particular, became the focus of my investigations. In earlier work (Beck, 2001), I explored the theoretical bases and ethical implications of international education and internationalization in Canada. At the defense of my MA thesis, my examiner asked me why, in spite of identifying how the experiences and voices of international students on our campuses were largely absent from the research at that time, I had not followed up on that line of inquiry. My response was that I was beginning with theoretical exploration given the paucity of analysis in the field, leaving research on students for future exploration. That work is here, and I am taking up the research journey I initiated a few years ago. The focus of my research in this dissertation is the internationalization of the university, and what follows represents my commitment to explore more specifically the worlds of international students and how they make sense of their international learning in a Canadian university.

The journey of this research meant traversing both familiar and unfamiliar terrain, making some stops on route, a detour or two, and realizing somewhere along the way that this was not about knowing what the destination point or points were to be. In fact, I would sometimes lose sight of where I was heading and why. The destination was, I thought, the ‘fixing’ of the problem, or rather, providing solid advice to others on how to ‘fix it’. I had little inkling of the enormity of the process, the discomfort of various kinds, the constant occupation of in-between spaces, and the frustration of and surrender to the realization that the world was not about to change as a result of my journey.

I will begin this dissertation and this chapter, with a description of the influences that have shaped the research focus, how I arrived at the research question/s, and how I will follow this line of inquiry. I will provide an overview of how this dissertation is organized and then proceed to Chapter 2 and more information on the topics that form the focus of my investigation. First, some background.
1.2 Past travels

The 'background check' that I present here illustrates the scholarly and other influences that shaped the research questions and the approach I took to creating this study. I begin with a brief summary of what emerged from my masters thesis, followed by a brief overview of how my engagement with university-based international activities influenced the direction I took with the study.

1.2.1 Earlier investigations

My masters thesis (Beck, 2001) began with the assertion that it was important to have a strong foundation of critical scholarly research to inform the practices of international education, and in the dissertation I recommended an ethical basis for practice. The situation then, as it is now, is that many Canadian post secondary educational institutions have embraced international education (Knight, 2000), broadly defined as the informal, non-formal, and formal educational activities and relationships among governments, educational and other institutions and peoples of various nation states (Knight, 1999). Canadian post-secondary institutions that participated in the last national survey¹ on internationalization conducted by Jane Knight (and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada) confirmed the importance of internationalization for the future of their institutions (Knight, 2000).

The survey was distributed to 89 AUCC member institutions, and 82 responded. The main goals of the survey were to compile a comprehensive update of international activities at Canadian universities, and to identify purposes, priorities, challenges and impacts of internationalization from an institutional perspective. Knight concluded that 'solid progress' had been made during the previous six years, and the main findings included the following: increased administrative support and commitment for internationalization,

¹ The latest survey by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) was just released in December 2007. While it has not been possible for me to integrate the findings of that survey in this dissertation, a review of the highlights of the study (AUCC, 2007) reveal little substantive difference from the 1999 survey.
awareness of the importance of student mobility, more study abroad programs, new international partnerships, and an expansion of recruitment of international students. Regarding the purposes and rationales for this increasing attention to internationalization, a high percentage of those institutions (over 70% of those responding) stated that they espoused an academic rationale for internationalization: to prepare graduates who are internationally knowledgeable and interculturally competent (Knight, 2000). My own investigations led me to an alternate interpretation of the Knight study as the following examples illustrate.

Internationalization has been defined as a “process” that infuses an intercultural and international perspective to the teaching, learning, research and service functions of a university (Knight, 1994, p. 28). Issues related to intercultural understanding, difference, and diversity, however, ranked low in interest and/or activity in Canadian post-secondary institutions. Although curricular issues were identified as high priorities for internationalization in these institutions, 75% of the respondents in the last national survey reported very low levels of activity or none in internationalizing the curriculum. International students on Canadian campuses were ascribed high importance by senior administrators responding to the survey, as contributing to internationalization. They could not, however, identify how this was occurring.

My review of research documenting internationalization activities in the post-secondary sector (in Canada) revealed problems that were serious barriers to internationalization. Some of these were: a lack of understanding of the terms ‘international education’ and ‘internationalization, low levels of activity in the internationalization of curriculum, a lack of engagement and participation by faculty, a neglect of the development of appropriate pedagogies to deal with difference in the classroom, and overall, that internationalization is oriented towards an economic/competitive model.

I concluded that economic forces of globalization currently dominate the practices of international education, thus diminishing its educational value and importance. This orientation was more connected to economic-political rationales than the academic rationale that was ascribed by practitioners and administrators. I argued that an economic orientation is inappropriate, and
proposed that international education needs to be guided by ethical principles and values that will align it to educational purposes rather than the marketplace. A proposal for an ethic of inclusion, based on an ecofeminist anti-oppressive framework (Warren, 1990), was offered as an ethical framework to guide the practices of international education. Using the ethic of inclusion as a guide, I further argued that issues such as identity, power and difference are central to the process of internationalization. I provided an analysis of Simon Fraser University's statement on internationalization, making recommendations for changes in the document that would reflect less of an economic/market model and be more aligned to the purposes of higher education (Beck, 2001).

Since the time of my previous research, international education activity has increased, and the numbers of international students arriving in Canada are increasing.

In 2001-02, Canada welcomed 104,662 international students from 203 countries into the following sectors: elementary/secondary (38,086), college/trade (14,341) and university (52,235). Every sector experienced an increase each year over the three-year period from 1999-00 to 2001-02. Overall, total international student enrolments increased by 27.5% from 1999-00 to 2001-02 (Savage, 2005, p. 6).

Ten of the provinces (all except Nunavut) engaged in international education, and all provinces showed an increase (2001-2) in enrolment. B.C. has been one of the top three provinces hosting international students (the others being Ontario and Quebec), and has also recorded high percentage increases in numbers of international students (Savage, 2005, p. 16). Designated the 'export education sector', it is the fifth highest foreign revenue earner in B.C. (Hiebert, 2004).

This increased activity has not been reflected in a matching proliferation in research, nor has it resulted in research-based decision-making regarding policy and practice in internationalization. Furthermore, following a simplistic interpretation of the Knight (2000) survey, policy makers and practitioners alike have been lulled into a complacency that an academic rationale drives Canadian universities to internationalize. There is little understanding of what constitutes an academic rationale, and whether and how other rationales influence policy and practice. There has been little critical appraisal of beliefs and values that
underlie both theory and practice. The lack of agreement among theorists, practitioners and administrators about key issues has resulted in a divide between theory and practice, and even a disregard for research as a foundation for practice. As Mestenhauser (1998) described, the literature in the field "remains...accidental, occasional, and random" (p. xviii) and is "either timid or silent about the field's complexity" (p. 4).

Knight (2004) notes that important questions about internationalization need to be raised in order to reconfigure it: the purpose of internationalization, benefits and outcomes underpinning values, positive consequences, unintended results and negative implications, sustainability, policy and funding implications of an increased emphasis on internationalization, and whether internationalization is a stimulus for or response to globalization. While the questions have been identified, there have been few sustained efforts to research the conceptualization of internationalization itself in the context of those forces that give rise to it, such as globalization. For example, is globalization changing the world of internationalization, and if so, how is this manifested? What are the relationships between internationalization, higher education and globalization? What is the impact on the participants, and what are the implications for practice?

This background describes the many possibilities for investigation that I encountered in relation to the internationalization of higher education. In summary, the 'problem' areas in internationalization relate to conceptualizing the field, definitions and understandings, paucity of comprehensive research, simplistic interpretations regarding rationales for internationalization, little attention to curriculum and pedagogy, and overall, an uncritical acceptance of the 'imperative' to internationalize. These issues further sever the already tenuous connections between research, policy and practice in the field.

How do these questions connect back to my interest in international students? When I was analyzing the Knight studies (Knight, 1995, Knight, 2000) in preparation for my research, I noted the absence of student voices from key studies on internationalization in Canada, an absence Knight acknowledged (Jane Knight, personal communication, June 2000). If one of the main goals of internationalization of the university or college is to prepare graduates who are
internationally knowledgeable and inter-culturally competent (Knight, 2000), it seemed problematic that some of those future graduates/students who are considered to contribute towards that process were not included in the research about that very field. I wondered whether and how the experiences of international students, in other words, students' voices, would enhance our conceptual understanding of, and even change the ways we think about the internationalization of the university.

My masters thesis prepared the groundwork for this dissertation, identifying some of the main areas of research, the gaps in research, in particular, the omission of students' voices in key areas of investigation, the conceptual weaknesses and theoretical gaps in internationalization theories, and overall, how the economic orientation of globalization drove practice and policy on international education. Here, I have shifted my focus from a theoretical inquiry into what international education is all about, which led to my recommendation for an ethics of inclusion, to empirical research that seeks the inclusion of students' voices in order to shed light on a new conceptualization of internationalization.

My own contact with many international graduate students, and hearing their stories and anecdotes of academic and social life has been important in guiding my own study. I will now describe some of the ways in which I came to understand the diverse aspects of international student life at the university, and how they shaped my approach to the present study on internationalization.

1.2.2 An immersion in the field

My first interactions with international students at the university were with teachers from other countries, here in Canada on short-term professional development programs. Their time in Canada was three months at the most, and usually four to six weeks. They were organized in cohorts, and had specialized courses designed for and delivered to them. The local instructional teams designed these programs with high sensitivity to the needs of the visiting teachers; my own role as an instructor was to encourage the visiting teachers to make sense of their Canadian experience. The challenge for us as instructors, and
for the students, was to develop a repertoire of teaching that encompassed international, global-local perspectives that would become both relevant and useful to all of the participants, in their/our own teaching environments, instructors included.

I naively assumed that this participatory approach was a standard one for all programs that included international students, especially for graduate students. This assumption was challenged as I got to know international graduate students in my own faculty. At this time I had taken on a position in providing academic literacy support for international graduate students. I had many opportunities for contact and conversation. I witnessed their struggles with English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and their strategies for survival in their programs. As I expanded my teaching to include university-wide workshops on diversity and inclusion, I had more contact with and heard about international students in different disciplines from their professors.

During this time, and as I became more aware of student concerns and issues, I joined committees and groups interested in international and intercultural issues at the university. I attended various meetings and forums on international student issues, some sponsored by the university’s international office, and others by student groups. One university-initiated site was an advisory committee for a Seminar on Language, Culture and Teaching² (LCT seminar) where I met faculty members and staff involved with international students. The seminar was being offered only to graduate students, and so the focus of this committee as well as the forums convened related to international graduate students. Here is an example of the issues raised at one such forum of the LCT Seminar: international students were reluctant to speak up in class or approach authorities, some of them felt unable to function socially, there was a lack of social space at the university that was welcoming for international students, ‘insurmountable’ difficulties arose on a daily basis related to relatively simple interactions such as talking on the phone, talking to bus drivers, interpreting instructions and so on, a need for ‘buddies’ in their own disciplines,

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² The name of this program/seminar has been changed to protect anonymity.
recommendations that faculty become better acquainted with international
student perspectives and experiences, and better orientation for graduate
students and international teacher assistants.

Hearing a variety of such needs, concerns, recommendations and so on
sensitized me to designing a comprehensive list of questions, and to probe into
areas of experience such as daily interactions that I had not previously thought of
investigating. It also informed the ways in which I analysed and regarded the
data that I was collecting during this time. I was able to discern differences in
different disciplines, as well as between undergraduate and graduate student
experiences.

Contact with undergraduate students was not as extensive until I began
work on a pilot project on 'Inclusive Teaching' with the departments of
Engineering and Computing Science. During this project I interviewed many
undergraduate students, both domestic and international students, and focused
much of my attention on gender issues, and on the intersections of gender, race,
socio-economic status in the lives of students in these departments. I saw the
value of using an anti-racist or anti-oppressive framework to understand the
multiple nodes of discrimination, privilege, and difference. The challenge we had
as an instructional team was to lead professors through a course of study that
would help them to design their course content and teaching methods in ways
that would be cognizant of and sensitive to the diversity in their classes. During
this course, I had contact with faculty members whose perspectives gave me
insight into their own frustrations and concerns regarding teaching and learning
among a diverse student body.

The other significant point of contact with undergraduate students was
with the Association of International Students (AIS), an advocacy group for
international students on the campus. I visited their office from time to time, and
met students on an informal basis, participating in whatever debate or lively
conversation was going on at the time.

3 The name of this group has been changed to protect anonymity.
My participation in international meetings, projects, committees and groups of various kinds provided opportunities to learn about the various aspects of internationalization and international education at the university as well as opportunities to become part of an informal network of individuals either working in international programs, and/or simply interested in the issues. These networks were invaluable in initiating contact with prospective participants for my study, and to discuss issues with interested colleagues prior to beginning the research, and during the research study itself.

Against this background of the ways in which I arrived at the focus and purposes of this investigation, and the contributing influences of my master’s thesis and my interactions with staff faculty members and international students themselves, I now turn to the focus and purpose of the present study.

1.3 It all comes together: Arriving at ‘the question/s’

My preliminary explorations confirmed the focus of the study, that is, the importance of student experience, and how it might contribute towards understanding the internationalization of the university. Hence, I have formulated my main research question as:

What are the experiences of international students at a mid-sized university in Western Canada?

From this main question, several others emerged as points for more detailed investigation.

How might these experiences

- clarify/make visible the connections between globalization and internationalization of higher education?
- inform the design of learning environments and shape pedagogy at post secondary level?
- influence the ways in which internationalization of higher education is conceptualized?
- facilitate a shift in orientation from a competitive model of internationalization to a social transformation model?
• provide guidance for universities in how they deliver services to international students?
• provide guidance to international students themselves on study abroad at a Canadian university?

I have chosen qualitative methods to investigate this topic, as I consider them to be appropriate and effective to explore complex human phenomena, behaviours and attitudes. I discuss this decision in depth in Chapter 6. I will now describe how I have organized my inquiry, and how I propose to present the various aspects of my research journey.

1.4 Mapping it out: How the dissertation is organized

Building on this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will provide some background on internationalization. Beginning with a summary of conclusions from my MA thesis about definitions and rationales for internationalization, I then provide an overview of strategies that are used to internationalize the university. As internationalizing the curriculum and international students on the campus are considered to be key strategies of internationalization (Knight, 2000), these topics are discussed next. The current literature on student experience is described in some detail to identify the gaps in the research, and how this dissertation will make a contribution in that area. Some current trends in internationalization of higher education will conclude this chapter. This concludes Part I of the dissertation, which forms an extended introduction of internationalization as it is defined in contemporary Canadian post secondary institutions.

Part II is the conceptual framework, which is presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The conceptual/theoretical framework for this study integrates a number of areas of scholarship, selected to encompass the complexity of the context, the relationships and the people who come to study on Canadian campuses.

First, globalization, the context of internationalization, is explored in Chapter 3. I argue that understanding the complexity of globalization leads to a more nuanced understanding of the internationalization of higher education. In
other words, I maintain that one cannot theorize internationalization without seeing how globalization implicates and is implicated in the process. I will show how the economic and cultural dimensions of globalization influence internationalization, and how the cultural dimensions in particular will offer sites for resistance in the face of the harmful effects of its economic dimensions. I propose the notion of an ‘eduscape’, derived from Appadurai’s theory on globalization, to describe internationalization, suggesting that it is more suitable than the present definitions for internationalization.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the second aspect of my framework: the nature of relationships in internationalization. There are many approaches to analyzing social relations at the internationalized university, and I have chosen to use postcolonial theory and anti-racist education to understand these relations from the perspective of power and how it operates in the multiple social and professional relationships the students must negotiate during their time of study. To further understand the learning-teaching relationships, I include Lave and Wenger’s (1991) scholarship on communities of practice.

The third main strand of my framework is connected to understanding who the participants of my study are, and in a larger context, how they come to be both identified, and identify themselves as international learners in a foreign university. Chapter 5 will thus present a discussion of scholarship on identity, and in particular, national and cultural identity. With this chapter, Part II and the conceptual framework of this study comes to a close. I take the position that the detail and breadth of this framework were necessary to understand and analyze the complexity of the students’ narratives, and to do justice to the multiple dimensions of the experience of their study abroad — the context, the relationships and the learners themselves.

Part III of this dissertation presents the data I collected and analyzed. Chapter 6 describes the methods I used in the study, with a rationale for employing them. As well, I describe the setting, participants and the methods of the investigation. In Chapter 7 I present the extensive data that were collected from the participants of this study. Accounts of decisions to leave home, choice of Canada and the University they chose, finances and money, preparation to
come to Canada and transitions fill the pages of this chapter. In Chapter 8 I continue to build a picture of the students' learning experiences, social lives and their views on internationalization of the university. The students also comment on how they rate their decision to come, and whether they consider their experience worthwhile. Discussion of the data follows in Chapter 9, and is organized in four themes: getting an education in Canada, learning, social life and internationalization. The final chapter contains implications for the university, for international students, for internationalized learning and teaching at the university, and internationalization in general.

1.5 Images and text

If I had my graduate student life to live all over, I wonder if I might have selected an arts-education based program. The arts interest me, as does arts-based education. I once made my living as a photographer, and continue photography as a hobby. The world of visuals and images draws out aspects of myself and my imagination, and photography for me is an appreciation of the world and an expression of my engagement with the world. As I worked through the writing of this dissertation, visual images often came to mind and I began to select photographs from my collection, or created photographs that were meaningful in the context of the ideas I was exploring. I am not endeavouring to theorize from the images, nor to assign metaphor or symbol. The A/r/tography website at UBC expresses well my intent: "... to inquire in the world through an ongoing process of art making in any artform and writing not separate or illustrative of each other but interconnected and woven through each other to create additional and/or enhanced meanings" (Irwin/UBC, 2005). The images are sprinkled throughout the dissertation. They are meant to evoke sensory responses and as a means to "linger in the sensual and pedagogical spaces of experience simultaneously creating and disrupting meaning, being, and becoming." (A/r/tography - UBC, 2005), thus enhancing and possibly deepening the ideas and meanings conveyed in writing.
Fig. 3: "simultaneously creating and disrupting meaning, being, and becoming."
Chapter 2:
Understanding Internationalization of Higher Education

Internationalization is absolutely inevitable.
(Altbach & Teichler, 2001, p. 5).

Internationalization is now an integral part of Canadian universities’ institutional strategies, organization approaches, and expected learning outcomes for students.
(AUCC, 2007, p. 3).

Most people I meet at university understand international education to be the presence of international students on the campus. All post-secondary institutions in B.C., and most post-secondary institutions across Canada engage
in some form of activity relating to international education so defined (Knight, 2000). As well, school districts in B.C. are now recruiting fee-paying international students to secondary schools as a way of earning revenue when there have been cut backs by government. This engagement with international activities and programming is understood to contribute to the process of internationalization. This enthusiasm for international education and internationalization is expressed via mission statements and promotional material in the K-12 system as well as in colleges and universities. All this activity does not, however, translate into a parallel understanding of the practices and the field. There is, for example, varied understanding of what the terms ‘international education’ and ‘internationalization’ mean, even within scholarship. In inaugurating a new journal in international education, editor Jeff Thompson (2002) commented on “the lack of agreement among theorists and practitioners alike, concerning the fundamental nature of international education at the present time. The term has such wide usage that almost any statement relating to international education offers ample opportunity for ambiguity in interpretation” (p. 5).

Given this ambiguity, I begin this chapter with explanations from the literature of the term ‘internationalization’, contextualizing it in reference to ‘international education’. This is followed by a brief overview of the rationales that are employed to justify internationalization illustrating how its practices have been legitimized and promoted through uncritical and simplistic cooptation of specific findings of national surveys. Next, I summarize strategies that are used to internationalize the university, in order to situate international students in the process of internationalization. The recruitment of international students and internationalizing the curriculum are considered key strategies of internationalization (Knight, 2000; AUCC, 2007), and so implications for internationalizing the curriculum will be discussed next. As I am investigating the experiences of international students on a Canadian campus, I provide a review of selected research on this topic, to identify the gaps in the literature. This will also help me to address the ways in which this dissertation will contribute to the understanding of this topic. Selected issues from current trends in internationalization of higher education, locating practices in Canada in the
global context, will conclude this chapter, as I look forward to Part II and the conceptual framework of this study.

2.1 Definitions and rationales: The rhetoric

I have already established in my MA thesis that definitions in the field are problematic (Beck, 2001). Some of the conclusions I reached about the topic of definitions are that the terms internationalization and international education are used interchangeably, that international education has become an umbrella term that describes all domains and areas of study that might include anything ‘international’, and that North American scholars are more concerned about internationalization than international education. Further, the concept of internationalization is often conflated with globalization, leading to confusion, and as I will show in this chapter, masking the reality of the connections between the two.

I began the present research from the reference point of Knight’s (1995; 2004) definition of internationalization, as this is the most commonly used in Canadian higher education institutions (e.g. AUCC, 2007). Her 1995 definition follows:

Internationalization of higher education is the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a university. An international dimension means a perspective, activity or service which introduces or integrates an international/intercultural/global outlook into the major functions of an institution of higher learning. (p. 28)

Knight updated her definition in a more recent paper to include a wider understanding of the process, and to include the private sector’s entry into the delivery of international education both in Canada and offshore. Her new definition is: “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education (Knight, 2003, cited in Knight, 2004, p. 11). She uses the terms “international” to denote the relationships between nations, “intercultural to show the diversity of internationalization at home, and “global” to express the scope of the process (pp. 11 – 12).
As part of my analysis, I will be examining whether this definition reflects the realities of those who contribute towards the internationalizing process, the students themselves. Do the terms used in the definition account for the depth and breadth of the process and the complexity that is referred to, but not analysed? Does the definition promote a particular view of internationalization that is in conflict with the reality, or is used to support a competitive model of internationalization? These are some of the questions that emerged in my earlier investigations of internationalization (Beck 2001), and that I carry into the present study. As the latest AUCC survey on internationalization reflects, the 1995 Knight definition of integrating an international dimension into the teaching, research and community service areas of the institution (AUCC, 2007, p. 2) is the standard recognized definition, and it is adopted with little discussion of its implications.

Furthermore, I will challenge the usefulness of the definition, and consider whether definitions are useful at all, given that their existence has not served practitioners nor institutions well. Definitions are useful, as Knight herself (2004) indicates, to provide clarification, common ground, and to dispel confusion associated with a concept. If this is not the case, the bases of the definitions themselves need to be interrogated, and the implications for practice considered more closely. Students' experiences, I argue, will help us to better understand the purposes from their perspective.

As with definitions, I researched the topic of rationales extensively in my MA thesis, and I will now describe the main relevance of the conclusions I reached in that work about rationales, for my present dissertation. Rationales for internationalization have been categorized as academic, economic, political and cultural (Knight & de Wit, 1999; Knight, 1999). The academic rationale advanced by the Knight studies is 'the preparation of graduates to be internationally and inter-culturally knowledgeable and skilled'. I argued that in spite of the selection of so-called academic rationales, the practices of internationalization expressed an economic rationale, further influenced by political (competitive) rationales. It points to the gap between practice and rhetoric, and conveniently absolves institutions from examining their own practices. I also discussed the difficulty of
categorizing the rationales. As Knight (1999, p. 9) herself acknowledges, the four groups of rationales are neither distinct nor exclusive: for example, there are clear links between the political and economic categories, and the cultural/social and academic categories. Furthermore, one rationale can be selected for a variety of reasons. Thus, if an academic rationale is selected (e.g. preparing graduates to be interculturally and internationally competent) because of its benefits to the economic status and competitiveness of the country, would that make the rationale an academic one, or an economic one? Does this also not align it with a political motivation?

More research is needed both across and within institutions in order to make conclusions about the purposes and motivations behind internationalization. Links need to be made between the educational mission of institutions, the purposes of international education and, more importantly, to practice. What do the categories academic, economic, political and social/cultural mean, and how do these align with the reality of internationalization? What is important for the present investigation, however, is the legitimization of internationalization as a necessary aspect of the university and the prevailing complacency that an academic rationale is behind the intensification of internationalization. I will also follow up on the question of what constitutes an academic rationale, to which I will return in the discussion of the data from student participants. In other words, from the perspective of international students, are graduates of the university acquiring international and intercultural literacies and competencies?

From the ‘whys’ of internationalization, I now move to the ‘hows’. There appears to be less confusion in this aspect of internationalization, as most institutions, practitioners and scholars are in agreement about the activities - how internationalization is practiced and implemented. As I wish to situate and locate the presence of international students in the spectrum of activities and strategies, I will next summarize strategies of internationalization that are common in Canadian post-secondary institutions.
2.2 Strategies of internationalization

Knight and de Wit (1999) assert that,

Internationalization efforts are intended to enable the university/college community to have the ability to understand, appreciate and articulate the reality of interdependence among nations (environmental, economic, cultural and social) and to prepare faculty, staff and students to function in an international and intercultural context (p. 13).

Knight observes that internationalization efforts can be distinguished as program and/or organizational strategies. Program strategies include academic programs, research and scholarly collaboration, external relations, both domestic and cross-border delivery and extracurricular initiatives. She categorises programs under two streams, internationalization at home, and cross-border or overseas program delivery.

The recruitment and presence of international students is considered an educational activity under program strategies, along with study abroad opportunities for domestic students, faculty and student exchanges and internationalization of the curriculum. In other words, study abroad, whether for domestic or international students, is considered to be one of the most important strategies for integrating/infusing an intercultural/international perspective into higher education. An important recent consideration of internationalization strategies is the concept of internationalization at home (IaH) revived and reintroduced in Europe in the 1990s (Wachter, 2003). It is based on two principles: that internationalization means more than mobility, and, that the cultural diversity of learning and teaching environments is the reality of internationalization for many places and institutions in the world (Wachter, 2003).

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4 In Europe, a rather ambitious strategy of internationalization related to study abroad was attempted with the Erasmus mobility project, a plan to have at least one in ten students experience a study abroad semester in their program of studies (Knight and de Wit, 1999; Wachter, 2003). The realization that this was not practically achievable, together with a recognition of the increasing cultural diversity of his region (due to immigration) led scholar Bengt Nilsson to revive the notion of Internationalization at Home (IaH) as a more effective and viable strategy for internationalization than a reliance on study abroad (Wachter, 2003).
2003). As its name implies, IaH recognizes local cultural diversity as a source of internationalization, balancing out the rhetoric of 'the foreign' element and mobility as the best strategy of internationalization, and further, recognizes the significance of curriculum as an important source of internationalization (Wachter, 2003). This approach signals that internationalization is not just for international students learning here, but more importantly, is meant primarily to influence domestic students, staff and faculty, to move towards an intercultural ethos. As I will demonstrate later in this literature review, the potential of this strategy has not been realized nor attended to in most internationalization efforts (Bond, 2006; Mestenhauser, 2002).

The top three strategies for internationalization identified by institutions are internationalizing the curriculum, organizational support assigned to internationalization within the institution (such as policy, senior positions etc), and the recruitment/enrollment of international students (Knight, 2000). As curriculum and international student issues are central to my study, I will now review those topics.

2.3 Internationalization of curriculum: product, infusion, or learning process?

As my study explores the experiences of international students it was to be expected that a significant part of students' narratives would include their learning experiences, their views on what they learned, how they learned, and whether they considered themselves to be successful. Hence, it is important to address notions of internationalizing the curriculum, and what it means to learn and teach in an internationalized classroom. I will do so by reviewing the status quo regarding internationalization of curriculum among Canadian institutions. Then, I will review how internationalization of curriculum is described in the literature, how it is generally implemented, and some of the theoretical debates on the topic. I will also indicate the direction that should be taken so that I can return to these suggestions to consider how the data might contribute to theorizing in the future.
Although curricular issues have been identified as high priorities in Canadian internationalization, seventy five percent of the respondents in the 2000 AUCC survey reported little or no activity in matters relating to internationalizing the curriculum in their institutions (Knight 2000). The last AUCC study (AUCC 2007) suggests that there may have been improvement. 58% of the respondents stated that their university offered workshops on internationalizing the curriculum (p. 4). It is not clear, however, whether these workshops are having an impact on classroom practice, and to what extent this contributes towards internationalization of learning. The number of academic programs with an international focus has increased, but the number of universities requiring a second language as graduation requirements, decreased (AUCC, 2007, p. 4). Internationalization is promoted as the acquiring of international competencies, and one would expect that a second language would be an important aspect of that repertoire. Hence, the decreasing interest in requiring a second language for graduation could be seen as contrary to the goals of internationalization.

The support for internationalized curricula, in the literature on international education, is extensive (Harari, 1981; Francis, 1993; Knight, 1994; Maidstone, 1995; Mestenhauser, 1998; Raby, 1995; Scott, 1993; van der Wende, 1995). The common understanding of internationalization of curriculum is that it is a process of infusion, bringing an intercultural and international dimension into the extant curriculum (Francis, 1993; Knight, 2000; Knight, 2004; McKellin, 1998). The specifics of whether and how this occurs in practice is not reported in the literature. Evidence for internationalized curricula are reported in the Canadian research, as course offerings in area studies, comparative and international studies, international development studies, foreign language studies, international business and management, communications and so on (Francis, 1993; McKellin, 1998; Knight, 1995; Knight, 2000). In recent years, there have been increases in the number of field school opportunities for domestic students, and in placements for research, exchange programs for staff, faculty and students (Knight, 2000) and these strategies too are presented as evidence of
internationalizing curriculum. In other words, internationalized curriculum is often classified as a program or course offering.

A number of Canadian faculty have developed manuals and resources for developing international literacy and intercultural competencies (Bond, 2003; Maidstone, 1995; Dale & Stanley, 1997; Whalley, 2000). At a recent conference on Internationalizing Canadian Universities, there were presentations on professional development for faculty on internationalization of curriculum, some critical of current conceptions of internationalizing curriculum, and others focused on faculty learning experiences (Barndt, 2006; Giroux & Odgers, 2006; Hanson, 2006; Schuerholz-Lehr, 2006; Wilson & Cribb, 2006). These initiatives represent a healthy growing concern with what the concept means and how faculty are getting engaged with the task of teaching in an internationalized setting. For the most part, however, they also promote a view of internationalization of curriculum as a product rather than a process, requiring a rethinking of learning processes.

Josef Mestenhauser (1998) offers a valuable critique of the infusion approach to internationalizing the curriculum, arguing that it leaves the main content of the curriculum untouched. Faculty members interpret infusion as adding on pieces of international content, without an understanding of a perspective approach that he argues would be more effective. Bringing in international students as a resource to mainstream classes is one strategy he identifies as potentially valuable in different disciplines and subjects (Mestenhauser, 2002).

Sheryl Bond (2006) is another scholar who sees the infusion definition and approach as limited. She prefers to address internationalized learning rather than internationalized curriculum (Bond & Thayer Scott, 1999, Bond, 2006). In her view, internationalized learning involves substantive knowledge about the socio-cultural context of other societies, developing skills in responding to cultural difference, how one behaves in intercultural circumstances and how one maintains one's own cultural integrity while understanding and working with others (Bond, 2006, p. 2–3). Thus, internationalized learning would include an interdisciplinary approach to exploring a field of study, an emphasis on
experiential and active learning, integration with other international activities, promoting comparative thinking, broadening knowledge of at least another country of culture and encouraging self reflection on one’s own culture and ways of cognition (Bond & Thayer Scott, 1999, p. 65).

As illustrated above, the notion of internationalization of curriculum is being taken up by some scholars, challenged by others, but, in my opinion, still remains under-theorized. My hope is that explorations such as the present one will begin to specify complexities and open spaces for dialogues about these complexities that could move the field past the view of curriculum as a particular product of a specific discipline. In what ways will this conversation influence the cultural space of curriculum, and in turn, how can the spaces of internationalization be transformed and re-imagined? These theoretical questions will be addressed, as I mentioned, first in Chapter 3, and then discussed further when I analyse and interpret the data from the participants of this study.

Another curious omission in the literature on internationalization is the lack of theorizing and dearth of research on pedagogy in internationalized classrooms. There is a growing body of scholarship in diversity and teaching in higher education, and while the connections are very relevant to internationalization, they have not been made explicit. As with curricular issues, I will address the notion of pedagogy in globalized conditions in Chapter 3, and further discuss it in the discussion in Chapters 9 and 10. In drawing some perimeters around this study, I have chosen not to explore the particulars and the ‘how to’s’ of teaching, remaining in the theoretical realm of pedagogical approaches. Students comment extensively on the methods and teaching styles that did and did not work for them. In the discussion of the data I will make recommendations for future explorations regarding pedagogical approaches.

And now for the key part of the review, which is an overview of literature on the experiences of international students and study-abroad issues in general. This selected research on international student experience and foreign study identified the gaps in the research and helped to shape my research questions about international students studying in a Canadian university.
2.4 International students and study-abroad

As the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) is one of two leading national associations that support internationalization of higher education among its members, I turned to its publications for research on international students. CBIE carried out surveys, in 1988, 1999 and 2004, of international students in Canadian universities about their experiences in Canada. While the 1988 survey included only university students, the later surveys included college students enrolled in certificate, diploma and degree programs, in addition to undergraduate and graduate students at universities.

The 1988 survey (CBIE, 1988) covered four main topics — preparing to come to Canada, experiencing Canada, backgrounds, and policy changes — and reported findings in terms of student profiles, academic decision, life as an international student both on and off the campus, future plans, and student recommendations on policy. Students reported that they left their home country because of limited opportunities there, and chose Canadian universities because of the quality of education. In rating their university experience, students rated loneliness as one of their most problematic concerns. Financial issues such as high tuition costs and differential fees, being a burden to parents and families for money, restrictions on employment, and cost of living were a major source of concern. The availability of scholarships was considered important by many graduate students, but by very few undergraduates. Over 70% of the respondents had been in Canada (varying from a few months to over a year) in other non-academic or academic programs before starting their university program. Most students (79% of respondents) reported a positive experience in Canada and at their university and would recommend it to other students. Only a small percentage of students expressed an intention to work in Canada, or to apply for immigrant status. Most were either going home, or seeking employment elsewhere.

Similar trends and patterns were noted in the 1999 survey of international students (CBIE, 1999). The numbers of students citing Canada as first choice for a

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5 The other one is the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada, AUCC.
study destination increased from 30% to 60%, as did the numbers of women international students (up from 25% of all international students to 42%), and more students said they would recommend Canadian institutions to their friends. Financial matters were still a major source of concern. Parents and families were the main source of money for students, and more than half of the respondents reported having problems making up tuition costs. Prohibitions against paid work in Canada were obstacles. The leading field of study/program that students had enrolled in was Business. One of the questions in the section on academic experience, asked if respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement: “I have not experienced any form of racism or discrimination as an international student in Canada” (p. 19). 28% disagreed with it. Not much more information was provided in the discussion about whether and how this factor affected the students beyond acknowledging their difficulty.

The findings of the 2004 study were also similar to those in the 1999 survey. For most students, Canada was their first choice for study abroad. Common reasons for studying in Canada were high quality education and a safe environment, and a higher number of students (than the 1999 survey) reported that their experience met or surpassed expectations. Other concerns and points of satisfaction remained the same. High numbers of students said their instructors treated them fairly, and that instructors were accessible outside class, but similar numbers of students (to the 1999 survey) reported that instructors had not taken a personal interest in their academic progress. In the question related to race, 70% of students agreed that they had not experienced any form of racism in Canada, but 25% of students disagreed with the statement; experiences of racism were much higher among students of African background. Although it appears that the experience of racism has decreased since the last survey, there is not much information again about social relations in general, and how difference affected the students.

Overall, the conclusions appear to be that in spite of some concerns relating to finances, lack of work opportunities, some difficulty with immigration officials in the home country, the students were satisfied with their academic experience and found their experience to be a positive one. However, I agree
with George Dei (1992) who observes that there are “intimate details” (p. 5) of student experience that cannot be obtained or shared in a general survey on educational experience. These details would provide greater insights into both micro and macro views of internationalization. As an example of micro issues, in the question related to race, how do we understand the finding that students either agreed or disagreed with the statement on racism, how did the students understand the question and, indeed, the notion of racism, and for those students who had experienced racism, what were the forms of racism and how did it impact their learning and living experience? Considering the macro issue, do numbers influence action or inaction on a particular issue, and are the numbers high enough to warrant attention to forms of racism on the campus? This is one example of how a deeper analysis such as the questioning above remain outside the scope of such a survey, and points to the need for particular research that is able to both investigate and understand the variety of factors that constitute the social realities of students and institutions.

From the perspective of internationalization, how did the students arrive at their conclusion of having had a positive experience? How do we understand the process of internationalization, as infusing an intercultural and international perspective to the teaching, learning, research and service functions of a university? How do the data on topics such as reasons for selecting Canada, academic experiences, future plans, and so on influence the conceptualization of internationalization? These are some of the broad questions that emerged out of the CBIE surveys and led me to think about ways in which data from international students can be analysed, both to understand their experience further, and to conceptualize internationalization of higher education.

I will now provide a summary of other issues that emerged from my review of literature on international student experience and study abroad.

Most studies on international students and their learning experiences have focused on students’ individual adjustment issues, and on cross-cultural adaptation, largely from the perspective of psychological models (Dei, 1992, Altbach, 1991). Examples that Dei cites are the use of Stonequist’s (1937) ‘marginal man’, Lysgaard’s (1955) U-Curve hypothesis and Oberg’s (1960)
Culture Shock theories (cited in Dei, 1992, pp. 2–3). The studies that use these theories attribute student difficulty to, for example, conflicts of values and beliefs between student and host culture, an inability to function in two cultures, and individual student's difficulty in acculturation. Models of acculturation are usually based on the concept of stages that the student goes through, starting from conformity and euphoria, to maladjustment and crisis, followed by re-adjustment and final integration into the host society. As Dei (1992) argues, the social reality of the international students is much more complex than these models present, and more importantly, systemic power relations that constrain students, both in society and in the institution, remain invisible and unquestioned. Assuming that the end goal of international student experience is the complete integration into the host society is problematic especially in the context of the goals of internationalization, which are to promote diversity, intercultural and international perspectives.

On the matter of student mobility, although there are small numbers of students from Western industrialized countries studying in ‘Third World’ countries, and some ‘Third World’ students studying in other ‘Third World’ countries, most of the flow of international students is from ‘Third World’ to Western industrialized countries (Altbach, 1991; 2004; Mok, 2007). Motivations for studying abroad are different for students from industrialized countries, and ‘developing’ countries. For students from ‘developing’ countries these include the inadequacies of, and absence of programs in institutions of higher education in home countries, a need to keep up with the advance of knowledge in their disciplines, a search for suitable faculty members to supervise and guide their research, and the lack of up-to-date publications in home libraries (Dei, 1992, p. 3–4).

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6 This is a term used by Altbach. I use it with discomfort, and signal my discomfort by using quotation marks around it.

7 The most recent example is China, which is the largest host country for international students among non-OECD countries.
Furthermore, Dei observes:

The attractiveness and the prestige attached to international study has been part of the colonial legacy in many parts of the developing world. The system of local reward and incentives for international academic qualifications has encouraged many scholars to seek legitimation through international education (p. 4).

Costs of study and immigration also influence the mobility and the selection of hosting countries. There are a number of ‘push-pull’ factors motivating students
to study overseas, and the research is not comprehensive enough to understand those factors in detail (Altbach, 1991; Dei, 1992).

In general, the direction of student flow is from south to north — from the developing world to the rich countries of the north. Today, more than half the world’s postsecondary students are in the developing world, and this proportion will grow in the coming decades. Many of these high-growth countries cannot educate everyone at home and send increasing numbers overseas to study. In addition to capacity, the institutions of the north have a prestige and power — due to their domination of the curriculum and of scientific discourse — that is little questioned in the contemporary academic marketplace (Altbach, 2004, p. 1-2).

In other international mobility trends, the U.S. was the host to more students than any other country, but the absolute numbers of students going to the U.S. has decreased because it is not a policy priority in that country in the past few years. Other industrial countries have been catching up in the numbers game. There is a preference among international students for English speaking countries, which is a worry for European countries. The political and economic conditions in Africa have resulted in large numbers of African students and scholars leaving African countries for Western universities, and thus, brain drain is proving to be a disaster for Africa. In Asia the outflow of students is being matched, however, by a return of academics and researchers to countries whose economic and socio-political environments are more supportive of the return of scholars. These trends are important to note as the recruitment of students from different countries and different parts of the world will have varied impacts, both on the sending and receiving countries.

The popularity of study abroad raises the problem of brain-drain, which has negative implications for the sending countries, and benefits for the hosting countries. As reported by a Director of AUCC, there is a concerted effort to develop a national campaign to “make Canada a destination point for the best and brightest of international students” (Johnston, 2006), with strategies to “promote Canada’s education more proactively by developing a strong, recognizable marketing brand, to be used through a variety of info-sharing tools and materials” and by establishing “a prestigious scholarship program to attract top-calibre international undergraduate and graduate students” (Johnston, 2006).
As the 'best and brightest' leave their own countries, the human resources of the sending country are in danger of being depleted (Dei, 1992; Altbach, 1991; Mok, 2007). While asserting that "the full implications of the economic of foreign study remains under researched" (Altbach, 1991, p. 315), Altbach argues that the best and brightest from other countries often remain in host countries providing an indirect subsidy to the host country. "It is significant that the immigration regulations of many industrialized nations are based on the personnel needs of those countries rather than a commitment to prevent migration of talent from the 'Third World'" (Altbach, 1991, p. 316).

Other benefits for the host country include economic benefits, or "big business" (Altbach, 2004, p. 4). In spite of assertions (on the part of university administrators and international program officers) that internationalization and the recruitment of foreign students represents an interest in increasing opportunities to internationalize home campuses, the figures attached to international study are hard to ignore: there are over 2 million students studying away from their home countries, estimated to rise to 8 million by 2025 (Altbach, 2004). The USA, UK, France, Germany, Australia and New Zealand lead the internationalization numbers for receiving countries, securing $60 billion of the world’s revenue in this ‘industry’ (Hiebert, 2004). In the U.S for example, international students contribute over $12 billion to the U.S economy (Altbach, 2004). In B.C., international education is designated the ‘export education sector’, and is the fifth highest foreign revenue earner in BC (Hiebert, 2004). The economic benefits to host countries, both during and after programs of study, are rarely acknowledged, nor referred to in international student-related research. Altbach recommends that this phenomenon needs to be examined carefully with changing global conditions as this has important economic and academic implications for both host and sending countries.

As noted earlier, recent trends also show increasing numbers of students returning to sending countries who are NICs,8 whose economies are booming and employment prospects considerably brighter (Bond et al., 2007; Mok, 2007).

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8 Newly Industrializing Countries.
This latest information is creating a frenzy of activity in government, university and private agency circles, in a concerted bid to increase the numbers of students arriving and staying in Canada. A recent study was commissioned by the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) from concerns that international students graduating from Canadian institutions did not join the Canadian workforce (Bond et al., 2007). As the preface notes, “somehow we were not capitalizing on the immense talent represented by the international cohort” (p. 1). Although it can be read as a genuine concern that we are under-estimating and under-utilizing international students as a source of internationalization, it also adds to the rising evidence that internationalization is being driven by a desire for economic and political advantage accruing to host countries rather than a vague notion of academic merit. Why else would we be concerned about international students leaving our shores after they graduate?

Moving from the economic factors to academic matters, as I mentioned earlier, the CBIE surveys establish broad satisfaction among international students about their studies in Canadian colleges and universities, but further detail on their learning experiences are not available. In research conducted by Bond (2006) on internationalized learning, she found that there was not enough support provided to international students to ensure their success, and the expertise of all students was not drawn on in the classroom. Students in this study reported overwhelmingly (90% of respondents) that they learn best when faculty members use interactive pedagogies. In contrast, 80% of faculty members in the study reported using the lecture format the most (Bond, 2006).

In another recent study conducted in a Western Canadian university, Andres, Lukac and Pidgeon (2005) sought to understand the first year experiences of both domestic and international students. Academic experience included such topics as class size, faculty engagement, teaching, TA quality, study skills, time management and so on. Findings from students’ academic experience confirmed the importance of TAs and the quality and teaching skills of TAs for the learning success of international students. Good professors were described as ones who took the time to engage and interact with students, had time to return emails and calls, conducted office hours, delivered clear and
informative lectures, and who could excel in any type of classroom. Those who were unprepared, unapproachable, did not return student initiated communication and were ineffective in the classroom were not appreciated. The Language Proficiency Index (LPI) requirements were strongly critiqued by international students who found them daunting and recommendations were made for more practice opportunities for English communication. The report made recommendations on a variety of issues geared towards improving first year experiences of all students. In brief, the needs of international students required more attention.

Findings related to the social lives of students were predictable. Andres, Lukac and Pidgeon (2005) describe how international students gave up on socializing with Canadian students (who were described as being of the “hi-bye” variety), and sought out students from their own cultural background. Domestic students were unaware of social problems faced by international students.

Campus housing was among the other social issues mentioned by the international students. Having their fate decided by a housing lottery was not just incomprehensible, as students did not like living off-campus, but was a sign, in their view, that the university was not interested in their well-being. These conclusions contradict the rationales and purposes that universities present to justify internationalization of their institutions.

Universities, administrators and practitioners claim that the presence of foreign students on local campuses enriches domestic students and provides strong basis for internationalization of campuses. Students, it is claimed, bring diverse perspectives on a variety of subjects, world views, opinions and so on, that will influence domestic students to become more aware of global issues, and more sensitive to cultural difference (Knight, 2000). These claims are challenged by Mestenhauser (1998; 2002), Bowry (2002) and Bond (2006).

Mestenhauser (2002 states:

study after study concluded that foreign students are isolated, that they function in their cultural ghettos, that most faculty members do not solicit or appreciate their presence, and that their relations with domestic students are superficial and negligible. Many of my students are still producing their Masters' and PhD theses in which
they are reaching the same conclusions about foreign students here — (Mestenhauser, 2002, p. 16).

In an indictment of how institutions ignore the resources of international students, Mestenhauser (2002) problematises the “reductionist rhetoric” (p. 16) that the mere presence of international students will produce intercultural and internationalized dimensions. Based on personal observation and research studies, he shows the gap between the ideals of university mission statements on internationalization and the reality in the classroom, and proceeds to describe curricular innovations he believes are necessary to utilize the presence of international students on the campus.

Bowry (2002) asserts that he could find no study that investigated the impact of international students on domestic students. He reviews the literature of the 1980s and 1990s recognizing the educational benefits of enrolling international students and notes that at best these views are “speculative” and then cites further literature that suggests domestic students are not gaining from the ‘enriching effect’ of having foreign students on the campus. He concludes that the “awkward coexistence of these two positions of the literature heightens the need for more definitive research” (p. 10).

Bond (2006) provides further confirmation of the under-utilization of students in the internationalization process, and adds a valuable perspective on how faculty members’ experiences are also not encouraged or used in internationalized learning (Bond, 2003). Her findings suggest that faculty members “challenge the increasingly popular notion that internationalizing education can be achieved by simply by adding an international dimension to aspects of the curriculum” (Bond, 2006, p. 2), and that universities provide little or no support to faculty members who are trying to internationalize their curriculum. Other findings further suggest that the goals of internationalization are valued by all students, although they may not necessarily experience them. When domestic students were asked what was needed to prepare them for participation in a global society, students identified such qualities and skills such as open mindedness, flexibility, acceptance of others, dismantling ethnocentric views, in order to help them build relationships with people from other cultures.
The identified these outcomes and not job search or marketability as valued skills to acquire from university education.

Although students report satisfaction with their programs in Canada, some common difficulties are mentioned in academic and student life, such as finances, employment, language acquisition, lack of social networks and barriers preventing friendships with Canadian students, housing, loneliness and isolation. As well, the few research studies point to the fact that international students are not seen as resources, nor are their experiences and background drawn upon in the classroom. There is a need for further research in whether international students contribute to the internationalization process and surveys alone appear to be inadequate.

Before I turn to other research in internationalization I would like to refer to a parallel area of research that becomes useful when considering the experiences of international students, that is, issues of race and diversity in higher education. I have selected Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson and Allen’s (1998) review on the racial climate on U.S. campuses as an example of how this and other similar studies offer an insight into learning and identity issues in a North American context. Hurtado et al. state that although the issue of race on campus has been receiving more attention in relation to policy in higher education, policy initiatives concerning racial climate on the campus are infrequent and largely nonexistent. While offering possible explanations for this phenomenon, the authors assert the need for connecting recent research on these topics with ‘thoughtful policy’ that makes progress on educating a diverse student body, and through a review of this research literature, articulate a framework for understanding the campus racial climate. The four-part framework is based on the notion that students are educated in distinct racial contexts shaped by external (sociohistorical) and internal (institutional) influences, and is constituted of the following elements: an institution’s historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion, its structural diversity, the psychological climate of perceptions and attitudes between and among groups, and the behavioural climate dimension of intergroup relations.
Some of the findings that have bearing on this study relate to minority group identity issues, and policy on diversity. Increasing structural diversity without creating adequate support services for minority groups, Hurtado et al find, creates problems and tensions for both white and minority students. Racial ethnic student organizations and programs for minority students, often criticised for balkanizing campus relations, are identity enhancing for minority students. Increased identity comfort across both white and minority groups leads to greater interest in cross-cultural activities and socializing. Socializing across and among racial/ethnic groups has a positive effect on retention, satisfaction, intellectual and social self-regard for all students.

Having considered some key strategies of internationalization that are relevant to this study, the presence of international students, internationalization of curriculum, and the notion of internationalization at home, I now identify some current trends in research and practice of internationalization of higher education. This will situate the Canadian efforts, and in turn, the study at hand, in the broader context of internationalization globally.

2.5 Current calls for research in internationalization

Research on internationalization appears in a number of different scholarly fields, although it is becoming more visible in general publications on higher education (Kehm & Teichler, 2007). I have selected a few key trends and ideas from the wide selection available, in order to establish how my study responds to the call for research in particular aspects of internationalization.

There are more connections being made in the last few years between globalization and higher education (e.g., Burbules & Torres, 2000; Edwards & Usher, 2000; Odin & Manicas, 2004), and influences on internationalization of higher education in particular (Beerkens, 2003; Scott, 2000). The theoretical connections between globalization and internationalization of higher education, however, and the conceptualizations of internationalization in this context are still lacking in depth (Mestenhauser, 2002). This is one of the areas where I anticipate that my dissertation will make a contribution. The framework I propose in Part II will be the basis of this reconceptualization.
Kehm & Teichler (2007) provide an overview of research in internationalization scholarship from 1997 to 2007, describing the general state of research, the common themes and trends of that research including the methods and approaches of the studies, and finally, recommendations for future research. While they noted that the research on internationalization has increased quantitatively, it is increasingly linked to other disciplines, leading, in their view, to a “fuzziness ... not treated with an adequate number of attempts at clarification, conceptualization or definition” (p. 262). This dissertation is an attempt to provide some of the clarification and conceptualization that has been noted as missing in the field.

Another trend noted by Kehm and Teichler (2007) is the political and national ties and connections to internationalization of higher education, while at the same time internationalization is constituted at an institutional level. In other words, it represents tensions in terms of national and political ties to the internationalization of higher education. I will explore these concerns in my analysis of globalization and national-institutional affiliations. These considerations further reflect and in turn reproduce existing unequal relations.
among nations: "three fourths of the world mobility is vertical" (Kehm &
Teichler, 2007, p. 262). This confirmed my argument that an analysis of
internationalization must include a framework that could make visible such
power relations, and furthermore, provides a strong case for considering a social
transformation model for internationalization.

Kehm and Teichler (2007) further note that there is a greater focus more
recently on internationalization of learning, teaching and research, and notably,
the notion of internationalization at home. In relation to the latter, the authors
recommend research addressing what they call a "dialectic of normalisation and
specialisation of internationalisation" (p. 271). By normalization, the authors are
referring to the "increasing internationalization of everyday life" (p. 271) through
the cultural and international experiences that all students entering the
university have already acquired either through contact with others, or other
sources (such as travel). This element can contribute to internationalization of the
university, thus making programs such as study abroad less attractive and
almost redundant. In turn, the university has to create international programs as
a special attraction, thus causing the 'specialisation' of internationalization. This
phenomenon places increasing significance on existing domestic diversity and on
the 'international' at home. As Bond (2006) suggests, internationalization then
should become increasingly reliant on and be promoted by faculty and students
who already bring the international and intercultural experiences into the
university. As I have reviewed in an earlier section, I find Nilsson's (Wachter,
2003) notion of Internationalization at Home a valuable strategy for
internationalization, and I will be following up on this strand in my research and
recommendations.

Mok (2007) offers a critical look at internationalization from the
perspective of Asian universities. After describing the growth of
internationalization, he makes the case that it sets up a vertical power structure
in higher education that mirrors current international relations. Mok traces the
influence of western institutions on internationalization efforts in Asian
universities. He warns against direct appropriation of western methods, and
makes a plea for balance, and for drawing on Asian traditions and values in the
process of internationalization. This article represents a growing trend to internationalize the research on internationalization of higher education, representing a broader diversity of views, other than western perspectives. Altbach and Teichler (2001) describe these trends as higher education being moved towards "a more international posture" (p. 6). They state that academic mobility is at the highest level it has been with a growth of a global labour market for academics. "International mobility" is becoming "a standard aspect of academic life" (p. 8).

This overview of recent trends in internationalization research both in North America and internationally, help to locate this study within the research in the field, and identifies how it might be useful in the areas noted.

2.6 Conclusion to Part I

The goals of Part I of this dissertation were to provide background to and an overview of the subject area that is being investigated. In Chapter 1, I described my personal and professional experiences, interests and concerns that led to the selection of the research question, and the orientation of the research. This was a research interest that began when I first started teaching in international programs at university level, and I consider this dissertation as another step in the pursuit of research in internationalization of higher education. Having described the process leading up to the study, including the rationales and basis for the investigation, I presented my research questions, and outlined how the research would be organized and presented in this dissertation.

Chapter 2 presented an overview of literature in selected topics about internationalization of higher education. I began with an overview of the problems with definitions and rationales advanced by earlier studies. There are gaps between the rhetoric and the reality. I situated the presence of international students and the internationalization of curriculum in strategies for internationalization and drew attention to the notion of internationalization at home as an under-utilised strategy of internationalization. I noted my concerns relating to the theorizing (or rather, under-theorizing of) the notion of internationalizing the curriculum, identifying the benefits of drawing on
scholarship from the internationalization of curriculum studies. A review of literature on the experiences of international students in study abroad programs followed, and I identified how my study might contribute to this aspect of internationalization. Recent literature on trends in internationalization research concluded this chapter and Part I.

Part II of this dissertation is the conceptual framework of this study, with chapters on globalization, relations/relationships in the internationalized university, and identity.
PART II
DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Fig. 7
Chapter 3: Understanding Globalization, the Context for the Internationalization of Higher Education

Internationalization is changing the world of higher education, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization.

(Knight, 2004, p. 5)

To call globalization a form of human imaginary, opens the possibility for that imaginary to be not only critiqued but also revisioned when subject to influences that can reveal its limitations.

(Smith, 1999a, p. 4)
3.1 Entering the 'global village'

The popular reaction or response to globalization is that you are either for it, or against it, and I had no reason to be against it. My first conscious experience of globalization as the 'one world' or 'global village' phenomenon was in the early 80s, when I still lived in Sri Lanka. After many years of 'deprivation' and a ban on 'imported' goods following austerity measures of a socialist government, 'foreign goods' had finally become available. Import restrictions lifted, we were soon assured of our worth and value as global citizens by being able to purchase products promoted in the global media. The availability of apples and grapes, Coca Cola, Cadbury's chocolate, not to mention Levi jeans and Hallmark cards was a sure sign that the country was making progress, and that we were firmly on the way to becoming part of the 'one world' that we kept hearing about. On the work front, the ease with which one could travel and the lower costs of air fare made it possible for me to extend my 'place' of work as a photographer and journalist from my home base of Colombo to other parts of the world. These journeys led me to an inter-cultural/inter-national marriage and my subsequent move to Canada. Over the past twenty years I have reaped the benefits of a global marketplace by being able to enjoy tropical food that I am familiar with, purchased in my Fort Langley neighbourhood grocery store. I have enjoyed the company of a growing diaspora of Sri Lankans, and with the latest internet and communication technology, I can 'video-chat', computer-to-computer, with friends around the world. I am more connected with 'home' now than I was when I left home some twenty-three years ago. What's not to like about globalization?

My education about globalization took an intense turn during my work with Susila Dharma International, an international development organization working with partners in 23 countries. I learned about a different kind of impact of the 'one world' phenomena: deepening crisis for the world's poor, lack of access to basic necessities, and how the practices of multinational corporations were contributing to the problems and even creating them. Back in Canada, I was witnessing family members and friends fighting to survive in the orchard and farming sectors in the face of free trade agreements, the squeezing out of neighbourhood corner stores and coffee shops by mega stores and coffee conglomerates, the invasion of large box-stores into communities changing popular
Culture and life-styles, and the steady erosion of traditional work and the job market. What's to like about globalization?

The question of whether one is for or against globalization seems to be irrelevant. We are in it, and there's no going back. While it is easy to fall into a sense of helplessness and despair in the face of such inevitability and the loss of control over private and community life, I find hope seeking strategies of transformative resistance in changing this condition. This search for agency and ethical practice informs my exploration of globalization and its incursions into higher education.

3.2 Exploring globalization

In spite of the signs that internationalization was driven by a market-ideology, university administrators and practitioners, by and large, believed that it was a liberal-studies based notion of an academic rationale for international education, that is, the promotion of global learning, intercultural understanding and global citizenship, that guided its practices (Beck, 2001). I made a case for the importance of interrogating globalization and naming its role in the internationalization discourse. This connection between the economic dimensions of globalization and international education made explicit the ways in which the economic market model influenced the theory and practice of international education, aligning the rationales for internationalization closer to the competitive model of internationalization (Warner, 1991). This orientation further situates the rationale for internationalization within an economic/political ideology, rather than the academic rationale articulated by many Canadian institutions and practitioners (Knight, 2000). I reiterate my arguments on the globalization-internationalization connection in this study, and in this chapter, make the case that explicating the complexity of globalization contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the internationalization of higher education.

It is not a lack of scholarship on globalization that is the problem. Explicit and detailed commentaries have been written on the connections between globalization and education (e.g., Rizvi & Lingard, 2000; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Scott, 1998; Currie and Newson, 1998; Edwards & Usher, 2000; Giroux, 2002;
Odin & Manicas, 2004; Smith 2006). This material suggests that there are very real connections to be made between internationalization of higher education and globalization that merit more than a brief mention of importance and relationship. In the recent conference Internationalization of Canadian Universities (York International, 2006) research and perspectives on internationalization were presented that challenged the standard uncritical celebratory rhetoric that has accompanied such conferences in the past few years. This growing interest in research and scholarship on internationalization is encouraging. A literature review of North American scholarship on internationalization of higher education revealed, however, that while recent scholarship is taking on those challenges (e.g., Dwyer & Reed, 2006; Mok, 2007), the influences and relationships between globalization and internationalization have not been adequately explored or theorized, especially as it pertains to international students.

How will this analysis contribute to my conceptual framework for the study on international students? I suggest that an analysis of internationalization of higher education that overlooks or excludes globalization is incomplete and misleading, giving the impression that internationalization is conceptually value-free and neutral. This, in turn, influences how internationalization of higher education is promoted and practised. Internationalization seen in the context of globalization, I maintain, recognizes the complexity of internationalization, and clarifies some of the confusion related to its practices. As noted in earlier chapters, some of this confusion relates to the purposes of internationalization (who does it benefit?), rationales (why do we internationalize?), definitions (what does it mean?), and practices (how does it impact learning and teaching at the university?). From a data analysis perspective, my proposed analysis provides a broader understanding, for example, of international student mobility, desire for international study, choices of program, attitudes and perceptions, and

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9 Pertinent analyses of globalization, higher education, the university and its impact on internationalization have mostly been produced by European scholars, e.g., Peter Scott (2001), Ulrich Teichler (2007), Eric Beerkens (2003) and Australian scholars — e.g., Miriam Henry, Bob Lingard, Fazal Rizvi, Sandra Taylor, Julie Matthews).
institutional practices. It contextualizes students in the bigger picture of global educational flows, and overall, the rationales for their choices and actions can be understood as emerging from, or influenced by the “flows” connected with the multiple dimensions of globalization.

I will first select descriptions of globalization from the sociology literature that are useful for this study. As the concept of ‘nation’ figures fundamentally in the notion of ‘inter-national’, I will briefly examine ‘nation’ in the context of globalization, and consider some of the connections between globalization, nation and the international. From there, I will consider how education and higher education in particular, is influenced and impacted by the economic dimensions of globalization. I take the position that these influences are harmful, and in order to find possibilities for resistance and agency, I argue that it is necessary to gain an understanding of the multiple dimensions of globalization that go beyond the binary created by the economic dimensions. The cultural dimensions of globalization show the complexity of the flows and processes of globalization, for example, in the configurations and tensions that arise between the global and the local.

One of the contributions I offer to the theorizing of internationalization of higher education arises from the accounts of cultural dimensions. It is the suggestion that internationalization be conceptualized as an ‘eduscape’, following the framework of Appadurai (1990; 1996). I argue that this framing would be a more appropriate explanation of the complex flows of internationalization than the present description of internationalization as a process of infusion of intercultural/international content, which I contend is simplistic. From the complex cultural dimensions of globalization, I will next examine curriculum and pedagogy in the light of these concepts, further showing how and why the exploration of globalization is relevant for this study, and for the theorization of learning and teaching in the internationalizing university. The implications of this approach for the internationalization of higher education and my study will conclude this chapter.
3.3  What is globalization? A brief overview

There is not an area of human endeavour that does not seem to be connected to or impacted by globalization (Rizvi & Lingard, 2000; Scott, 2001). While the term is used to explain a wide spectrum of phenomena in domains including the economic, social, cultural and political, the controversies and debates on what constitutes globalization take many forms. Debates often value one account of globalization over another; e.g., the cultural account versus the
economic, or the social versus the political (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004; Waters, 1995). Given the extent of their influence, tracing the connections between the tropes of globalization and internationalization appear to be both necessary and significant. Agreeing with Noel Gough (1999) that “globalization is not a subject and/or object to be constrained by definition, but a focus for speculation – for generating meanings” (p. 73), I do not plan to itemize the many ways in which globalization is defined or theorized, but have selected a few relevant ‘meanings’ that will generate ideas for my own framework to understand internationalization.

The popular understanding of the term ‘globalization’ refers to the perception that the globe has shrunk, due to the effects of communications and technology (McGrew, 1992): “the crystallization of the entire world as a single place” (Robertson, 1987 in King, 1997, p. 11). The borderless world, becoming a single place, has been attributed largely to technology, the increased levels of communication enabled by technology, fast travel and transport, and the vast movements or flows of goods, people, ideas and knowledge that accompany it (Kilminster, 1997; McGrew, 1992; Nederveen Pieterse, 2004; Spybey, 1996; Waters, 1995;). Appadurai (1996), emphasizing the phenomenon of movement, calls it the emergence of “diasporic public spheres” (p. 10). Globalization is thus understood as the flow of goods, people, ideas and knowledge across national boundaries and as a social process where the impact of activities and events in one part of the world impacts communities in a distant part of the world (Giddens, 1990; Waters, 1995). “Globalization ... refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8).

Despite its historical antecedents in empire building (Robertson, 1990; McGrew, 1992), there is agreement that contemporary globalization can be dated to the early 1970s (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Kilminster, 1997; Smith, 1999b; Waters, 1995). Burbules and Torres (2000) locate it as emerging from the petroleum crisis of 1970 — 1973 that resulted in economic and technological changes in energy creation and production, as well as manufacturing and production. This locates globalization firmly in the realm of economics, more
specifically, production on a global scale, and more broadly, in the rise and proliferation of capitalism (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Ghosh, 2004; Giroux, 2002; Smith, 1999b), and reflects the predominantly economic terms in which globalization is theorized, presented and promoted.

Economic restructuring, linked to the emergence of neoliberal policies (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Giroux, 2002) has resulted in the economic ordering of human relations and the universal application of capitalist economic theory (Korten, 1995; Smith, 1999b). Burbules and Torres (2000) describe it in terms of new relationships and arrangements among nation states and regions influenced by features such as trade agreements, common markets and tariff rules and regulations. These relationships are dominated by multinational corporations: 25 percent of the world economy and 80 percent of world trade are controlled by 600 multinational corporations (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 6). Economic globalization is promoted as a means of progress and development through free trade, technology and a culture of efficiency (Friedman, 2000). Others, however, have argued that globalization has driven the world towards greater divides of inequality and that it is a means of recolonizing the world by industrialized countries (Bauman, 1998; Ghosh, 2004; Korten, 1995; McMurtry, 1998; Shiva, 1995; Smith, 2000).

In the midst of claims of universal progress and human advancement, however, there lies evidence of crisis, loss, destruction and degradation in all sectors of livelihood and community living. Agricultural practices worldwide, and livelihoods of people who are dependent on them are threatened and dominated by the campaigns and practices of multinational corporations and their predatory marketing practices (Shiva, Jafri & Jalees, 2003). In the manufacturing sectors, the internationalization of trade and the emergence of technological advances have resulted in, for example, the restructuring of the labour market and the replacement of stable and predictable wages by piecework and temporary contracts, changes and relaxation of protective labour legislation, the de-skilling of large numbers of the workforce and the increase in part-time and temporary workers (Burbules & Torres, 2000). "Economic restructuring has led to a model of exclusion that leaves out large sectors of the population,
particularly women living in poverty in developed and developing countries” (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 7). As a third example, the market model of economic globalization has promoted a culture of consumption that is proving to be unsustainable, exacerbates the deep divide between those who have and those who struggle to survive, and calls into question the survival of the planet itself (Gough, 2007; McMurtry, 1998; Shiva, 1997; Smith, 1999b).

The influences of the market model of globalization on the nation state and on economic, political and social theory in general are well documented in the literature of those domains, and although they have relevance to my inquiry, I will not be examining them in detail. What is useful, however, is a consideration of how globalization and the nation are connected to higher education, and in turn, the internationalization of higher education. Internationalization, or the process that involves ‘the international’, is posited on the ‘nation’ as a key player. While the concept of ‘global’ implies the transcendence of any one locale or place and the awareness of a ‘one place’, ‘international’ is preceded by the existence of the nation state whose citizens and institutions engage with one another, with their prime identification being a national one. Thus, a discussion on internationalization of higher education must consider the influence of globalization on the nation as it relates to higher education.

3.4 Globalization, the nation, and the international

The impact of globalization has for some theorists called into question the concept of the ‘sovereignty’ of the nation state. Even while some nations are vigilantly guarding their borders against immigration and border crossing, social
theorists suggest that national boundaries have less significance for its citizens as individuals and communities have access to information, communication, technology, and knowledge, services and markets independent of and out of the control of national authorities (Edwards & Usher, 2000; Gough, 1999; McGrew, 1992; Smith, 2006). Transnational corporations produce and manufacture commodities across national boundaries through an international division of labour, and promote consumerism across the globe. There is a perception that the future of all states is tied together in the face of global economic booms and recessions, environmental crises and the prospect of nuclear war (McGrew, 1992, p. 64). McGrew (1992) raises the issue of the limitations and, thus, the survival of the nation state and the modern political community in the face of these forces, asserting that globalization is eroding basic tenets of social science, such as ‘society’ itself. With these erosions, there is evidence of a weakening of national ties and identifications.

The concept of national autonomy in the face of globalization is being retheorized. One view proposes that nation states are not as autonomous or as sovereign as they have been made out to be if one accepts the argument that modernity is inherently globalizing (Held, 1992). This position is supported by argument that capitalism has not been contained within national borders. In this regard, Giddens (1990) argues that the sovereignty of the nation state was not formed before the system of and collaboration or connection between nation-states. It came into being at the same time, and thus is “dependent on the relations between states” (p. 67, emphasis added). Because of the uneven nature and dialectical quality of globalization, nation states are not losing their autonomy at the same rate, or in the same way. Burbules and Torres (2000) contend that “The nation state survives as a medial institution, far from powerless, but constrained by trying to balance ... its responses to internal and external pressures” (p. 10).

An example of an internal pressure is the maintenance of a national identity and cohesion while facing the loss of status and autonomy of the nation state. This has seen a marked increase in national strategy to strengthen ‘national culture’ (Caglar, 1997), a phenomenon that is hardly new (Anderson, 1991), but one that has intensified with globalization. These constructs are based on myths,
histories, standards and symbols, and in particular the myth of an original pure
people, attempting to unify all groups within the bounds of the nation into one
cultural identity (Anderson, 1991, Hall, 1992; Featherstone, 1995). This is
strengthened by the belief that people have a need to be attached to a place and
to something called 'home' (Scruton, 1986 in Hall, 1992, p. 291; Rutherford,
1990a). With the fragmentation of community and regional affiliations, the
disembeddedness, and the drastic changes to the concept of what 'home' is,
people, according to this view, turn to the nation as the primary source of
identification.

‘Nation’ as a term is radically connected with ‘native’. We are born into
relationships, which are typically settled in a place. This form of primary
and ‘placeable’ bonding is of quite fundamental human and natural
importance. Yet the jump from that to anything like the modern nation­
state is entirely artificial (Williams cited in Featherstone, 1995, p. 108).

The nation, thus, is a symbolic community, a system of representation.
Anderson (1991) describes the nation as “an imagined political community”
imagined as both “inherently limited and sovereign” (p. 6). It is limited because it
has physical boundaries, and imagined because the members of that community
will never know most of their fellow members and yet have alive in them an
image of that community. The nation is “always conceived as a deep, horizontal
comradeship” (p. 7). Building on Anderson in the context of global cultural
flows, Appadurai (1996) proposes a global imaginary:

There has been a shift in recent decades, building upon technological
changes over the past century or so, in which imagination has become a
collective social fact. This development, in turn is the basis of the plurality
of imagined worlds (p. 5).

I will be exploring Appadurai’s global imaginary, especially the notion of
’scapes’ later in this chapter as a significant point of analysis to understand
higher education in the context of globalization.

A phenomenon that is becoming increasingly visible in the face of global
pressures, is that of nationalism. The weakening of the nation state, and the
development of the ‘global imaginary’, has promoted resistance in the form of
nationalism, a reinvigoration of ethnicity and fundamentalism, all negative
consequences (Ashcroft et al., 1998; Haggis & Scheck, 2000; Kilminster, 1997;
There has been a strengthening of fundamentalism across social, political, and cultural domains (Ashcroft et al., 1998; Hall, 1992; McGrew, 1992). In the extreme example of resistance, nation-states have withdrawn from the international system completely as in the case of Albania, Myanmar, Cambodia, and North Korea, to isolate themselves from these forces (Spybey, 1994; Appadurai, 1990, p. 307). Globalizing forces highlight difference and the particular, and in the face of such plurality, nations are driven into retreating further into imagined communities of the past, into ethnicities, into fundamentalism, as people try to cope with the disembedded nature of social relations, and nations try to forge a sense of 'national' unity. In this regard, there has been a marked rise in hostilities towards ethnic groups that threaten long established dominant groups, while in some cases there has been a return to fundamentalist nationalism (Spybey, 1996; Hall, 1992; Featherstone, 1995).

As the autonomy of nation states is threatened by internal and external pressure, nation states try to regain their domains of influence. One of the ways in which this manifests is the intensification of national culture and the rise of fundamentalism. This affects the contexts that the students depart from, and the environment they arrive into. In relating these phenomena to my study, international relations among nations are increasingly being driven by economic alliances, and this will be experienced differentially by international students depending on where they live, and the nature of the relationship between their country and Canada.

Within the nation, relationships and connections between the nation and higher educational institutions are also changing. I will now discuss these relationships and further implications of globalization on higher education.

### 3.5 Globalization and higher education

The literature on globalization and education supports the argument that economic globalization is making its mark on education (Apple, 2000; Bartell, 2003; Beerkens, 2003; Bond & Lemasson, 1999; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Cambridge, 2002; Edwards & Usher, 2000; Häyrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006; Henry, Linguard, Rizvi & Taylor, 1999; Levin, 2003; Rizvi & Linguard, 2000). The
research on school educational policy-making alludes to common themes across several countries. School reform has been promoted by national governments where change is formulated in economic terms, institutions are encouraged to be run in business-oriented managerial styles, student outcomes are aligned to employment-related skills and competencies, and there are attempts to control and initiate national curricula (Apple, 2000; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Edwards & Usher, 2000). Apple (2000) argues that there is considerable influence of conservative ideologies on educational policy and practice, where students are seen as "human capital" (p. 60), schools subjected to competition and the market, and overall, education tied to economic goals.

Edwards and Usher (1998) suggest that education has had a specific role in nation building and national culture, and that this role has intensified in globalized conditions. New forms of production and markets have both resulted in and fueled competitiveness, in turn leading to the promotion of specific competencies and skills needed to advantageously position the nation regionally and globally. Education thus serves and contributes towards globalization, resulting in, for example, the growth of Open and Distance Learning (ODL), educational technology, educational markets including the demand driven programs and courses, and English as an international language (p. 164).

This trend has been noted in higher education. Indeed, Canadian higher education and its evolution have been tied to "the imperatives of the capitalist nation state during the postwar years" and its purposes to "the expansion of the Keynesian welfare state" (Magnussen, 2000, p. 108). Higher education accordingly, is connected to the labour market in both the public and private sectors, in a nationalist context. The growth of transnational production characteristic of globalization, and the weakening of the social welfare state precipitated further intensification of the linkages between the purposes of economic globalization (and the market) and higher education (Magnussen, 2000; Marginson, 1997).

Globalized conditions have created a tension in how universities respond. On the one hand, they are 'local' institutions, expected to take care of the needs of local communities, including access to marginalized people. This is the
'inward-looking' orientation. On the other hand, competition, national pressures and opportunity created by globalization pulls the university to look outwards to both enhance networks and widen the scope of the institution. These are the global/local tensions of the times. Peter Scott (1998) characterizes this as the tension between the "massification" of higher education and internationalization (p. 109).

It is a paradox that is consistent with globalization forces, that in an era where the significance of the nation state is diminishing, it is seeking to tighten its connection with higher education. The public university is linked to state power. It is dependent on the government for its budget, and in turn governments increasingly look upon universities to fulfil a national purpose. Although international economic competitiveness is not the sole reason for the funding of higher education, there is increased pressure for education to play a role in aligning with national policy in the 'training' of graduates in specific competencies in order to maintain national competitiveness and national identity. While facing increased pressure, government funding and resources to post-secondary institutions are declining, thus encouraging these institutions to develop a more entrepreneurial approach towards survival with strategies such as the marketing of educational products and services. "A number of universities, moreover, are recognizing the urgent need to re-position their institutions in a far more globally competitive context, and are seeking ways to judge their performance in the light of global standards of innovation and excellence" (Mallea, 2007, p. 4). Häyrinen-Alastalo & Peltola (2006) document how these forces are operating and how the university's role in Europe (and in Finland in particular) has shifted from a traditional societal role to a market one.

Universities are becoming more corporate and less collegial, more consumer-oriented, and are more concerned with accountability and excellence (Edwards & Usher, 2000, p. 79; Scott, 2000) and are becoming "big corporate bureaucracies" (Scott, 2000, p. 8). Edwards and Usher (2000, chap. 4) citing Lyotard's (1984, cited on p. 76–81) analysis of knowledge production in postmodernity, describe this in terms of "performativity", which means performing to external demands, a phenomenon that has increased with
globalization. Here, performativity is located within wider discursive practices of
economic globalization, neo-liberal economics and competitiveness. Education
becomes the means of attaining and maintaining the flexibility that is considered
necessary in the face of the technological and socio-economic change required by
these conditions. It is “restructured as part of the economy ... no longer viewed as
a universal welfare right so much as a form of investment in the development of
skills that will enhance global competitiveness” (Pieterse, 1996 cited in Edwards
& Usher, 2000, p. 76).

This focus on performativity has changed notions of knowledge
production, that is, the meaning and purposes of research, teaching and learning.
Research itself, in general, is following technology and is becoming more
oriented towards system efficiency and performance rather than to ‘free’ inquiry.
As knowledge is seen to be the most important resource, certainly in
industrialized and developed countries, there is an increased emphasis on
instrumental learning, and more investment in “scientific” rather than other
kinds of research (P. Scott, 1998; Edwards & Usher, 2000; Ghosh, 2004). Higher
education, in general, is viewed as an investment that will maintain economic
comparative advantage.

Edwards and Usher (2000) further argue that performativity has led to a
greater linkage between research and policy, and that it has contributed towards
a separation of pedagogy from research. The prestige and ‘standing’ of a
university is assessed partly on the amount of research funding it attracts, and
also in the standing of the researchers within it. In the West at least, this has led
to the creation of elite groups of researchers, usually attached to an elite group of
institutions. In this regard, research is seen to be a higher priority than the
pedagogical function of the institution.

The composition of the student body in higher education has changed as
well. There are learners of all ages and the training is not, as has been in the past,
for the liberal elite seeking positions in elite professions: there are large numbers
of adult students, for example, seeking training in non-traditional subjects and
new domains of knowledge, job re-training and continuing education. Learners
of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds have become part of the student
populations as mobility has resulted in major demographic changes primarily in urban centres of Europe, North America and Australia, and to a lesser degree, East Asia.

Other influences and changes include advances in technology. There is extensive literature on the impact on open and distance learning (ODL) and the increasing importance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) which I will not be commenting on, but acknowledge that the concept of knowledge production, learning and teaching have been significantly affected by advances in and interconnection between these areas.

I have gone into some detail to present current ideas about the impacts and influences of globalization on higher education. In spite of these explicit connections made between globalization and higher education, there is less of a willingness to make these connections in the internationalization field. Connections between public institutions and monetary motives will be made clearer through the narratives and accounts of the international students interviewed for this study.

Other implications for my study from this exploration of globalization include the tensions between the nation and the university in the face of increasing transnational possibilities for the university and the loss of state funding, driving the university to take on an entrepreneurial identity. Another tension for the university is that it is trying to establish itself in the global marketplace through a distinct national (in this case, Canadian) identity. In other words, the university aligns itself to national interests and promotes a marketing image that projects a national identity. Simultaneously, the university is trying to establish an internationalizing agenda at home that promotes an international identity. Is the campus meant to project a Canadian identity to its international students, and how is this accomplished? On the other hand, how does the university advocate its international identity to students, one that is integrating an intercultural/international dimension to its learning, teaching, research and service areas? I will take up this theme in the following chapters to track how this simultaneity of diversity or pluralism, and nationalism plays out.
Academic and student mobility tends to be influenced, argues Scott (2000), by international relations and alliances in a geopolitical context. It is his contention that internationalization, because of its reliance on the nation state and relationships among them, reproduces existing hegemonic and unequal international relations. The implications of this analysis are that it firmly places the university within a nationalistic field of influence rather than the autonomous institution that it is imagined to be, and furthermore, it implicates the university in furthering relationships and alliances that entrench and maintain a hierarchical system. This includes the seemingly ‘neutral’ and independent act of recruiting international students and participating in academic exchanges.

The university is caught up in promoting a national agenda for higher education, through preparing graduates to live and work in contemporary globalized conditions. These goals are the same as those of internationalization, including the competitive positions of graduates in research and professional domains. These trends reflect the changing ideas about the purposes of higher education, and a greater alignment to economic considerations.

As I have illustrated, the economic dimensions of globalization are a major influence on, and have impacted higher education. The economic dimensions of globalization itself provide grounds for much debate, critique and analysis, but to proceed with my argument, it is not the only dimension. Indeed, it is to avoid this single account of globalization and examine its complexity and ambiguity that is the present task, and in order to do so, I will now examine sociological accounts of the nature and forces of globalization. This will, for example, make visible the cultural dimensions of globalization. Recognizing these multiple dimensions of globalization will provide a better understanding of the ways in which globalization operates, including possibilities for resistance and transformative action, providing insights about whether and how resistance and agency can be realized in the internationalization of higher education.
3.6 Globalization/s: Spaces of resistance

The case I am making for an interdisciplinary approach in the theorizing of internationalization of higher education is based on ‘seeing’ several different aspects and dimensions of globalization, a recognition that there is more than one globalization. The first section describes some sociological accounts of how globalization operates through the local and global. This will make visible similar patterns in internationalization. Next, I will describe notions of space and place, as theorized (primarily) by Edwards and Usher (1998; 2000). A theory of indigenization articulated by Appadurai will follow. Arising from these ideas, I will propose a new ‘scape’ called an ‘eduscape’ which will explain the flow of educational practices and activities of internationalization. This conceptualization is central to my argument that internationalization be understood as a complex phenomenon that engages, incorporates and reflects more than a simplistic notion of the ‘intercultural’ or the ‘international’ that are to be found in present usage.

3.6.1 The global and the local

The tropes ‘local’ and ‘global’, described as polarities, are commonly used to explain globalization. Many accounts show how the local is superceded by the global, or the global depicted as the homogenizing force that engulfs the local. As I will illustrate, the phenomenon is more complex.

Globalization has been attributed by some to singular causes. McGrew (1992) reviews how Wallerstein focuses on capitalism and world systems theory, Rosenau argues it is the result of technological progress and the rapid development of communications technology in particular, and Gilpin attributes them to political factors. Other scholars such as Giddens (1990) and Robertson (1990, 1997) see it as a complex process driven by a number of forces, a “dialectical process because it does not bring about a generalized set of changes acting in a uniform direction, but consists in mutually opposed tendencies” (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). Robertson (1997) characterizes these tendencies not so much as ‘mutually opposed’ but as a contradictory interplay between globalizing forces, between the particular and the universal. This complex interaction and synthesis of globalizing and localizing tendencies has been called “glocalization” (Appadurai,
The boundaries of local and global as separate entities have become blurred, and one cannot exist without the other. As Edwards and Usher (2000) argue, each must be understood as part of the other.

Some of the resulting conditions that arise from the reconfiguration of the global and local are time-space distanciation (Giddens, 1990), time-space compression (Robertson, 1990), the disembedding of social relations (Giddens, 1990; McGrew, 1992), and disconnection and dislocation (Edwards & Usher, 2000). The notion that increasing mobility intensifies the experience of disconnection and the disembeddedness from place and social relations is important for my study as it explains both the context and the impact of mobility on international students. I will now discuss place and space in globalization theory in greater detail.

3.6.2 Space and place

As globalization is about movement, the movement of people, ideas, things across borders, it is inevitable that this movement and the consequences of globalization will disrupt notions of place, home, space and time. In this sense, globalization has been seen as ‘re-imagining geography’ (Edwards & Usher, 2000, p. 14; Said, in Hall 1992, p. 301). As the boundaries of geographical place are dissolving with space-time compression, they present varied impacts. Central to this is the question of ‘home’. At one time ‘home’ was within a small bounded community, within a geographically located area. With the intensification of human movement, this is no longer a given. At the one extreme is the alarming and dramatic increase of refugees, displaced by war,
natural disasters, and persecution. At the other end of the spectrum are the urban dwellers, the masses of people who have moved across and within national borders to high density ‘global’ cities in search of work and better lives.

Waters (1995) uses the phenomenon of fragmentation of place to describe globalization as “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede, and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (p. 3). Appadurai (1990) theorizes this as one of deterritorialization where geography of residence no longer completely defines identity.

To illustrate the coexistence of contradictory phenomena, a feature of globalization, Edwards and Usher (2000) argue that the heightened consciousness of the world as ‘one place’ produced by globalization results in an increased, intensified awareness of the “interconnectedness of local ecologies, economies and societies, of the significance of place and location” (p. 10). Their work is particularly concerned with globalization as a ‘conceptualization of space’ and its reconfiguration both physical and imagined (p. 15). They map the resulting tensions between local and global and make the case that the local is not in opposition to globalization, but must be understood as part of it.

The significance of these ideas for my framework are that there are shifting ideas of what constitutes home, and a consciousness of the local in the face of the global. The boundaries are blurred between the local and global, and indeed, they are implicated in one another. Hence, there is at once the experience of disembeddedness and an acute awareness of the significance of place and location. Edwards and Usher (1998; 2000) provide ample food for thought on the issue of location.

“Globalization, by surfacing the locatedness of each and all, highlights the significance of location and practices of locating” (Edwards & Usher, 1998, p. 160). They trace the emergence of metaphors of location and space in proposing a theory of pedagogy for contemporary times and argue that positioning, and being positioned “entail forms of dislocation – of disidentifying and being positioned as other, and where positioning is itself mobile, always on the
move” (p. 160, emphasis added). Referring to globalization as “(dis)location” (p. 160), they follow Brah (1996, cited on p. 160) in theorizing it as a “diaspora space”, unbounded, not closed, and marking “an intersectionality of contemporary conditions of transmigrancy of people, capital, commodities and culture” (Brah, 1996, cited on p. 160). In explaining their concept of (dis)location, they cite Laclau (1990, cited on p. 160) and the notion that dislocation indicates a decentred condition where new and multiple identities and situations can emerge from a diversity of locations. The use of parentheses in the word indicates the simultaneity of how location and dislocation exist together; in other words, “a positioning with simultaneously one and many positions” (p. 161).

Drawing on Derrida (1981, cited on p. 161) they argue that while (dis)location is a decentering of privileged locating forces, a refusal to privilege a certain position or voice, that decentering is never complete as “locating processes will always be present” (p. 161).

The concepts of ‘positioning on the move’ and (dis)location add a layer of complexity to the theorizing of how globalization operates, and in particular, the tropes of local, locale, and location, as well as the people caught up in these movements. These theories will be useful in the analysis and discussion on ‘locating’ international students in the landscape of globalizing educational processes, as well as seeing how they are positioned, and are being positioned. As well, the concept of (dis)location allows me to see the co-existence of paradoxes and contradictions. The notion of diasporan space as providing a position of hope and new possibility is an important one from which to theorize forms of resistance. These ideas will be employed in the analysis and interpretation of the data emerging from the student narratives, taken up in the discussion of data in Chapter 9.

From place, space and location, I now consider Arjun Appadurai’s (1990; 1996) work, which frames themes of ‘glocalization’ and cultural flows into a theory on “scapes” which has been influential in globalism theory, and important for my own work.
3.3.2 Reading scapes

Cultural studies scholar Appadurai (1990) proposes a theory that moves beyond traditional notions of globalization as an engulfing of the peripheries by the centre. Appadurai shifts the focus from a Marxist analysis of capital to the cultural dimension of globalization, in particular, the movement of people, and that of the media. He views global cultural flows as composed of complex, overlapping and disjunctive orders that are not homogenous. His theory challenges the binary centre-periphery model of world systems, in which forces
of western modernity penetrate and absorb peripheral cultures. He dismisses homogenization and simplistic explanations for cultural flows positing a process of indigenization which adapts and changes, or, indigenizes, a global idea, activity or object when assimilated into a local community. To understand this indigenization, he proposes a framework of five “scapes: ethnoscapes (the distribution of mobile individuals as tourists, refugees, migrants etc.), technoscapes (the distribution of technology); finanscapes (the distribution of capital), mediascapes (the distribution of information through a variety of media), and ideoscapes (the distribution of political ideas and values) (p. 296–297). Flows occur among these “scapes” in “increasingly non-isomorphic paths” (p. 301); in other words, through trajectories that are diverse and commonly unpredictable in their directions.

Appadurai (1990; 1996) does not discount the role that capital plays, especially in influencing what gets valued and by whom, but rather, adds the significance of other dimensions to provide a more contextual and relational alternative to the exclusively economic explanations or representations of globalization. He emphasizes the role of the imagination in perceiving linkages between the scapes. This model suggests that convergence and fragmentation can co-exist, offering an alternative to the common analysis of globalization as being a homogenizing force, or one that valorizes and essentializes the local.

I am particularly drawn to theorizing internationalization of education, higher education in this case, with a new scape called an ‘eduscape’, following Appadurai. An ‘eduscape’ could be conceptualized as the flow of educational theories, ideas, programs, activities and research in and across national boundaries. As with the other dimensions of this framework, the global relationships with the other scapes would be “deeply disjunctive” and “profoundly unpredictable” because “each is subject to its own constraints and incentives ... at the same time as each acts as a constraint and a parameter for movements in the others” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35). We cannot understand one in isolation without taking into consideration the influences of other scapes upon

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10 He expands on the ideas in this original article, in the 1996 book, Modernity at Large.
each. Hence, the flow of an eduscape will be influenced or intersected by ethnoscapes (the movement of people — relatives and friends who contribute to ideoscapes), mediascapes (how ideas about education are formed and influenced by the media), finanscapes (the movement of money in personal lives, as well as nationally and internationally) and ideoscapes (the manufacturing of ‘ideas’ about education). Sometimes an eduscape could be driven by finanscapes, and other times, initiated by a combination of ethnoscapes and ideoscapes.

The significant of this analysis is that internationalization could be understood in a more complex manner than the current definition, which limits internationalization to an infusion of intercultural and international dimensions to the various elements of the university (Knight, 2004). Such an infusion implies a one-way flow, and an assumption of stable categories of ‘intercultural’ and ‘international’, whereas the reconceptualization as eduscape reflects a multiflow, a more nuanced, complex, depiction of what these categories are evolving to be.

The accounts of globalization presented in this section articulate multiple perspectives of a very complex, and interwoven set of forces and processes, often paradoxical, between local activities and interaction across distances, some intersecting with one another, some dialectical and contradictory, simultaneously homogenizing as well as fragmenting. Themes of space and compression of space and tensions between global and local predominate. Overall, globalization theory helps to situate the issues relating to internationalization. These theories are also helpful in contextualizing the motivations, rationales and social conditions that influence internationalization.

As the focus of internationalization of higher education is supposed to be for the enhancement and improvement of the learning experience itself, bringing in an intercultural, international dimension to the learning, research and service functions of a university, I would like to now address how curriculum and pedagogy for globalized times might be conceptualized.
3.7 Curriculum and pedagogy for the global university.

I have shown how globalization influences higher education, with increasing significance to research, and diminished attention to teaching. In Chapter 2 I described how internationalizing the curriculum, although high on the priority of universities, has not benefited from parallel theoretical discussions from the field of curriculum studies. As the present research is also about possible futures for internationalization, I would like to go beyond analysis and critique alone. Globalization has created certain conditions for the university, and it is my contention that matters relating to curriculum and pedagogy for contemporary times must consider those conditions. Is it possible to disrupt the
system’s exclusive focus on research and neglect of curriculum and teaching? What are appropriate and suitable curricular and pedagogical approaches in globalized times? Here are some initial thoughts for reflection.

3.7.1 Curriculum: Complicated conversation for complex times

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, although curricular issues have been identified as high priorities in Canadian internationalization, 75% of the respondents (in the last national survey) reported little or no activity in matters relating to internationalizing the curriculum in their institutions (Knight 2000). The 2006 survey (AUCC, 2007) appears to be a little more hopeful as it reports more activity in professional development around internationalizing curriculum.

In contrast, the internationalization of the field of Curriculum Studies, associated primarily with curriculum scholar William Pinar, has facilitated collaborations across continents and nations, a dynamic array of scholarship, a new journal and three very successful international conferences held on the topic. With support for the emergence of a worldwide field of curriculum studies that engages in cross-border and cross-disciplinary conversations the intention, as Gough (2004) describes in the first issue of Transnational Curriculum Inquiry, is to explore “theoretical and practical possibilities for building new transnational and transcultural solidarities in postcolonial curriculum inquiry” (p. 1) and argues that “building such solidarities requires a rethinking of the ways in which we perform and represent curriculum inquiry, so that curriculum work within a global knowledge economy does not merely assimilate national (local) curriculum discourses-practices into an imperial (global) archive” (p. 1). This ‘building of solidarities’ follows the notion of curriculum as complicated conversation (Pinar, 2004).

The field of international education operates outside of these seminal developments and conversations in the field of curriculum studies. I am proposing that the notion of internationalization of curriculum as presently conceived in the field of international education, be reconceptualized to align more closely to developments in the field of curriculum studies, or at the very least to be open to its influences. This is a complex task given the paradigm
tensions and rationales within the internationalization process, acknowledged though little explored. In this climate, the tendency, in my opinion, is to address curriculum with simplistic definitions, and to avoid complicated conversation. My hope is that explorations such as the present one, and similar lines of questioning will interrupt and create new spaces that will provide opportunities for these conversations to occur. What are the ways in which this dialogue would move the field past the fragmentation of curriculum as a particular product of a specific discipline? In what ways will this conversation influence the cultural space of curriculum, and in turn, how can the spaces of internationalization be transformed and re-imagined?

Acknowledging that this dissertation is not the place for a more in-depth discussion of curriculum for international education, I will provide some examples of the direction that would lead to fruitful discussion in this area. I begin with ideas about curriculum (and education) as ‘a becoming.’ Aoki’s (1990/2005) views on three kinds of school have implications for how internationalization of higher education might be better served by issues central to curriculum studies. The first kind of school is a “‘rational thinking,’” school “where the curriculum emphasizes intellectual skills” (p. 361), “a thinking curriculum” (p. 361). Aoki’s second kind of school is a “doing” one that “emphasizes practical skills” (p. 361) “a school that nurtures skills for productive purposes. This school is utilitarian oriented; usefulness in the post-school workplace is the guide to curriculum building. The school is a preparation place for the marketplace, and students are moulded into marketable products” (p. 361). Aoki compares this model to professional schools at universities. I would argue that this view is the predominant orientation to postsecondary ‘schooling’ where notions of global citizenship, participation in a global village, intercultural competencies, all popular buzz words for university plans and visions for the future, are tied to their “usefulness” for the competitive post-university job market. The influences of this approach are rarely discussed in the internationalization literature, much less the impact on curriculum for international education. Before I proceed to discuss those issues, I consider Aoki’s alternative to the ‘thinking’ and ‘doing’ models.
Aoki’s View 3 school is “given primarily to being and becoming, a school that emphasizes and nurtures the becoming of human beings. Such a school will not neglect ‘doing’ but asserts the togetherness of ‘doing’ and ‘being’ enfolded in ‘becoming.’ Here, it is understood that to do something, one has to be somebody” (p. 361). If we consider the present understanding of the academic rationale for internationalization, preparing students to be interculturally and internationally competent, I suggest that a curricular approach that encourages ‘a becoming’ would be able to support such goals.

To tie in my proposed use of internationalization as ‘eduscape’ to curriculum as complicated conversation, I turn again to Aoki. Although Aoki’s work was primarily geared towards the K-12 classroom, I argue that they are most appropriate for the university classroom as well. Aoki (1993/2005) uses images of landscapes in an essay dealing with ‘multiplicities’, and the “curricular landscapes of practicing teachers and their students” (p. 199). Aoki refers to the tensions between curriculum-as-plan, and the ‘other curriculum’, the lived curriculum with its multiplicities. Reminding us that we often think of curriculum singularly as “the curriculum” (p. 204), meaning ‘curriculum-as-plan’, creating ‘an instrumental landscape’ (p. 204), Aoki urges us, to consider multiplicity and the between. He goes on to describe the ‘between’ as the space between curriculum-as-plan, and lived curriculum (p. 207). This is complicated conversation that results in complexity of practice because it requires “a living in tensionality—a tensionality that emerges, in part, from indwelling in the difference between two curricula: the curriculum-as-plan and the lived curriculum” (Aoki, 1993/2005, p. 202).

Notions of ‘third space’ and the local and global are recurring themes used by curricular theorists addressing issues about curriculum in global times. Commenting on the significance of the local in the face of the dominant global, Pinar (2005) cites Zhang and Zhong (2003) to explain how

“‘curriculum wisdom’ [has a] ‘local character’. They point out that in this era of globalization it is crucial to ‘understand the locality of curriculum wisdom.’ To understand ‘locality’ Zhang and Zhong emphasize the idea of ‘place,’ suggesting a geographical – in its cultural as well as physical sense – conception of ‘locality’” (Pinar, 2005, p. 2).
This move, to validate and honour locality, counteracts the dominance and perceived universality of western thought in globalization. Yet, the notion of local, whether as place/locality, or as emerging from a specific location, is complex and one that can be contested. As an anti-colonial stance, local curricular wisdom is essential to counter the present trend to promote (and desire) Eurocentric or Western curricula as universal knowledge. However, in a ‘local’ post secondary classroom in a Canadian institution that includes a ‘multiplicity’ of learners, what does the wisdom of the local mean? Whose idea of local, and where does that locality reside? This is further complicated when we realize that there is much that is non-local implicated in the local. As Cresswell (2002, cited in Miller, 2006) argues, “Thinking of place as performed and practiced can help us think of place in radically open and non-essentialized ways where place is constantly struggled over and reimagined in practical ways” (p.35).

Wang (2006) discusses these dilemmas: “[t]he concepts of both the local and the global are hardly stable signifiers: the interactions among the local destabilizes the global while the global affects the formation of the local. A dynamic movement between the local and the global questions both as fixed identities.” Wang’s challenge echoes the sociological analysis of the local and global, understanding the relationship between the two as “an intertwined, multilayered, and moving relationship to form a network with complex links” (this parallels the eduscape) and moves to theorizing this relationship as a ‘third space’ (a concept that I will expand on in the next chapter).

Bringing these topographical ideas together, I am enlivened by the prospect of further theorizing on the eduscape, that is, of internationalization in curriculum as eduscape, as a space of the between, the open landscape where mediascapes, ethnoscapes, finan

scapes (for example) influence one another. The eduscape of the internationalized curriculum is indeed the lived curriculum of the students. Enacting such an approach to curriculum entails the consideration of pedagogy.
3.7.2 Pedagogy in global times

As with my brief discussion on curriculum, this is not meant to be a comprehensive review of pedagogical approaches that are suitable for the internationalized classroom, but an illustration of some contemporary discussions of pedagogical considerations in the context of globalization, a consideration of the question of “what might constitute an appropriate teacherly response to globalization, in the midst of its unfolding complexity” (Smith, 2000/2006, p. 24). This will provide a framing for a discussion of pedagogy as I proceed to analyse students’ experiences of teaching and learning, and possibilities for agency as I consider recommendations for internationalized teaching and learning in the university. The pedagogical responses I consider here are from Edwards and Usher (2000), and Smith (2006).

Edwards and Usher (2000) argue that teaching in the university in the complex conditions of globalization must take into consideration the implications of (dis)location on both learning and teaching. Their work is conceptualized around notions of space and place. Showing that identity is “secured through location and locating practices” (p. 119) they argue that pedagogy itself must be spatialized to both recognize and facilitate the identities of learners. They conceptualize a pedagogy of (dis)location.

Here, location is precisely the point of dislocation and dispersal, where the two are enfolded within each other, complex, diasporan and hybrid. In a sense then, we are using the notion of (dis)location to deconstruct the binary between location and dislocation, the former with an emphasis on place, the latter on movement (p. 122).

Theorizing pedagogy as a locating practice allows it to occupy different spaces and to emphasize the positioning of both learners and educators. It is also marked by uncertainty and unpredictability, which, the authors have argued is as aspect of intensified globalization. Teaching with the pedagogy of (dis)location would necessitate the ability to ‘map’ different locations and to translate between them, as the authors describe.

Smith’s (2000) approach to conceptualizing teaching in global times is framed around a response to issues such as delocalization, the pervasive logic of the market and its discourse of competitiveness, and what he calls a frozen
futurism all resulting from the economic dimensions of globalization. Arguing that teaching must follow a “living in the Now”, that is, paying attention to the present, he proposes three aspects of “teaching in the Now”: teaching must be oriented to the recovery of personal truth, truth as shared, and finding truth as finding home (p. 29). The recovery of personal truth is a counter to the disembedding forces and “personal diminishment” (p. 30) resulting from globalization. Smith describes it as “a way of living in the world that is attuned to the way of the world’s actual unfolding” (p. 30). Rather than ‘a consumption of the other’, this attunement is a pedagogy of care and regard for the other. Truth as shared refers to a relational orientation, and the third aspect, truth as home, is described as “finding oneself at home in the world” (p.32), which is similar to locating practices theorized by Edwards and Usher.

Smith (2006) frames this approach to teaching as acts of resistance that are necessary to counter globalization, but also to factor in its complexity. He has also called this a ‘new hermeneutical approach’ to teaching, to be creatively generated from the in-between spaces to be found between the economic dimensions and the sites of resistance to them (1999b). Grounded in the traditions of hermeneutics, teachers are called upon to be “interpreters of culture, rather than merely transmitters or managers” (p. 5), and to use dialogue to facilitate the participation of all learners. This is the lived curriculum that Aoki speaks of, with similarities to the ideas of living and teaching in the ‘between’.

The strength of these curricular and pedagogical approaches lies in their emphasis on the relational as the fundamental orienting principle. Even as space, and place are made uncertain and unpredictable, it is the relationships among learners and teachers that become locating practice for Edwards and Usher, and a truth sharing for Smith.

3.8 Implications for the study

Navigating through the complexities of globalization with its multiple forms and dimensions has not been an easy task; the road has taken many twists and turns along the way, and has offered a diversity of vistas. I have traversed ideas on nation and the construction of the international, and dwelled on the
influences of globalization on higher education and the university in particular. In an attempt to theorize resistance to the dominant forms of economic globalization, I examined the concepts of the local and global, space and place. On a point of caution, I wish to note that employing theories that specify the cultural dimensions of globalization in no way negates nor precludes the critique of the economic dimensions, and its accompanying culture of consumption and corporate agenda. The spaces of globalization/s provide places of resistance.

These explorations led me to propose the internationalization of higher education as an ‘eduscape’ following Appadurai’s theory of indigenization, which are helpful in contextualizing the motivations, rationales and social conditions that influence internationalization, especially in relation to dialectical, contradictory, global-local tensions. The dimensions of the eduscape will provide the main conceptual analytical lens in this investigation of internationalization through students’ narratives. From the context of internationalization I now turn to the relationships that constitute internationalized learning.
Chapter 4:
Understanding Relationships
in the Internationalized University

We need to learn again how five centuries of studying, classifying, and ordering humanity within an imperial context gave rise to peculiar and powerful ideas of race, culture and nation that were, in effect, conceptual instruments that the West used to both divide up and to educate the world.

(Willinsky, 1998, p. 2-3)

And in its best moments, [postcolonial critique] has supplied the academic worlds with an ethical paradigm for a systematic critique of institutional suffering.

4.1 ‘International’ beginnings

I believe I was ‘internationalized’ long before I left home. When I look back on my own schooling, I would say I had an excellent education. It has enriched my life. My cultural and aesthetic sensibilities were refined to appreciate the best of Western art and culture. I became fascinated with the architecture, pottery, plays and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome, and developed a taste for western classical music. Out of that school experience I have a life-long love of the English language and literature. I am called into existence, recognized, and defined by English, which I now consider my first language. Being considered a ‘smart’ student, I was streamed into science for the first round of public examinations, the ‘O’ levels. The sciences were all the rage, and if one was considered to be intelligent, one aspired to do ‘A’ levels\textsuperscript{11} and a post-secondary degree in science. A university overseas, in Britain or the USA, was the final destination I was being groomed to expect.

In making a deliberate move away from Science to English for my ‘A’ Levels, and choosing to do a BA in English at university, I went against the grain for what ‘smart’ young people should do, but at the same time, in following my passion for English literature, maintained a privileged social position by choosing a program of study that was accessible only to a small English-fluent elite. University education in my country of origin (Sri Lanka) is free, which made access to higher education broad-based. Thus, I found myself on a campus that was closer to the social groupings of the country than I had previously been exposed to in the private school I attended for elementary and secondary schooling.

Those four years were times of dissonance. As I tried, with my fellow English Department students, to hide markers of privilege and make new friends from other departments and programs of study, I became painfully aware of the costs of my education. I had learned to disparage the vernacular of my people, and to assess as worthless the legacy of the over-two thousand-year-old civilization of my own country. I knew little of the histories, the languages, the struggles, and the lives of communities and

\textsuperscript{11} The A levels, following the UK-based system, were the second public examination in secondary school, and the entrance examination that governed university entrance and program selection.
individuals around me, nor was I aware of the implications of the larger histories of colonialism. As the world around me expanded, I was introduced to politics and socialism, street theatre, resistance, and a glimpse into the lives of a diversity of university students, most of them less privileged than myself. At the same time, I struggled to resolve the paradoxes of pursuing my field of study — to make sense of Chaucer, Aristophanes, Ibsen, Shakespeare, Dickens, Austen, Hemingway, and the like, sitting in a half-walled building with a hot tin roof, space shared with stray dogs and broken furniture. (We used to call it ‘the dog house’). Around us we could feel the tensions of social unrest, the undercurrents of student rebellion and uprising from a recent country-wide insurrection, and of ethnic divisions that were to erupt a few years later.

It was a difficult but necessary lesson in unequal relations and one that sensitized me to ‘matters international’ without ever leaving home, and to issues around power relations in the educational domain. This is the background I bring to my research, and the world-view that has led me to select these particular approaches to this framework, postcolonial thought in particular.

4.2 The conceptual terrain

Having described the status quo of internationalization in Chapters 1 and 2, and explored globalization and its implications for higher education in Chapter 3, I now seek to understand the relationships in the internationalized university. More specifically, I am interested in the relationships that international students enter into when they arrive at the university: the social relationships, the learning relationships and the connections with the university. Given the issues of dominance, power and inequity that surfaced from my exploration of economic globalization, and forms of resistance and transformation available in the cultural dimensions of globalization, I am interested in identifying theories that might help me to understand the nature of these relationships.

These questions have led me to consider insights offered by postcolonial thought and anti-racist education regarding the nature of power-based relations (dominance, hegemony, complicity, subordination) in a global/international
context, and most importantly, possibilities for resistance and agency in such conditions. I argue that theorizing about teaching and learning in an international setting must include the consideration of historical, colonial, post-colonial and globalized relations. "Post-colonial studies have proved to be a resource for theorizing issues raised by the increased flow of international students, including issues of power" (Kenway & Bullen, 2003, p. 5-6) and offers ways in which to understand how "structures of power established by the colonizing process remain pervasive, though often hidden in cultural relations throughout the world" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998, p. 1). I take the position that if we do not pay attention to these issues we run the risk of reproducing and exacerbating the inequities and imbalances of colonial education. As postcolonial scholar Leila Gandhi (1998) argues, postcolonial critique offers "the possibility of thinking our way through, and therefore, out of the historical imbalances and cultural inequalities produced by the colonial encounter" (p. 176).

Theories on race and contemporary forms of racism provide complementary analyses with which to understand experiences shaped by difference. Anti-racist education and its frameworks offer ways in which to theorize intersections of difference, such as race, gender and class, and understand how to interrogate and transcend such oppressions. I employ these constructs in my study because I would like to investigate whether and how they might be embedded in relationships that constitute internationalization of higher education.

Another theoretical frame I examine is communities of practice. In noting the high incidence of isolation reported by students regarding their academic and social experiences, reviewed in the literature in Chapter 2, I wanted to select theories that reflect the social realities of students and I believe the concept communities of practice does this.

4.3 Postcolonial thought: Desire, dependency and resistance

I begin this section with a brief explanation on my own stance with 'postcolonialism', followed by selected concepts on the colonizer-colonized relationship and how power is theorized within those relations. I will draw on
the work of Homi Bhabha, and his theories on ambiguity, mimicry, hybridity and third space. Providing a brief discussion of the advantages and the challenges of using this framework, I will then introduce the notion of the ‘contact zone’ as theorized by Mary Louise Pratt (1992), a concept similar to Bhabha’s ‘third space’. A study by Kenway and Bullen (2003) illustrates how the contact zone is used to analyze the experiences of international women graduates students. I will then focus on another strategy for resistance, describing the concept of power as rhizome, originally theorized by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and used by Ashcroft (2001). An overview of implications for the study will close this section on postcolonial thought.

4.3.1 What postcolonial thought offers

As there is a diversity of experience and scholarship related to the colonial and postcolonial, it is important to establish what the terms mean for this study. Both terms ‘colonialism’ and ‘postcolonial’ carry contested meanings and applications (Ashcroft, 1998; Cannella & Viruuru, 2004; Loomba, 1998).

The term ‘postcolonial’, in this study, represents both an interrogation of power relations in colonial and imperialist contexts, and ways to understand new and emerging international and national relationships. As Battiste (2004) articulates,

‘Postcolonial’ is not a time after colonialism, but rather for me it represents more an aspiration, a hope, not yet achieved. It constructs a strategy that responds to the experience of colonization and imperialism. As a critique, it is about rethinking the conceptual, institutional, cultural, legal, and other boundaries that are taken for granted and assumed universal, but act as structural barriers to many, including Aboriginal people, women, visible minorities, and others (Battiste, 2004, para 2).

The ‘postcolonial’ also represents (for this study) a site for resistance and action providing “a location from which to adopt an activist position that pursues social transformation” (Viruru & Cannella, 2006, p. 177). In providing a conceptual terrain, which assists in a critique of power relations in international education relations, the postcolonial signifies an anti-colonial stance, and also includes sites of resistance, and possibilities that transcend the colonial condition. First, I describe how the conditions created by colonialism create desire for and
4.3.2 **Desire and dependency**

Parallels have been drawn between colonization and globalization in a variety of disciplines (Ashcroft, 1998; McMurtry, 1998; Prasad, 2003; Sachs, 1992; Smith, 2006; Young, 2001). The most commonly noted similarity is the extent of domination and control exerted through colonization, which was followed by the forces of globalization. Domination and empire building are nothing new in the history of civilization. What was new about western (European) colonization, however, was the extent to which dependency was created on the West, and its domination of ideology and culture (Castle, 2001). These forms of dependency that began in the economic realm continue to exert influence and have resulted in a ‘naturalised’ belief that western people, their ways of thinking, knowing and doing, are best (Loomba, 1998; Nandy, 1983).

Nandy (1983) explained this dependency through an analysis of colonial power that foregrounds the psychological effects of colonization. He characterized colonization as occurring in two waves, the first being the physical occupation of the land, and the second, more insidious and long lasting, the ‘occupation of culture and mind’. The impact on cultural production, aesthetic and scholarly values and standards, was the elevation of European/Western values to a canonical status that prevails long after the Empire was physically dismantled.

Fig. 14: "... possibilities that transcend the colonial condition."
It is these tensions that produce and set up desire for things western; for example, the norm of Western intellectual superiority drives the supply and demand for international education today, where the demand is largely for models of Western educational programs, degrees and literacies. As Loomba (1998) described, "[t]he new global order does not depend upon direct rule. However, it does allow the economic, cultural and (to varying degrees) political penetration of some countries by others" (p. 7) giving rise to new forms of domination.

It is these historical connections and influences that are to be found in international education relations. The roots of international education as we know it lie in the development aid projects that began after World War II, in the aftermath of the physical dismantling of colonial occupation (Pengelly, 1989). This was the case for Canadian universities, as they embarked into the role of outreach and engagement with development aid in the 1960s and 1970s. This was the beginning of international education for Canadian universities (Bond & Thayer-Scott, 2002; Pengelly, 1989; Shute, 2002).

I have indicated how historical relationships among nations have continued to mark contemporary economic and political relationships. As I indicate earlier in this chapter, the postcolonial framework offers more than a critique of power relations; it also provides sites for resistance, reflecting the physical sites of resistance that subverted colonial power. I will now comment on the work of Homi Bhabha and what it offers for the theorizing of group relations and of resistance.

4.3.3 Colonial power and forms of resistance: The work of Homi Bhabha

While conditions of colonialism are commonly seen as unified practices of oppression and exploitation, many scholars have challenged that view asserting that colonial conditions and power were never the same and deployed in the same way. Thus, colonial practices should be viewed not as a fixed set of homogenous forces but, similar to globalization, are complex, fluid and localized and have an uneven impact. In the discourse of colonization relationships are most often expressed in terms of oppressor/oppressed, exploiter/exploited,
dominator/subjugated, and other sets of binaries. Postcolonial scholars reject these binaries as being an over-simplified representation of colonial relationships that fix the identity of the ‘colonized’ as the inferior part of the binary (Hall, 1997; Loomba, 1998; Prasad, 2003; Said, 2000; Young, 2001). If colonial relations of unequal exchange and power appear to suggest a colonized population that is silent, compliant, and passive, postcolonial writers have shown how a more complex relationship was more likely the case, and was the basis for problematising the binary.

As in globalization theory, this complexity allows for a more nuanced theorizing including the possibility of resistance. Resistance and the subverting of colonial/imperial power has been theorized by postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha (1994) in terms of ambivalence, mimicry and translation.

As Bhabha (1994) theorizes, relations of power and authority in the colonial context operate ambivalently. Ambivalence marks the way the colonizer perceives the colonized, marks the instability of colonial power and characterizes colonial discourse in terms of inherent contradictions. The concept of ambivalence was borrowed from psychoanalysis, and adapted by Bhabha (1994) to theorize about the complex and simultaneous condition of both attraction to, and revulsion that marks the colonizer-colonized relationship. Building on Said’s (1978) work, Bhabha notes that the ambivalence in how the colonized are perceived by the colonizer opens up the space for resistance, marks the instability of colonial power and characterizes colonial discourse in terms of these inherent contradictions. It “produces the colonized as a social reality which as at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 70–71), the “‘otherness’ which is at once an object of desire and derision” (p. 67).

The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 82)

If the colonized appears to the colonizer in this way, the colonized is never totally opposed to the colonizer, leading Bhabha to conclude that there is a
Bhabha’s work has been critiqued (e.g., Shohat, 1992; Dirlick, 1994) on the basis that the concept of ambivalence may gloss over, or even romanticize the position of the colonized thereby masking the debilitating effects of physical dominance and control. Furthermore, ambivalence is dependent on the assumption that all colonial power, strategies of control and the range of experience is uniform. It might also be seen to relegate resistance simply as a kind of passivity. Although this is a valid critique, the notion of ambivalence, in my opinion does not claim to explain or theorize the variety and forms of colonial rule, for example, physical brutality, cruelty and subjugation that marked some forms of colonial rule (as the work of Memmi and Fanon for example describe) but attempts to analyze the forms of discourse that operate among the colonizer/colonized in daily interactions. It does not ‘freeze’ either colonizer or colonized into a specific role or kind of response.

The value of Bhabha’s concept of ambivalence in my framework is its contribution in seeing that the power relationship is not a simplistic binary of simultaneous existence of resistance and complicity. Using this line of argument, Bhabha goes on to show how ambivalence also marks the boundaries created by colonization between the West and non-West. Colonial discourse on the one hand treats this boundary as fixed and non-permeable, with the non-west placed outside of it, and on the other hand regards the primitives as being fully knowable and thus malleable, placing them inside the boundary created by the discourse itself. Herein lies the limitation of colonial power in fixing the subjectivity of the colonized, as it fails to establish its hegemony. “[T]he colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference” (Bhabha, 1985, p. 150). This ‘fault line’ breaks the authority of dominance as it gives rise to cracks in the dominance or authority through the contradiction of being completely known and unknowable, being outside and within a discourse, simultaneously. According to this account, colonial power will be disrupted with or without active resistance on the part of the colonized subject (Ashcroft et al., 1998).
oppressor/oppressed. The colonizer and colonized are dependent on one another, and colonial discourse is formed relationally.

Just as ambivalence creates the cracks in colonial power and discourse, Bhabha’s concept of mimicry further illustrates further dynamics in the power relations. The coercion to mimic maintains control. “Mimicry repeats rather than re-presents” (p. 88, italics in original) so that the colonized primitive can never be a copy of the original: “almost the same but not quite ... almost the same but not white” (p. 89, emphasis in original). The colonized recognize that the copy is far from the original, and this recognition that they will never be quite the same, maintains power with the colonizer. As Bhabha argues, however, “[m]imicry is at once resemblance and menace” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). The uncertainty in whether it is mimicry or mockery inserts more cracks in colonial authority. As a sign of agency, as Gandhi describes, “‘mimicry’ is also the sly weapon of anti-colonial civility, an ambivalent mixture of deference and disobedience” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 149). This adds to the repertoire of strategies for resistance, and parallels the concept of indigenization in globalization theory, both forms of subversion. This conceptualization moves resistance from opposition to a space of transformation. “The successful disruption of the territory of the dominant occurs, not by rejecting or vacating that territory but by inhabiting it differently” (Ashcroft, 2001b, p. 53).
Fig. 15: “almost the same but not quite”
Bhabha situates cultural diversity in a liberal tradition that values the co-existence and encouragement of many different cultures. It is a fundamental principle of multicultural policy in nations such as Canada (Sandercock, 2005). Along with the ‘creation’ of cultural diversity, however, Bhabha finds a ‘containment’ of cultural difference as dominant cultures ‘accommodate’ others only within their own norms and frames (Rutherford, 1990). This paradox of creation/containment echoes the themes of fragmentation and disembeddedness operating alongside forces of homogenization and unification in globalization theory.

Regarding cultural difference, Bhabha argues that “the universalism that paradoxically permits diversity masks ethnocentric norms, values and interests” (Rutherford, 1990b, p. 208) leaving room, for example, for many forms of racism. In Bhabha’s view, there is an incommensurability about cultural difference that is extremely difficult to accommodate under one universalist framework (Bhabha, 1994), and he offers the concept of cultural translation as a way of seeing that all cultures are related to one another. This is not because all cultures have a similar content, but because of the nature of culture itself — it is a “signifying or symbolic activity” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 210). Cultures, in Bhabha’s view, are not one fixed entity, have no essence and are always “subject to intrinsic forms of translation” (Rutherford, 1990, p. 210). Translation can also be interpreted as a form of imitation, noting that the original itself is never finished (Bhabha, 1994).

The idea of hybridity comes from these descriptions of difference and translation: cultural translation denies the essentialism of a culture and so forms of culture are always in a process of hybridity. For Bhabha, “… [T]he importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather, hybridity [to me] is the ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge’ (p. 211). Hybridity and translation are also about negotiating new situations from the perspective of re-formed positions and ideas rather than in the frame of old paradigms. “[A] new situation may demand … that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them” (Rutherford, ibid., p. 216).
Bhabha’s notions of ambivalence and mimicry are useful for this study to analyze the relationships between students and the institution. Accordingly, resistance plays out in subtle forms. The idea is not to find the institution and those representing it as ‘colonial’ but rather, to identify sites of resistance and agency and the variety of strategies that might be available to students as they try to counter effects of containment. I will also explore the tensions created by the cultural creation/containment theory. By inviting international students to our campuses, institutions are creating cultural diversity. Does Bhabha’s theory hold out regarding the containment of the cultural diversity thus created on the campus? If so, in what ways are student differences contained within the norms of the dominant culture, and how might this impact the identities of international learners? As global transnationals, do these newcomers have the social and political power to create advocacy and influence decisions on higher education, and the conditions of their learning?

At another level, by applying Bhabha’s notions of hybridity and translation to academic culture (understanding culture as ‘signifying or symbolic activity’), discourses are subject to ‘translation’. How is it possible then to ‘translate’ the principles, to rethink and extend them to enable ‘third space’, to let other positions emerge? Further, is it possible to think of cultural hybridity in international learners not simply as a mix of more than one cultural practice, but as this process of the emergence of ‘something new and unrecognizable’ (Rutherford, 1990b, p. 211), ‘the emergence of the interstices’ (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2)? If so, what is this process, and how can it be identified?

Noting the limitations of Bhabha’s perspective, Dirlik (1994) counters that conditions of third space and hybridity are not disconnected to ideological and institutional structures in which they are located. And of hybridity and the colonized subject, Loomba (1998) points out that “[h]ybridity seems to be a characteristic of his [sic] inner life ... not of his positioning” (p. 178). The characterization of colonial relations as being uniform, and the theorizing of resistance in terms of ambivalence and mimicry have also been critiqued on the basis that it tends to ignore or misrepresent the reality of anti-colonial struggle (Parry, 1994, cited in Loomba, 1998, ch. 2). Nationalist and civil rights
movements were fuelled by the anger of the colonized and cannot be understood within current theories of hybridity. This theory has also been critiqued as lacking in an analysis of gender, class or location, nor specificity of context and subject.

These critiques are useful in understanding the limitations of such theoretical constructs, but are not reason enough to reject them. Rather, it alerts the scholar/researcher to find ways of strengthening or complementing the theory with others. I have chosen the anti-racist education framework to add intersections of gender, class and location to the analysis, and Pratt’s ‘contact zone’ to show how theorizing of Third Space can be useful in an educational context.

4.3.4 The Contact Zone

Postcolonial issues had not been theorized in relation to higher education, nor of interest until recently (Kenway & Bullen, 2003). The concept of the contact zone was theorized by Pratt (1992) to explain the encounter and points of contact between colonizing and native cultures. The contact zones are

social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination — like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today (p. 4).

As with other theorizing on colonial relationships (Ashcroft et al., 1998) the contact zone serves to show how “subjects are constituted in and by their relation to each other” (1992, p. 7). These relations are further characterized in terms of “co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices” (Pratt, 1992, p. 7). Pratt is also interested in what she calls transculturation — ways in which everyone engaged in the process influences one another in representation and self-representation. Resistance, which in postcolonial scholarship refers to agency rather than simple opposition, in the contact zone relies on appropriation from the dominant group. Again, this parallels Bhabha’s notion of mimicry, copying an original but not quite in the same way. Pratt introduces the idea of autoethnography as extending this idea of mimicry. Autoethnography refers to ways in which the colonized choose to represent themselves in ways that the
colonizer wishes to see them. According to Pratt, this involves an authoring of oneself for oneself, as well as for the other. Mimicry then becomes an act of survival as well as having potential for resistance, an expression of identity as multiple and contradictory. This parallels the concept of indigenization in globalization theory, both forms of subversion.

Pratt applies her ideas to the classroom, with particular reference to academe. The contact zone is used to “reconsider the models of community that many of us rely on in teaching and theorizing and that are under challenge today” (1996, para 6). She uses the idea of contact zone in contrast to the notion of community in the academy. In the academy,

[description of interactions between people in conversation, classrooms, medical and bureaucratic settings, readily take it for granted that the situation is governed by a single set of rules or norms shared by all participants. The analysis focuses then on how those rules produce or fail to produce an orderly, coherent exchange (para 8).

Connecting also with the work of Benedict Anderson (1991), she asserts that the academic community is an imagined one that avoids difference, a community being constructed as homogenous (with assumptions of shared language, communication, culture, rules and so on), and homogeneity serving to silence, marginalize and ‘other’. The contact zone would recognize the specificity of each person in the classroom, recognizing that the class itself is heterogeneous. While similar to Bhabha’s Third Space, it adds the analysis of gender, class etc lacking in Bhabha’s theory, by emphasizing difference in its particularity. The process of negotiation that occurs in the contact zone is similar to cultural translation.

Kenway and Bullen (2003) use the contact zone as a framework in a study investigating the experiences of women international graduate students. The authors considered the postcolonial framework useful in seeing how participants negotiated identity and self-identified in a globalized university context. The framework made it possible for the subjects to be seen in their particularities, and more specifically, as negotiating the power relations they found themselves in both in and outside of the classroom. The study described the participants navigating discourses, either confirming or resisting the ways in which they were
being positioned. This study prompted me to consider the internationalized university and the university classroom as a contact zone.

4.3.5 Resistance: Power as rhizome

Power can be analysed in terms of a rhizome, as first theorized by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Their ideas have been taken up by other scholars (Aschcroft, Lather), and I will be using their applications to education in this discussion. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) suggest that the metaphor of a tree with a main trunk and dominant tap root system would be a suitable one for modern systems of knowledge, and the rhizome is apt for postmodern ideas about knowledge. The rhizome “propagates itself in a fragmented, discontinuous, multidirectional way” (Ashcroft, 2001b, p. 50), and shows a movement away from hierarchies to networks. “As a metaphor, rhizomes work against the constraints of authority, regularity, and commonsense, and open thought up to creative constructions. ... Rather than a linear progress, rhizomatics is a journey among intersections, nodes, and regionalizations through a multi-centred complexity” (Lather, 1993, p. 680).

Ashcroft (2001b) posits colonial power as a rhizome and the metaphor aptly describes the ways in which power ‘inserts itself’ into the multiple discourses of colonialism. Following this argument, resistance, or confrontation of imperial/dominant discourse becomes complex and difficult because it represents itself in terms of binaries, universals, and centres while reproducing itself as a rhizomatic. There is some danger, then, of buying into the myth of colonial power as characterized by a simple hierarchy of oppressor/oppressed, and of globalization as a binary of global/local. Simple opposition, which it invites, can engage only with this myth, and not with the materiality of how power expresses itself. I would agree with Ashcroft (2001b) that like power and ideology, resistance itself, in order to become tooled into an anti-colonial strategy, needs to be conceptualized as rhizomatic.

A rhizomatic structure, because of its unpredictability and fragmentation, produces spaces and ‘fractures’ that can be occupied. These are the “Third Spaces of enunciation” which enable new positions to emerge from the encounter.
between colonial and other (Bhabha/Rutherford, 1990). If discourse, and counter-discourse then are both rhizomatic, resistance is possible through interpolation: the interruption of dominant discourse with a counter-discourse that operates within it, borrows from it and yet turns its intention awry. A fundamental limitation of this kind of resistance, however, is that it is necessary to be knowledgeable about, well trained in and comfortable in the use of dominant discourse in order to initiate counter discourse. Agency then, is dependent on mastery of the very thing that is being resisted.

4.3.6 Implications for study

Globalization theory lays bare the multiple forms and dimensions in which globalization operates and is experienced. Postcolonial theory interrogates the power structures that position those within them. It allows for an analysis that transcends the binaries in which power and power relations are usually represented and as with globalization theory, reflects the complex conditions and networks in which power operates. More specifically, I have been able to show how desire and dependency are formed, maintaining the global hierarchies among nations becoming part of the everyday discourse. From the global to the particular, these theories help to locate the institution in the network of power. Exclusions and barriers are not simply a personal problem of the individual but a systemic one.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, postcolonial theory also opens up the space for resistance and transformation. A recognition of rhizomatics of power calls for a rhizomatic response; just as the unpredictability of power, the unpredictability of the trajectory of resistance makes it more effective. From one framework of power relations to another, I complement this analysis with anti-racist theory. As mentioned earlier, some have critiqued postcolonial theory as not providing a sound enough consideration of the intersections of difference and power that impact an individual, and to counter that claim, I draw in considerations from race and ant-racist education.
4.4  Considering Anti-Racist frameworks

In this section, I will review very briefly the rationale for including a race analysis, how anti-racist education is a useful lens and close with implications for the study.

4.4.1  Race and internationalization: From the historical to the contemporary

It is through history that we can more accurately identify the structures that shape and promote the dominant feature of racist expression, which is ... exclusion (Macedo and Gounari, 2006, p. 4).

Loomba (1998) makes important connections between race, class and colonialism and shows how race is used to denote and maintain inferior social status. In colonial times these rationales were used to justify the use of coerced labour for economic growth. “Colonialism was the means through which capitalism achieved its global expansion. Racism simply facilitated this process, and was the conduit through which the labour of colonized people was appropriated” (Loomba, 1998, p. 124). There are important ways in which racialized labour is still central to capitalism in its global forms, notwithstanding the variety of previously described ways in which these may be subverted.

Science has been the basis for the establishment and production of racist beliefs and discourses, through the emergence of biological theories of race: “far from being an objective, ideology-free domain, modern Western science was deeply implicated in the construction of racist ways of thinking about human beings and the differences between them” (Loomba, 1998, pp. 60–61). Brought into societal consciousness as a ‘scientifically proven’ salient category, it has been further entrenched as ‘truth’ through a variety of social constructs. Now debunked by science itself, as not having a ‘scientific’ foundation, science is again implicated in promoting the erasure of race, as it continues to be used as a tool of exclusion. The false logic of ‘there is no such thing as race, and therefore, there is no such thing as racism’ is an avoidance of the materiality of difference.

I take the position articulated by Dei (1996) in seeking a definition of race that “extends beyond the view that skin colour is the only signifier of difference” (p. 25). This broad understanding of race is based on what McCarthy and
Crichlow (1993) identify as the “slippery nature” of “the race question” (p. xvii) which ought to address a number of issues: unequal relations, how certain kinds of knowledge are valued and how it is used as a strategy of positioning, privilege, institutional barriers, and the multiple social and contextual complexities that contribute to the understanding of race.

There has been a marked increase of racism and the variety of ways in which it manifests. The experience of racism has become globalized or internationalized to maintain an “us” and “them” distance for political purposes, with the prime example being the profiling of Muslim people (and those who look like Muslims) by the U.S. government after 9/11 and the so-called ‘war on terror’ and homeland security (Macedo & Gounari, 2006; Smith, 2006). “It is the work and dissemination of a powerful discourse through an acquiescent media, institutions for cultural reproduction, along with material practices, that produces racialised appearances” (Macedo & Gounari, p. 5). Racism and xenophobia have seen a dramatic increase in European countries such as France, Germany, the UK, Spain and Portugal, where tensions between immigrant groups and local communities have risen to violent levels. It is no surprise that the European tensions are often between former colonizing people, and those from their former colonies, thus continuing the colonial racial divisions in new forms.

4.4.2 How anti-racist education becomes useful

Dei’s (1996) principles of anti-racist education include and acknowledge social, historical, political and economic considerations. They recognize the social construction of race, understand the intersections of all forms of social oppression and acknowledge the role of the education system in producing and reproducing these inequalities. Privilege and power that confer dominant status in society, in particular, white power and privilege, are interrogated. Marginalization of minorities and the delegitimization of their knowledge are analysed, and connections are made between the problems that arise and problems connected to schools. Confronting the challenges posed by difference and diversity is a priority, as well as the understanding of identity. Education,
from this perspective is to “provide a holistic understanding and appreciation of
the human experience” including the social, cultural, ecological, political and
spiritual (p. 30).

Anti-racism education takes as its starting point the notion that racism and
other forms of discrimination and exclusionary practices are entrenched in social
and institutional systems. It is concerned with an examination of the ways in
which these inequalities are enacted and reproduced, and addresses ways in
which systemic discrimination in all its forms can be combated. Emerging from a
discourse on race, anti-racist education seeks to uncover the historical, political
and economic roots of racism (Rezai-Rashti, 1995; Dei, 1996; Dei & Calliste, 2000).
It examines critically the daily practices of schooling, making a connection
between difference, race and the institutional practices of school. An analysis of
power relations is a central tenet of anti-racist education, and thus, it examines
all forms of social oppression including class, gender, and sexuality.
Accordingly, anti-racist education is defined as “an action-oriented, educational
and political strategy for institutional and systemic change that addresses the
issue of racism and the interlocking systems of social oppression (sexism,
classism, heterosexism, ableism)” (Dei & Calliste, 2000 p. 13, based on an earlier
definition by Dei, 1996, p. 25).

“... [A] true anti-racist education should concentrate on raising awareness
as to the fact that, as presently conceived, the educational system is not
necessarily functioning in the best interest of racially dominated groups” (Rezai-
Rashti, 1995, p. 6). The focus of anti-racist education is not on the resolution of
individual difference, or remedying prejudice at the personal level, but in
developing an “oppositional knowledge, ... one that questions the privilege to
claim neutrality” (Dei & Calliste, 2000, p. 11). Through this knowledge grows the
agency that enables systemic racism to be dismantled, and privilege and power
to be interrogated.

Anti-racist education is deeply political. Its strategies have less to do with
resolving personal prejudice and fostering inter-cultural understanding between
individuals than educating for the recognition of the connections between
inequality, exploitation, exclusion and race, class and gender. One of the main
tenets of anti-racist education, then, is the dismantling of power structures and systems that reproduce and maintain inequality. In terms of schooling, anti-racist educators believe that failure of minority students is largely to be blamed on the educational system they are in, rather than factors related to home and culture (Brown, 1998; Yon, 2000; Rezai-Rashti, 1995; Dei, 1996; Dei & Calliste, 2000). Strategies to dismantle these practices include curricular reform based on the experience of minority groups, addressing the hidden curriculum, finding ways of having minority groups make decision about the education of their children, the hiring of minority teachers and staff, interrogating the construction of knowledge and privilege in the academy, and so on.

**4.4.3 Implications for the study**

The importance I derive from anti-racist education is its recognition of the intersections where inequity get played out. Rather than considering race as a matter of individual blame, it looks at socio-cultural, political and social factors. It lays bear and interrogates ways in which privilege becomes embedded in systems and institutions, and advocates for the participation of minority groups in matters relating to the governance of their lives in the community.

There are points of intersection when race (and gender, class, etc), colonialism and development intersect with internationalization. Following the mainstream early discourses of development, and the forms of international education that looked upon international education as the improvement of backward others, it is possible that elements of this kind of deficit approach may be entrenched in the institutional attitudes towards international students, as well as in the approach of faculty members, staff and domestic students. Examples of this are skin colour, and other markers of difference such as physical appearance, clothing, fluency in English, accented speech, and so on.
4.5 Learning relationships in the internationalized university classroom: Community of practice

In the first part of this chapter, I outlined theoretical approaches to understand relationships characterized by power. From the general I now move to the particular. It is important to be able to describe the variety of relationships that mark the international student’s interactions at the university. One of these is the learning identity of the student: what are the ways in which the international student experiences learning at the university, what are the factors that enhance and influence this in positive ways, and what are the barriers? As I mentioned earlier, this study is not meant to become a ‘how to’ manual in internationalization of learning and teaching, nor an evaluation of international learning outcomes. What I attempt to investigate are the conditions and
environment of learning-teaching from the perspective of the international student, and how those perspectives can influence and shape how we design, or approach internationalized learning.

As the students in this study referred many times to ‘fitting in’ or not, or of becoming part of the ‘culture’ of the department they were in, of learning a Canadian way to study, of enjoying interactional teaching methods, and so on, I selected a model of learning that was based in sociocultural theory as being most appropriate. I use Lave and Wenger’s (1991) ideas on situated learning, and Wenger’s (1998) community of practice to both describe the students’ experiences, and also to illustrate how these kinds of approaches are well suited to thinking about internationalization of the university. This line of investigation is rich in possibilities, and while I provide the orientation in this study, I leave a more detailed investigation for future research.

Lave and Wenger’s (1991) notions of situated learning in communities of practice, with considerations of new comers and old-timers, offer a useful model for my study. A community of practice as defined by Lave and Wenger (1991) is “a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice” (p. 98). Rather than an individual activity, learning is conceptualized as a social activity that involves participation, moving from the peripheral participation of a newcomer to one of an ‘expert’ practitioner.

Situated learning takes as its focus the relationship between learning and the social situations in which it occurs. Rather than defining it as the acquisition of positional knowledge, Lave and Wenger situate learning in certain forms of social coparticipation. Rather than asking what kinds of cognitive processes and conceptual structures are involved, they ask what kinds of social engagements provide the proper contexts for learning to take place. (Hanks, in Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 14)

Communities of practice develop according to the interest of those in that community, with newcomers being guided in to the practices of that community through expert guidance of long-time members. In this process, newcomers also
learn from one another, and old timers can learn from newcomers. Learning is seen not as an acquisition of knowledge but as relational, a process of social participation. Lave and Wenger (1991) also establish how “learning and a sense of identity are inseparable” (p. 3).

For learning, “[v]iewing learning as legitimate peripheral participation means that learning is not merely a condition to membership, but is itself an evolving form of membership ... thus identity, knowing and social membership entail one another” (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 53). Participation is key to learning, and a learner moves from peripheral to full participation by participating in a community of practice, which can develop a learner’s progress, or inhibit learning through barriers that prevent full participation. Thus, for the educator, the focus is not on passing on knowledge, but to recognize the level of participation of the learner through what she knows already from the past, and on organizing and facilitating this movement from peripheral to full participation.

For to shift as we have from the notion of an individual learner to the concept of legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice is precisely to decentre analysis of learning. To take a decentred view of master-apprentice relations leads to an understanding that mastery resides not in the master but in the organization of the community of practice of which the master is a part. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 94)

The focus in this model is on developing access to practice rather than to instruction as a resource for learning. “For newcomers then the purpose is not to learn from talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 109). As Wenger (2000) explains, this view of learning is based on the notion that “knowing is an act of participation in complex social learning systems” (p. 226), where learning is understood to take place as an “interplay” between personal experience of the world and socially defined competence (p. 226).

Wenger’s (1998) description of communities of practice includes three elements: members of a community of practice are bound together by a collectively-developed idea of what they are (a joint enterprise), the relationships
are characterized by mutuality, and the community produces a shared repertoire of resources such as language, routines, styles, tools and artifacts, etc. The community of practice develops from all of these elements. As shared practice itself creates boundaries, a community of practice by definition has boundaries, but these are fluid and flexible. Boundaries can be sites of opportunity, a site for reconfiguration of competence and experience, and boundaries can also be a source of fragmentation. In the former, “a boundary experience is usually an experience of being exposed to a foreign competence. ... Learning at boundaries is likely to be maximized for individuals and for communities when experience and competence are in close tension” (Wenger, 2000, p. 233).

These theories are useful to my study because they are grounded in the belief that learning is social, and that learning will occur through social interaction. It helps me to establish the sociality of learning countering the tendency to see learning, especially among university students who are deemed to be independent, as a matter of individual attention and effort. Furthermore, the intent is not related to establishing whether or not the model of communities of practice is being used or not, a task that would involve an examination of the actual classroom with all its participants. Rather, this model offers an analytical lens to understand students’ experiences of isolation and exclusion as being systemic. Ideas about legitimate peripheral participation and communities of practice emphasize access to the practices of the classroom rather than mastery of subject matter as the locus of teaching and learning. While offering explanations for student experiences of isolation in the classroom as the result of barriers to participation, it also offers an effective model for inclusion of newcomers that could be considered useful for the future.

4.6 Summary and conclusions

If this chapter appears to dwell on what appear to be harsh, negative considerations of relationships and power relations, I suggest that these aspects need to be first named in order to transcend their effects. From postcolonial theory we are able to have an awareness of how economic dominance and control have, as Willinsky suggested, shaped the ways in which we deal with
one another internationally. By understanding the operation of those power relations we are able to form strategies of resistance. Anti-racist frameworks focus in on the particular intersections of difference which alienate and exclude people from participating fully in the communities to which they wish to belong. To lighten the negative image, notions of communities of practice outline how students seek to access their communities of learning, and provide possibilities for shaping learning. The next chapter moves further inward by examining ideas of identity and self.
Chapter 5
Understanding Identities in a Global context

[I]dentities are never completed, never finished; they are always as subjectivity itself is, in process. (Hall, 1997b, p. 47)

The study of identity enables us to portray how the politics we had thought were located ‘out there’ in society, are lived through ‘in here’ in our bodies, our minds, our everyday speech and conduct.

(Pinar, 2003, p. 10)

Fig. 17: Understanding identity
5.1 From whence I come

Reflecting on my research interest in issues of identity, I realized that an awareness of personal and cultural identity began with my move to Canada twenty-two years ago. My background and identity was constantly in the spotlight as a coloured woman married to a white man, having to explain where I was from in the first few minutes of almost every casual conversation. The conversation would move around to questions and topics that I had little control over. People assumed in me an insider knowledge about Ceylon tea although I don’t drink it; I had to explain where and how I learned my ‘excellent’ English, or that I didn’t know Hindi because that was an Indian language; I was becoming expert in analyzing the ethnic civil war ‘at home,’ between the salad and the entree. I was happy with the attention that came with this interest in me and my background, until the realization that this view of myself was tied singularly to an image of national and cultural identity which had little to do with who I am, or how I wished to be seen in the world.

My experiences as an immigrant led me to my first area of work in Canada, teaching English to adult immigrants. In that classroom I witnessed the struggles, confusion and frustration of adult learners and newcomers to Canada as they tried to ‘assimilate’ into their new community, and maintain their sense of cultural identity. Along with them, I too was learning about the boundaries, positionings and contradictions encountered through the act of ‘becoming’ a Canadian. To be here we had to give up parts of ourselves that caused misrecognition, and yet, to keep ourselves from fragmenting, we perceived that we had to hold on to those aspects of ourselves that we believed expressed our ‘true selves.’

Perhaps it was these questions, experiences and the insights gained from my professional and personal worlds that I carried into my current research interests related to international students at university.

5.2 Introduction

The primary identity assigned to students from other countries arriving to study at a Canadian university, by definition, is a national or international identity. “Visa students”, as they are designated by the post-secondary system, are categorized by country in the databases. In the social system of the
university, the visible spaces assigned to international students are the designated ‘clubs’ for international students, or those of cultural affiliation (e.g., Students of African Descent, Korean Students Club, Indonesian Students Association and so on). Before I ventured into an analysis of the experiences of international students in my research, it was important to understand the implications of these identifications and ways in which they contribute to the shaping of identity.

My intention in this chapter is to explore selected aspects of relevant literature on cultural and national identity. My focus is to better understand how international students see others identifying them, and if and how these identifications feed into the students evolving sense of their own identities. I will begin with a brief overview of the concept of identity, leading to an explication of a key sociocultural theory on self and identity, namely, ‘figured worlds’, a theory introduced by Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998). I then use the two other aspects of my conceptual framework for this study, globalization and power/postcolonial thought, to frame a discussion on identity that I argue are salient for this study. Globalization provides a backdrop to discuss national identity, diasporic and cosmopolitan identity, as well as the notion of hybridity. The power relations of the postcolonial are a useful framework to consider race, cultural difference and how they shape the production of identity. A brief look at identities in the contact zone will illustrate how these relations of power still influence international relations in the academy. A key purpose in examining identity is to understand agency as well as pedagogical approaches, and I will make these connections explicit in the conclusion of this chapter.

5.3 Evolution of a concept

The field of cultural studies has a rich offering of scholarship on the topic of identity, culture, nation, and their intersections. Stuart Hall (1992) provides a succinct historical overview of how the subject has come to be conceptualized. The Enlightenment or Cartesian subject was an essence that was born with the person, unfolded with the person, and remained unified at the core of the person throughout their lives. Identity, according to this view, is linear, indivisible and
singular. It is fixed and static, and can be simply summed up by identity labels. With the progress of modernity, this view changed to be reconceptualized as the sociological subject, formed in interaction with society and as mediating between inner and outer worlds. "Identity thus stitches ... the subject into the structure. It stabilizes both subjects and the cultural worlds they inhabit, making both reciprocally more unified and predictable" (Hall, 1992, p. 276). As Hall (1992) points out, however, this unity and predictability was more of a wish for coherence in a world where social order was fast changing and fragmenting. The ‘de-centering’ of the subject progressed during late modernity leading to notions of the postmodern subject, which recognizes conditions of fragmentation, multiple identities and fluidity.

Fig. 18: “multiple identities and fluidity”
The significance of these changed views of the self is that the individual is now seen to move between different identities as they take on different roles and positions in their personal and professional lives. Identities can be historically defined, while recognizing that those histories are not singularly articulated; they are “formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us” (Hall, 1992, p. 287). Thus, identity is seen not as a single unified essence but as fluid, and dynamic. This has important implications for researchers: As race theorist Dei (Gismondi, 1999) explains, “In trying to understand education and social relations, it is important that we don’t see ourselves as simply one thing” (p. 3). It opens up possibilities for seeing persons as a “production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall, 1990, p. 222).

Sociocultural approaches are useful to understanding people in the social context of education, and how they come to make sense of themselves in these different ‘worlds.’ Identity then, is integrally tied to the contexts and worlds which produce them, and this is the premise of Holland et al.’s (1998) theories on ‘figured worlds’ which I will now review.

5.4 Figured worlds: Identity and agency

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain (1998) assert that “[b]ehaviour is mediated by sense of self or what we call identities” (p. 31). Identities are always in process and formed through activity. They define figured worlds as “socially produced, culturally constituted activities (pp. 40 – 41) where people produce and perform new identities. People ‘figure’ who they are through activities and in relation to those who share those worlds.

They argue that neither the culturalist approach, showing how past learned behaviour directs present behaviour, nor the constructivist approach, which looks at social positioning in relationships alone explain human action. They argue for the importance of seeing the two as complementary. The culturalist approach, similar to views on acculturation theory, emphasizes how childhood learning in particular, family and community settings, socializes us
into the acquisition of values, beliefs and practices that are central to ‘cultural’ identities. The constructivist approach holds that institutional constraints and impositions built around gender, class, race and so on determine who we are. The authors’ concern is with the active creative role that individuals make of the cultural and institutions forms and constraints. Attention is on identities forming in process or activity, and on the importance of improvisation and innovation, or agency.

The concept of ‘figured worlds’ is the basis for three other contexts that Holland et al. (1998) argue produce personal and social identity: negotiation of positionality, space of authoring and world-making. I will comment specifically on authoring as having relevance to my purpose.

Holland et al.’s concept of authoring has been influenced by Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism12: “The figured world of dialogism is one in which sentient beings always exist in a state of being ‘addressed’ and in the process of ‘answering’” (p. 169). An utterance reflects its historicity through its relationship to previous utterances and also its orientation to the other’s responsive understanding, theorised as the addressivity of the utterance. Hence dialogicality emphasises or draws attention to the multivoicedness of an utterance.

The meaning we make of ourselves is, in Bakhtin’s terms, “authoring the self” and the site at which this authoring occurs is a space defined by the interrelationship of differentiated “vocal” perspectives on the social world (Holland et al., 1998, p.173).

The “orchestration of such voices” or self-authoring, evolves into an authorial stance, into what the authors describe as ‘internally persuasive discourse.’ This stance is a place from where a person make sense of her world, and the development of an authorial stance shapes identity and agency: “one’s own discourse and one’s own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of another’s discourse” (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Holland et al., 1998, p. 183).

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12 The authors also use Vygotsky’s ideas on semiotic mediation.
“[P]articular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts and particular outcomes are valued over others” (p. 52). Whether some people are drawn into certain figured worlds, or enter others depends on who they are and their personal social history. This focus on activity also brings attention to the importance of power.

Holland et al.’s work offers a way to theorize (and see) agency and how it is enacted. Agency arises from developing one’s own authorial stance, to be free from another’s discourse. This is often marked by improvisation, “an unexpected outcome when people are simultaneously engaged with or pushed by contradictory discourses” (p. 17). As individuals negotiate identity, they develop an ability to hold in tension what appear to be contradictory positions.

This theory is useful to the study because they it makes visible the ways in which international students are positioned, how they see themselves, and how this affects their learning experience. We are able to see students negotiate their figured worlds, how they improvise, resist authoritative discourse and develop internally persuasive discourses.

5.5 Identity in global times

Globalization has intensified the conditions that produce cultural fluidity, paradoxes and this complicates the question of how we understand our place in the world. Globalization has heightened awareness of national affiliations and identifications, as discussed in Chapter 3, as well as produced the conditions for transcending those affiliations through the notion of cosmopolitanism. The intensification of ethnoscapes has also brought into focus the notion of diasporas and what it means to be identified to and as a diasporan identity. In this section I will discuss these aspects of identity that have been foregrounded by globalization.

5.5.1 National identity

We have come to understand identity as fluid, formed in relationship, and dialogical. Yet the story of nationhood that is created for citizens imposes an image of national identity as an essence, or as having core traits that represent
this “imagined” community. Further, in a pluralistic society (such as Canada), the exclusion of minority groups in the construction of the national myth would in itself encourage and give rise to heightened awareness of difference in terms of discrimination and racism within a nation (Featherstone, 1995). Globalizing forces have on the one hand, an undermining effect on national identifications, and paradoxically, on the other, strengthen them, in each case producing barriers for the newcomer. Bauman (1997) argues how these conditions of late modernity produce the strategies that are used in the treatment of strangers: a demand for assimilation or exclusion.

As I have explored in Chapter 3, globalization has resulted in contradictory and paradoxical conditions and phenomena. The highest rates of human migration and movement have resulted in new forms of national and transnational identifications, giving rise to new categories of global citizenship. Identities, as Rizvi (2005) maintains, are defined against ‘encroaching forces of globalization’ (p. 331). With the emergence of ‘new cultural space’ of the conditions of globalization, “social identities are no longer tied unambiguously to territories” (Rizvi 2005, 337). Caglar (1997) referring to the extent of migration patterns, comments that people define themselves “in terms of multiple national attachments ... that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities” (p. 169).

The implications for internationalization of higher education lie in examining how international students understand the global and national identity assigned to them, and whether and how these differ from how they see themselves. Do students perceive a distinction between how they see themselves and how others identify them? Or do they identify increasingly with a national identity as the only identity they can inhabit in their role as international students? Are they able to resist the ways in which they are identified, and how are they able to do this? What is the nature of the tensions that arise from the disparate images of national identity that are assumed to be a ‘true’ state of their identity, and other aspects of their identities?
5.5.2 Diaspora and cosmopolitanism: identity on the move

In globalized conditions, identity is inextricably linked to mobility, and thus to diaspora and cultural globalization (Rizvi, 2000). Diasporic communities are those able to reconstitute the local with the global with their lived experiences and insights into cultural production. This raises issues about identity (and authenticity) as one has to redefine oneself in a world constantly on the move, tying in to Edwards and Usher's theorizing of location on the move and notions of (dis)location. Identity then incorporates the often contradictory positions and outlooks that represent the diaspora experience.

Diasporic identities highlight ways in which a person can draw on more than one cultural repertoire, “at once local and global... networks of transnational identifications encompassing ‘imagined’ and ‘encountered’ communities” (Brah, 1996, p. 196). A combination of the local and the global is always an important aspect of diasporic identities, but the relationship between these varies. Diasporic identity is taken as a positive positioning and is able to link the cultural with the economic, “able to interrogate the universal with the particular” (Rizvi, 209), and able to use their cosmopolitanism to push the limits of what is considered local.

Diasporan identity offers a possibility for repertoires that are seen as valuable to function in a global environment. It is a break down of all strong cultural identities and the fragmentation of cultural codes giving rise to a multiplicity of styles, with an emphasis on the impermanent, and on difference. Edwards & Usher (2000), argue that the feelings of dislocation this might cause, and the negotiation between worlds is not necessarily a negative thing, as ‘[diasporas] have always been in a better position to act as a bridge between the particular and the universal’ (Cohen, 1997 cited in Edwards & Usher, ibid.). In other words, diasporans have available to them a wider repertoire of strategies derived from their experience of multiple locations.

Cosmopolitanism has been proposed as a response to the constraints imposed by nationalism and as freeing from nationalistic allegiances. It is a contested concept and associated with the elitist, worldly, mobile individual. Used in opposition to nationalism as being free from nationalistic allegiances, Rizvi (2005) suggests that the concept of cosmopolitanism must acknowledge
interconnectedness, and although national boundaries are transcended, we interpret and engage the world from a particular local position.

5.5.3 Hybridity: Empowering, dangerous or transformative?

Globalization and its flows have been attributed as the “cause” of what Hall (1990) describes as cultural identities ‘in transition’, “the product of complicated cross-overs and mixes which are becoming increasingly common in a globalized world” (p. 310). Previous ways of describing culture and identity are proving to be inadequate as people claim multiple cultural and national affiliations. Some of the new concepts of cultural identity created through these complex social conditions, hybridity, hyphenated, creolized, and diasporic, attempt to capture these complexities. The debate on hybridity in cultural studies is extensive and traverses a range of opinions ranging from whether these theories are empowering, dangerous or transformative (Werbner, 1997, p. 4).

Theories of hybridity have been offered as a response to the closed definitions of culture (culture as fixed essence) and the subsequent consequence of difference-erasing discourse created by it. In general these theories acknowledge the condition of hybridity as processual rather than a fixed state. Creolization, for example, has been described as “a process in which elements from disparate cultural origins are fully synthesized without their contradictions and differences being eroded” (Parkins 1993 in Caglar, 1997, p. 172). Hybridization refers to “the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices” (Pieterse, 1995, cited in Caglar, 1997, p. 172). Scholars such as Nederveen Pieterse (2004) have challenged theories of cultural homogenization, arguing that indigenization results in diversity, concluding that mingling and mixing are phenomena of culture itself; in other words, “cultures have been hybrid all along” (p. 82, italics in original). Caglar (1997) points out that although we should consider hybridity and thus, identity as fluid, that they are ‘anchored in territorial ideas, whether national or transnational” (p. 173).

Werbner (1997) makes the case that as much as there is an illusion of boundedness, culture is not in and of itself (p. 4–6). Werbner applies Bakhtin’s
distinction between organic, unconscious hybridity and conscious intentional hybridity, to culture, which advances the position of the importance of maintaining hybridity theory. Cultural change according to this view, can occur organically, borrowing, and exchanging, though not disrupting order and continuity. Intentional hybridity, or “aesthetic interventions” (Werbner, 1997, p. 5) is about resistance to the established order, which revitalizes the existing forms. Echoing Holland et al.’s (1998) views (also based on Bakhtin) of the possibility for co-existence of both the culturalist and constructivist positions on identity, Werbner makes a case for the coexistence of both approaches in nation states and migrant/minority groups.

In delineating my own position on hybridity and cultural theory, I tend to agree with the notion that if we are able to understand culture as transcending definitions of boundedness, hybridity will prove useful not as a theory per se, but as ways in which people can understand the processes evolving around their ‘becoming’. In other words, we need to be able to relate experience to theories that express the complexities of experience. Those arguments against the validity of hybridity prove useful in guarding against a labelling or the creation of new categories under hybridity, against assuming an originary cultural purity and against valourising hybridity as a norm against which all other possibilities must be measured. In this regard, we must be able to understand the positions of minority groups and nation states who maintain essentialized accounts of culture (and of cultural and national identity so understood) as strategies to maintain distinctness and the preservation of difference in the face of homogenizing or assimilationist projects. In this way we are able to avoid the polarizing positions of what authenticity or ‘true’ culture is.
I see hybridity as a possibility for transformation. As Ashcroft (2001a) asserts, hybridity is not simply an ontological condition, but should be seen as “another term for the strategies and interactions by which [colonial] cultures are transformed” (p. 127). The perspective advanced by Bill Ashcroft (2001a) is that hybridity is an “‘excessive’ disruption of the certainties of essentialist categorization” (p. 123) and thus a way to transform. It is similar, in this regard, to Bakhtin’s notion of hybridity in “[setting] different points of view against each other in a conflictual structure, which retains ‘a certain elemental organic energy and open-endedness (cited in Ashcroft, 2001a, p. 124). By applying these and other discussed notions of hybridity and translation is it possible to think of cultural hybridity in international learners not simply as a mix of more than one cultural practice, but as this process of the emergence of ‘something new and unrecognizable” advanced by Bhabha (Rutherford, 1990b, p. 211), ‘the emergence of the interstices’ (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2)? These are the perspectives that advance my understanding of identity among international students.

5.6 Identity and the postcolonial

One of the points of agreement among the theories on identity I have reviewed so far is that identity is formed in relation to others. The opinions and
regard of others towards us and the nature of our relationships with others shape our views of self. This becomes particularly important when this relationship is influenced by power.

Identity is very powerful in helping us understand not only ourselves, but our place in society and how we connect with each other as a way to understand our collective destinies. Identity is powerfully linked with knowledge production. Who we are, the journeys that we’ve gone through, how we understand the self are all implicated in how we understand the society in which we live. (Dei/Gismondi, 1999, p. 5).

The work of scholars such as Dei has resulted in our understanding that identity is a site of positioning, struggle and contestation. In the sections that follow, I will show how racialised identity is an example of identity experienced as positioning. Seeing identity in terms of a contact zone allows for an analysis of identity as sites of struggle but also of resistance and agency.

5.6.1 Racialized Identities

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, notions of race, power and colonialism are integrally interconnected. Ideas about race developed from imperialistic ventures of ‘discovery’ and colonization when encounters with people who were different had to be explained. These explanations of, for example, inferior intelligence justified the exploitation and oppression of colonized peoples (Dei, 1996; Loomba, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1994). The historical emergence of race is thus tied to colonial ideologies and practices, and to encounters with those who were visibly different from other (as in, international) places. Theories on race and contemporary forms of racism provide complementary analyses with which to understand experiences shaped (marked) by difference.
“Race, articulated through the codes of nation, culture and identity, divides those who belong from those are made other” (Yon, 2000, p. 12). Dei (Dei & Calliste, 2000), Yon (2000) and others have illustrated in their research with minoritised groups how race is used to create a discourse affixed to human bodies, making race a discursive category. Although race is theorized as a discursive site, race can also ‘fix’ identity as a marker of immutable physical difference. What possibilities are there for transcending such positionings? Furthermore, by being constructed as able to represent their culture in their person, it homogenizes the culture, as well as placing on the ‘outsider’ what Brah refers to as the ‘burden of representation.’

Culture becomes salient in conditions where cultural difference is a key point around which social relations among different cultural groups are ordered and negotiated. Intercultural relations then, are embedded in power relations (Brah, 1996). In relation to cultural difference and citizenship, Rosaldo (1993) argues that there appears to be an inverse relationship between the notion of citizenship, and cultural visibility, creating a power relationship around “cultural visibility and invisibility” (p. 198). That is, the less visible one’s culture,
the greater the chances of the benefits and rights of citizenship. He shows how those who have culture occupy a lesser position and status in the nation state than those who are perceived to be ‘culture-less.’ Thus, having culture is constructed to be a sign of ‘foreign-ness’ and, in the context of Canada, seen to be outside what is perceived to be ‘real’ Canadian. Culture is regarded as something possessed by ‘Others’, most often identifiable by physical appearance and features, dress, food, religious practices and so on.

James (2003) argues that Canada’s multicultural policy contributes to this belief by constructing ‘real’ Canadians as English and French, and the nation as being “culturally neutral and therefore able to accommodate the ‘foreign cultures’” (p. 34). This discourse creates a positioning of minority groups as being ‘not-Canadian’ and leads to a power dynamic that keeps those who are different in the margins, leading to what Yon has articulated as a New Racism: “racism premised on belief in immutable cultural differences” (Yon, 2000, p. 11).

These theories inform my study in the following ways. First, I posit that the university environment is a microcosm of the structures of and discourse on cultural relations (dominant and minority group relations) prevailing in the wider social arena. Accordingly, ‘citizenship’ in the university is accorded to ‘real’ Canadians, the locals who are culturally neutral. Students who have culture, are visibly different and seen as ‘foreign’ are not really a part of the university. They should be ‘accommodated’ but they only aspire to citizenship in the university community, not being able to have citizenship by virtue of their visible difference. Cultural and racial difference impose limitations on agency as stereotyping, exclusion and other forms of discrimination create views of the self that are difficult to transcend. I will discuss identity in a postcolonial context, examining how being positioned as a ‘colonial’ subject has implications for how we consider identity in the context of internationalization in the university

5.6.2 Identities in the contact zone

As shown in Chapter 4, culture and difference configure the dominant-minority group dynamic in colonial relations. Such difference leads to, for example, the construction of others, in particular, ‘Third World’ women, as
backward and primitive (Minh-ha, 2000). These images affect self-representation. The colonised person is also constructed as being an authentic representative of her background: “the automatic and arbitrary endowment ... with legitimised knowledge about her cultural heritage and environment” (Minh-ha, 2000, p. 1213) confirms the power and dominant status of the colonizer, and maintains control.

Being the ‘other’ of a dominant culture involves “living in a bifurcated universe of meaning” (Pratt, 1999 cited in Kenway & Bullen, 2003, p. 14). On the one hand, one must produce oneself as a self for oneself. That is survival. At the same time the system also requires that you produce yourself as an ‘other’. (Pratt, 1999, cited in Kenway and Bullen, 2003, p. 11). While I would agree that there are dual or even multiple selves that can be called into being, there are several complexities to be considered. First, the notion of producing oneself “as a self for oneself.” The dominant culture defines its others in terms of a fixed, static, identity with a core essence ascribed to that culture, entirely defined by the dominant culture. Survival then, is not just about producing a self that is a ‘self for oneself’, but also, about being a self in spite of the boundaries of this construct. Furthermore, the production of the self as ‘other’ is necessary for survival as well, that is, surviving as the ‘other’ of the relationship. This production of different selves as strategies for survival and resistance produces an internal warring that Minh-ha (2000) describes as “not you/like you.”

As Kenway & Bullen’s (2003) study of international women graduate students shows, the resulting reinvention of oneself can be difficult, but is not always negative or problematic. The study illustrates how the idea of the contact zone is effective in understanding the formation of identity among international women students. “Students’ cross-cultural experiences forged many notions of self and many identities” (p. 15) resulting in an awareness of heterogeneity, thereby countering the dominant group’s control established through homogenization. Pratt’s notions of transculturation, that is, the ways in which students’ perceptions of the dominant culture attitudes towards them are incorporated or resisted, are similar to the theorizing of identity in ‘figured worlds’ with an added emphasis on how individuals deal with the particulars of
power such as race. In their study, Kenway and Bullen identified international women students’ self-representation through such categories as pragmatism, ambivalence, and in categories of resistance such as solidarity, affirmation and reinvention.

5.7 Possibilities for becoming: Identity in the eduscape

My exploration of identity has shown points of convergence in the understanding and theorizing of identity among the fields of sociocultural theory, sociology and cultural studies. Common themes among them are that identity is fluid, contested, multiple, formed in relation to others, and positioned by social relations and material conditions that constrain possibilities for becoming. These theories of identity allow me to “see” the students in my study, but more importantly, to understand how the students perceive themselves.

I have reviewed a key sociocultural theory on identity and shown how it will be useful in a discussion on how international students navigate the different figured worlds as they travel among geographical and imagined realms of location. From a discussion of identity formation, I outlined various conditions and contexts that influence and shape how identity is experienced. Conditions of globalization heighten awareness of nation, nationalism and national identity. In contrast to the fluidity of culture, cultural globalization and identity, categories such as national identity are ascribed fixed and essential attributes. Diasporic and cosmopolitan identities are further expressions of the complex ‘movement’ and the mixes of global and local associated with globalization. Bringing in a postcolonial lens, I was able to establish the materiality and constraints of racialised identity, and possibilities for resistance as expressed through relationships in the contact zone.
Agency is an important theme of this study, and the theorizing of identity is seen from the perspective of its effectiveness in theorizing possibilities for becoming.

Human agency may be frail, especially among those with little power, but it happens daily and mundanely, and it deserves our attention. Humans’ capacity for self-objectification — and through objectification, for self-direction — plays into both their domination by social relations of power and their possibilities for partial liberation from these forces (Holland et al., 1998, p. 5).

Holland et al.’s (1998) work allows me to see how students accommodate and resist external authoritative discourses and develop internally persuasive discourses. Improvisation allows individuals to resist and transcend constraints imposed by social relations and conditions.

Holland et al.’s theories about improvisation are compatible with postcolonial ideas of resistance, or as Ashcroft (2001b) theorizes, ‘transformative resistance’ which I have described in Chapter 4. Opportunities for resistance and
agency are found in the multiple strategies within diasporic and cosmopolitan identities, in the expansion of cultural repertoires that grow from living in the interstices, and in the 'between.'

This discussion on 'being' and 'becoming' concludes the conceptual/theoretical framework for this dissertation. I have drawn in a diverse and complex range of theories and ideas that at times appear to overwhelm and engulf the investigative task I have set myself. This complexity, I argue, is a necessary condition to adequately theorize the multiple worlds and dimensions of internationalization of higher education. Themes of the 'between', and 'third space' maintain a connection and a linkage among the many ideas in my overall framework, and also provide key metaphors of transformative resistance for the emerging concept of an eduscape in the making. The eduscape provides a framework to theorize internationalization in the context of globalization; third space, cultural translation and occupying the 'inter' emerge as relational possibilities in the internationalized space; and finally, improvisation, innovation and creativity arising from 'being' international, provides transformative possibilities for 'becoming.'
PART III
THE STUDY

Fig. 22: The study
Chapter 6
Methodology

Individual interviews provide the opportunity to examine how large-scale social transformations are experienced, interpreted, and ultimately shaped by the responses of strategic social actors.

(Gerson & Horowitz, 2002, p. 201)

It is easy to become captivated by the stories of your informants, or by what’s going on in the setting you are studying, and lose sight of the reasons for studying these particular phenomena.

(Maxwell, 1996, p. 14, emphasis in original)

Most important then, is to look for ways of building identities and authority and deploying power that are truly democratic, or at least capable of reflexivity and reciprocity with respect to the impact they have on those we “study”.

(Ibanez, 1997, p. 109)
6.1 Introduction

When I first started teaching in international teacher education programs, I was enthusiastic about the potential for what Miller (2006) identifies as "collective exchange" (p. 34) among the participants in the programs. There were opportunities, I imagined, for correcting prevailing imbalances in the power/knowledge flows that characterize international (North-South) educational relationships. At the time I was trying to narrow down the focus of this research, I had been teaching and participating in these teacher education programs for a few years. I was more familiar with short-term program visitors, here for a month or two, and later, I worked with international students registered with the university individually. My first interactions with international students enrolled at the GU campus were casual meetings with friends and acquaintances who were fellow graduate students.

While I may not have become quite 'captivated' by the personal stories of international students, I was certainly becoming concerned, compelled and moved by their stories and their experiences. As for the 'goings-on' at the university, from my vantage point, limited though it might be, the state of affairs on internationalization of the campus was cause for concern as I have argued in earlier work (Beck, 2001), and summarized in Chapters 1 and 2. The motivations for pursuing this line of investigation were becoming more apparent: understanding policy, practice and pedagogy from the perspective of international students themselves. What was not so clear to me was a larger issue related to research itself. Was my position a useful or even appropriate one as a researcher on internationalization?

The popular mainstream (positivist) views on research maintain that in order to be credible, a study must be dispassionate, objective, and conducted by an equally dispassionate and objective researcher. According to this view of research, I could be considered 'flawed' on many fronts: I was sympathetic to students who would be the focus of the investigation; opinionated on the responsibilities and ethical stance of the university in relation to internationalization; I have strong views on the missing elements of internationalization and the future direction of internationalization. The outcomes of my study, in other
words, might have been seen to be self-evident or pre-determined. While these issues will be dealt with in the discussion below that supports the methodology for this study, identifying the purpose of this investigation required more reflection. What would I be curious about and why? What value would experiences of international students have on the field beyond perhaps confirming other stories related to studying abroad in unfamiliar settings? More importantly, were there outcomes that I might wish for as a result of this research? These questions assisted me in clarifying the focus of my research, as well in sorting out the personal from research purposes (Maxwell, 1996).

This chapter represents the decision making process that led to the design of this qualitative study, and includes a rationale for and an overview of the methods. Following a brief overview of how qualitative interviewing as a method evolved, I will describe the function and forms of the interview, including the roles of the interviewer and respondent. The second part of the chapter describes the setting, participants, the data collection, and the analysis.

6.2 Research as praxis

I was drawn to the ideals of Freire’s (1970/2000) praxis — critical theory, pedagogy and knowledge that facilitates transformation and social change. Praxis according to Freire, serves liberatory education, and is “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (1970/2000, p. 51). In my work with grassroots community leaders in various parts of the world, I had learned from my partners about participatory ways of working and mutually respectful partnerships. I had experienced the value of initiatives where everyone expected to ‘develop’, that is, grow and learn, not just the ‘others’. Social change meant that we would be supporting one another to dismantle inequitable practices, policies, behaviours and attitudes. It meant that I too, had to be willing to change, to examine my own biases, attitudes and world-views.

With this background, the most attractive aspect of doing research at the university, for me, was the ability to produce ‘knowledge’ that would create change. I came into this research with a ‘wish list’ of ways in which I could influence policy makers and administrators on the ‘big business’ (Altbach, 2004,
p. 2) of internationalization. Thus, research designed to be in the service of social change led me to consider Patti Lather’s (1986a) notion of research as praxis as an orientation for the design of the study. Following Freire, Lather’s (1986a) premise is that “just as there is no neutral education, there is no neutral research” (p. 257) and her proposal for praxis-oriented research methods is informed by feminist research, neo-Marxist critical ethnography and Freirian-inspired participatory research. Some of the key elements of this approach reflect innovative ways of thinking about the theory and data relationships, the roles of mutuality and reciprocity for participants, a notion of empowerment of participants as a goal of research, and what counts as validity. I discuss each element briefly below and highlight what I considered useful to my study.

From the perspective of praxis-oriented research, the relationship between theory and data must be reconceptualized so that rather than theory imposing on data, “theory [must] illuminate the lived experience of progressive social groups... [and] also be illuminated by their struggles” (Lather, 1986a, p. 262). While this is similar to grounded theory, where theory follows data and emerges from it (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, cited in Lather 1986a), it goes beyond grounded theory in that theory “serves an energizing, catalytic role”(p. 264) and encourages self-reflection from both researcher and participants. Accordingly, those who were the objects/subjects of research in traditional models of research, would become active participants, and their input would lead to theory building. Movement towards research as praxis appears to be grounded in the interrogation of the role of researcher, and increased participation in the process by the participants.

Although this perspective appears to be a Freirian ideal, the reality of implementation may not allow for strict adherence to the ideals proposed. For example, theory building with participants is dependent on certain conditions being in place such as, whether participants are organized into a defined community of action, time factors that constrain participants from full engagement, and most importantly, the education of participants on theoretical orientations. On the other hand, I would agree that the rigidity of ‘theory imposed’ in positivist models may preclude the consideration of data, even the
generation of it, in its complexity and entirety. There must be flexibility to allow for the lived experience, and complexity of the data to inform the building of theory. Having experimented with the praxis-oriented approach in a pilot study, I made a decision to strike some kind of balance between the ideal and the reality with which I was faced. I will describe the process later in this chapter.

Reciprocity and mutuality are other key elements that according to Lather (1986a, 1986b) move research towards an emancipatory outcome, and hence, praxis. Reciprocity for Lather means building elements into the design in each step of the method that encourages mutuality. These strategies include interactive elements that allow for a more two-way experience for participants, a collaborative approach to interpreting data and theorizing from it, negotiation of meaning, self-disclosure by the researcher to allow for a greater engagement in the process as well as a diminishing of power relations between researcher-participant, and encouraging participants to reflect on and transcend their situations. The latter goal of empowerment, can be interpreted both as mindfulness of the power relations between researcher and researched (e.g., Te Hennepe, 1997; Jayamane & Rutherford, 1990) and as “[providing] conditions under which subjects can enhance their capacity for self-determination in acquiring knowledge about the human condition” (Heron, 1981 in Lather, 1986a, p. 262). These steps are necessary conditions in moving research towards praxis, taking action on the world in order to change it and “enabl[ing] people to change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their particular situations” (Lather, 1986a, p. 263).

The next step was to determine what methods would best implement the goals of praxis. Participant observation and interviewing are the two most widely used strategies in qualitative research, and interviewing is considered a mandatory aspect of qualitative research (Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont, 2003). The interview is used extensively in research in education, and is particularly useful in research that involves the investigation of attitudes, perceptions and experiences of participants (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995; Platt, 2002; Tierney & Dilley, 2002). The idea to use qualitative interviewing as the basis for the study arose out of my prior interactions with international students, when we would
strike up conversations about school or common interests, or simply social chit-chat. Within a short time of the start of these conversations, my acquaintances would either share something about their life on campus, or relate an anecdote about an interaction or event that would reveal to me an aspect of student life that I knew little of. There were many parallels to the immigrant stories from my 'ESL' learners. The students appeared to be happy that someone was chatting with them about matters that were close to their hearts. I decided that 'conversations' would become the main method of data collection. I tried out both the individual interview, and the focus group or group interview in a pilot study, and they yielded rich and plentiful data.

6.3 The qualitative interview

The interview has become a well known method of both collecting and eliciting information in print and visual media, marketing and promotion, public opinion polls and surveys, and so on (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Gubrium & Holstein, 1995; Gubrium & Holstein 2002; Kvale, 1996). Silverman (1997) describes the development of what he calls an "Interview society" through the widescale use of the interview in the media. By bringing private lives and subjectivities into the public domain the interview has become "a significant means for realizing the subjectivity and the social contexts that bring it about" (Silverman, 1997, cited in Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 9). The interview "has become a routine, technical practice and a pervasive, taken for granted activity in our culture" (Mishler, 1986, p. 23).

The interview is identified as an integral data collection strategy for qualitative methods such as case studies, life history, and, especially, ethnography, in a variety of fields of study, and not often as a distinct method in itself. Reviewing the history of the qualitative interview, Platt (2002) traces some of the major developments that have defined interviewing as a research methodology. Interview protocol in the early days of its use, in the 1930s, was not very different than the kind of interviews used in journalism, or job interviews. The purpose was to gain specific information. The interviewer asked a series of questions that sought to elicit specific responses or information. The
interviews were little more than orally administered questionnaires with the interviewer documenting the responses. There were few guidelines for how interviews could be effective, or what kinds of protocol would be most appropriate for the research that was being conducted.

The research interviewing that is familiar today developed in parallel to developments in participant observation for fieldwork in ethnography, life history research and case study. As researchers began to pay more attention to the technical aspects of these data collection methods, there was a refining of the interview protocol and the method itself. For example, the setting up of the interview as a naturalistic conversation emerged from the trend that characterized qualitative research and ethnographic methods as naturalistic research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Platt, 2002, p. 49–51).

It was not until post World War II that systematic research and training on interviewing began, and included the consideration of such issues as the benefits of unstructured versus structured interviews, and open-ended questions versus closed questions. In around the 1970s qualitative researchers were making separations between their methodology and the methods of surveying. This was about the time that educational ethnography was flourishing in anthropology (Hammersley, 1992).

Often called the "sister research genre" to ethnography (Warren, 2002, p. 85), qualitative interviewing is associated with ethnography, although subtle differences have been described. According to Warren (2002), ethnography is about providing an understanding of lived experience in a particular context, while qualitative interviews focus more on the participants rather than the setting.

Contemporary trends such as postmodernism, feminist analysis, and postcolonial thought in ethnography contributed to the refining of the interview as a more robust research method. Issues such as the roles of the participant and interviewer, power relations, distinctions between participant observation and interviewing were attended to with a more comprehensive analysis. A diverse variety of interviewing techniques came to be more clearly defined, such as
postmodern influences in interviewing. Forms of interviewing, such as survey interviewing, in-depth interviewing, life story interviewing, and focus group interviewing are becoming more distinct (Fontana, 2002; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002).

6.4 The function of the interview

Interviewing, in particular, survey and popular media interviewing, tended to be interpreted as the collection of information from passive subjects who are repositories of knowledge, expertise or opinions (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The interviewer structures, guides and even controls the process, asks questions that will elicit information, which is recorded by the interviewer. This approach, critiqued as being dominated by the researcher, and relegating respondents or participants to a secondary and insignificant status, has prompted qualitative researchers to redefine and articulate the notion of interviewing in qualitative research, which is more concerned with interpretation and understanding than information itself.

Qualitative interviewing, has been reconceptualized in recent literature as being a conversation (Kvale, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Warren, 2002), as an informal interactional process rather than a rigid question and answer structure (Mishler, 1986; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). "[T]he discourse of the interview is jointly constructed by interviewer and respondent. ... Both questions and responses are formulated in, developed through, and shaped by the discourse between interviewers and respondents" (Mishler, 1986, p. 52).

Emphasis is placed on listening and interpreting meaning rather than questioning: the researcher is encouraged to listen "so as to hear the meaning" of the conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 8, emphasis in original). This focus on interpretation does not mean a lack of attention to the structure or the design of the research. Kvale (1996) describes seven steps in qualitative interviewing: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting. In many of the steps, in particular, thematizing and designing, Kvale stresses the importance of being open-ended and flexible. Rather than having rigid protocols and interview questions, for example, the researcher must be
open to the diversity of meanings that might emerge in the interview, and be prepared to follow those cues. This approach is endorsed by Rubin & Rubin (2005) as well. The overall message is that of flexibility on the part of the researcher, a recognition of the discursive nature of the interview, and the mutuality of the ‘speech event’.

Mishler (1986) is credited with articulating ‘respondent-centred’ research, and advocating for respondent voices to not only be recognized but also empowered. Empowerment is “not only to speak in one’s own voice and to tell one’s own story but to apply the understanding arrived at to action in accord with one’s own interests” (1986, p. 119). The interviewer and respondent are referred to as participants to signal the collaborative nature of the conversation, and a different understanding of the roles of the interviewer, and the respondent.

6.5 The roles of the interviewer and respondent

The interviewer was, until recently, assumed to take on the perspectives and view of the discipline s/he was representing; that is, the interviewer was not expected to express personal opinions or views other than the particular disciplinary background. This has changed, to acknowledge that not only the respondents, but the interviewer can both represent and voice a variety of perspectives and opinions (Mishler, 1986; Warren, 2002).

[T]he discourse of the interview is jointly constructed by interviewer and respondent. ... Both questions and responses are formulated in, developed through, and shaped by the discourse between interviewers and respondents (Mishler, 1986, p. 52).

Citing Luff (1999), Warren argues that both researchers and respondents are participants, and that both, “speak to each other not from stable and coherent standpoints, but from varied perspectives” (Warren, 2002, p. 84, italics in original). These are not only based in personal and historical background such as gender, race and class, but shift among multiple identities even during the course of the interview itself. These are important in how the researcher understands the process of meaning-making, a process that is central to qualitative interviewing (Kvale, 1996; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Warren, 2002).
If perceptions of the role of the interviewer have seen a shift, with the interview being conceived of as an interactional event, so has the understanding of who and what the respondent is. Rather than being seen as “a repository of information and opinions or a wellspring of emotions” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 15) the person being interviewed is seen to be generating understanding and knowledge with the interviewer. “This subject is always making meaning, regardless of whether he or she is actually being interviewed” (p. 15). Mishler (1986) has written about ‘respondent-centred’ research, encouraging respondent voice to be recognized, and suggests that research be used in the service of action in the interests of the respondents. In this regard, there is less concern with whether the respondent is telling the truth and more about recognizing the contexts and location from which the respondent speaks (Johnson, 2002). Atkinson and Coffey (2002) argue that “interview talk is action — is performative — [and] ironic contrasts between ‘doing’ and ‘acting’ become increasingly redundant” (p. 813).

Other critiques of the shifting roles of the interviewer and participant relate to the danger of romanticizing the ethnographic approach, and relativism. Dingwall (1997 cited in Fontana & Frey, 2000) warns against the romantic movement in ethnographic approaches that assumes it is possible to arrive at an understanding of the true self, through extensive interviewing and process. This echoes postcolonial critique of the colonial notion that it is possible to both treat the other as entirely knowable, as well as treat them as exotic other (either savage or simply mysterious) who is also inferior (see chapter 3).

Postcolonial scholars have questioned some of the basic assumptions around which interviewing is based, including the assumption that the purpose of interviewing is to gain an understanding of another’s perspective, “that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit” (Patton 2001, in Viruru & Cannella, 2006, p. 180). They argue that there are limits to knowing others. This particular line of argument reflects the notion of colonial ambiguity (discussed in Chapter 4) of assigning the other, simultaneously, as completely knowable, and as mysterious and exotic other who is unknowable. This makes the task of locating and situating ‘voice’ fraught with pitfalls related
to representation and the implication of the researcher in that representation (Britzman, 1997).

![Image](image.jpg)  
*Fig. 24: "the subject is always making meaning"*

### 6.6 Forms of interviews

Interviews can be conducted with individuals, and as group interviews. In the former, interviews can be carried out as brief surveys, or, as in-depth interviews. The latter, according to Johnson (2002) seeks "deep information", "develop[s] and build[s] on intimacy" (p. 104) and are used when there are "complicated multiple perspective[s] on some phenomenon" (p. 105). As with other scholars cited earlier, Johnson views in-depth interviewing as a collaborative partnership between interviewer and respondent, and sees an active role for both in making sense out of questions and discussion surrounding the interview.

The designation 'group interview' is used interchangeably with and usually subsumed by the name 'focus group'. With its beginnings in market research, it is now used in other forms of educational and social sciences
qualitative research (Morgan, 2002). Morgan (1996 cited in Morgan 2002) defines the focus group interview as "a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher" (p. 141), and states that although some scholars make distinctions between different kinds of group interviews, the title is an umbrella term for variations in the actual form.

According to Morgan (1998) the format of focus group interviewing developed in three phases. In the 1920s they were used to develop survey questionnaires by identifying topics for probing. Between World War II and the 1970s the method was used and developed largely by market researchers, to understand the needs of clients and the consuming public. The use of focus groups in marketing research largely ignored academic research practices and thus lay outside of academic research for many years. It was the linkage with the newly forming field of social marketing in the 70s and 80s, focused on the application of marketing techniques to social problems, that was seen to have brought methodological rigour to focus group methods, and brought it into greater credibility and usage among social scientists. This was the third phase of development identified by Morgan (1998, 2002).

The focus group format, first used in marketing are structured and formal. It is often used as the first step in a range of research methods, followed by a survey or other instrument, and in fact is used to generate the questionnaires that follow. Focus group interviewing tends to be viewed as more artificial than individual in-depth interviewing, even if it is qualitative in design, because they are seen as scripted, and less natural (following the definition of naturalistic research provided by Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The development of the focus group method arose out of perceived limitations of the individual interview format, in particular, the influence of the interviewer on the interview relationship, and on the nature of closed-ended questions that marked the individual interview. Feminist, critical and postmodernist ethnography have influenced both the development of, and a wider use of the focus group in research. The broad goals of feminist and postmodern approaches are, among others, interrogating power relations in research and the domains in which research occurs, to value and highlight
accounts of the everyday, especially the lives of women and socially marginalized groups, and to lay bear the complexity of social phenomena.

In the focus group, although the emphasis is still on the moderator to both initiate and guide the participation of respondents, the degree of control varies in a range of informal to formal structure. The participants’ interests are the focus of the less structured format. Participants are encouraged to engage in the conversations spontaneously, although the moderator is expected to keep the conversations on topic. Morgan (2002) argues that the moderator plays a more important role in the whole research process than just guiding the conversations, as often, it is the moderator who recruits participants, draws up the questions, transcribes the data, and carries out the analysis.

The group interview as a data collecting method has received mixed reviews, as with most methods. One of the main debates is centred around whether it is more, or less naturalistic, and concerns the validity of the method (Morgan, 2002). The high profile of the moderator as directing the proceedings has added to this claim. Morgan (2002) rebuts this argument, suggesting that familiarity with the method has much to do with its perception of whether it is natural or not. Feminist researchers such as Madriz (2000) argue that the focus group is more effective than the individual interview especially among under-represented groups. It creates multiple lines of communication as participants are encouraged to talk amongst one another rather than directly with the interviewer, and allows for a greater measure of spontaneity. It can be an important strategy in developing solidarity for social transformation, forms of resistance and advancing the interests of the participants (Madriz, 2000).

Madriz (2000) values the focus group as a way for the researcher to access group interactions, to gather collective testimonies and group resistance narratives (p. 836–837). As a collectivistic method, it provides insight into the “multivocality of participants’ attitudes, experiences and beliefs” (Madriz, 2000, p. 837). Madriz continues with the observation that “multivocal conversations have been used by women for centuries in the form of exchanges with their mothers, sisters, and female neighbours and friends …” and have been “a major way in which women have faced their social isolation and their oppression.”
(p. 842). From this perspective, researchers approach the focus group method as a building onto naturally occurring social relations, rather than operating from an artificially created environment.

Fontana and Frey (2000) provide a brief overview of problematics with group interviews. One of them is the already mentioned point of the interviewer/moderator having much control over what gets said and how. The moderator also has to pay attention to group dynamics, and keep one person from dominating the conversation, as well as encouraging everyone to participate. There is a danger of opinions developing into 'group think' as the group moves towards an emerging dominant view. This 'group think' phenomenon is, however, similar to the individual interview, where participants may provide what they think the researcher wishes to know. The group dynamics may prevent the exploration of sensitive topics. Madriz (2000) further points out that participants may be socialized into avoiding disagreeing in public, or going against a dominant view, or from sharing their opinions at all.

In spite of these disadvantages, the group interview can produce rich data— that represent a variety of perspectives and rich detail. The main advantage is that group conversation stimulates participants' ability to recall experience, to bring personal examples, both contradicting and confirming a point that is being made, and expand the scope of the topic. It is a very flexible format as well.

While it is ideal to have an interview where the respondent is seen as an equal partner in the process, whether this is possible in reality has been questioned (Dingwall, 1997; Atkinson and Silverman, 1997; Viruru & Cannella, 2006) For one, reciprocity of perspective may not exist, and equality in an interview relationship is difficult to realize given that the final interpretation (at best) rests with the interviewer. However open, friendly and participatory in design, the interview is designed, initiated and somewhat controlled by the researcher, and has an expectation that the participant share personal and other information about themselves. This can also set up the participant to say only what is expected, or what they think is expected (Briggs, 2002).
In general, interview protocol and structures reflect Euro-Western ideas and processes (Smith, D., 1999; Viruru & Cannella, 2006). "... no form of interview is benign or innocent" (p. 183) It is focussed on individuality, that is, the individual knower, and collective views and ideas are “made invisible, [and] are essentially silenced” (p. 184). Another issue raised by Viruru & Cannella (2006) is the privileging of language by the research process, and the assumption that language is the best way of knowing people and their views. As language was (and is) used as form of control in colonial power it is important that this is recognized when research protocols and interview questions are set, and the interview gets underway. Viruru and Cannella (2004, 2006) further highlight the missing discourse of silence in interviews. Silence is generally interpreted as a person having nothing to say, being deficient and powerless. This reflects Western notions of speech and silence.

The consideration of respondents as active participants has led to the notion of research as praxis, as discussed above, and the empowerment of respondents to become change agents themselves (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Lather, 1986; Tierney & Dilley, 2002). The notion of empowerment itself is based on the assumption that respondents come to the interview situation, powerless. As Gubrium and Holstein (2002) point out, “although the aim of empowering respondents is certainly attractive and to be encouraged in principle, interview participants are always already “empowered’ to engage artfully in a vast range of discursive practices” (p. 29).

6.7 Analysis, interpretation and validity

There are a variety of ways in which analysis is approached. As Coffey & Atkinson (1994) illustrate, the term 'analysis' is interpreted by some researchers to mean describing, coding, sorting and presenting data, and by others to mean the interpretation and ‘sense-making’ of data.

Huberman and Miles (1994) describe data analysis in three stages: data reduction, data display and verification or drawing conclusions. In the first, data are selected and sorted into themes, patterns or clusters, suggested by the conceptual frameworks and questions that guide the study. The second stage
involves the mapping or visual depiction of the relationships in the data. The third stage leads the researcher to drawing conclusions and making sense of the connections made visible by the preceding stages. The categories and themes can be arrived at in multiple ways, and the three stages themselves, as the authors suggest, can be adapted into diverse possibilities.

Wolcott (1994) describes the data analysis procedure also in three stages, description, analysis and interpretation, which appear to be similar to the Huberman and Miles approach. It differs in that he uses the term 'transformation' to describe the stages, and this transformation of data does not need to occur in a linear progression of the three stages, but with any combination of the levels, and at any point in the research. While acknowledging that no description is neutral, data, argues Wolcott have a story to tell, and the telling of that story in a descriptive way with little manipulation or interference, is what 'description' means. Analysis occurs when the researcher takes this story to another level by identifying relationships and connections among the data through themes and patterns. This stage is carried out systematically and methodically, and proceeds cautiously. As the term implies, interpretation is the researcher's third way of transforming data, by offering their own sense-making of what is going on.

My own approach to analysis and interpretation is most aligned to Wolcott by way of drawing connections and patterns among the data. I agree with Wolcott as well as Coffey and Atkinson (1996) who assert that analysis is not to be considered as a particular stage of research to be conducted at the end of the research process. Rather, it should form an ongoing aspect of the research design and the process.

There is general concern about what constitutes proper analysis. Contemporary approaches to qualitative research mentioned earlier, have challenged traditional notions of proof, inference and validity and what Atkinson et al term "criteria of adequacy" (p. 158). On the one hand, these challenges are creating new claims for adequacy around methods of analysis. As Atkinson et al., warn, the diversity of these views should not be seen as a call for loose or lack of rigour in analytical protocol. What is being loosened is the notion
of the one ‘standard’ by which validity legitimates research. In rejecting the idea of an ‘objective account that must be measured by a ‘gold standard’, I am selecting analytical processes that favour interpretation that is contextualized, and which are based on an active and engaged role for the researcher.

It was a challenge to address issues of verification in this study. As Kvale (1996) describes, “the concepts of generalizability, reliability, and validity have reached the status of a scientific holy trinity”(p. 229). As part of the task of addressing rigour that could be applied to qualitative research, as alternatives to positivist notions of truth, Lincoln and Guba (1985) theorized concepts of trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and confirmability. Some of the strategies that establish these are triangulation, prolonged field experience, reflexivity, member checking, thick description, and code-recode procedures (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Krefting, 1991). These are movements away from a unitary interpretation of truth towards “specific local, personal and community forms of truth with a focus on daily life and local narrative” (Kvale, 1996, p. 231).

Miles and Huberman (1994) address validity by reducing the many sources of bias in the interpretations of the data, and this is achieved by extensive checking. Some of these methods include member checking, accounting for whether it is representative, triangulating, following up on cases that fall outside of patterns, checking the literature for contradictory explanations, and getting feedback (p. 262–263).

In the matter of terms used in this study, I am drawn towards “trustworthiness” as it appears to be most suitable for the task. I agree, however, with Kvale (1996) and Lather (1986, 2002) that a reconceptualized notion of ‘validity’ will both challenge positivist definitions, as well as propose alternate forms that are suitable for an interview methodology. Patti Lather’s feminist, post-structural approach to reconceptualizing validity provides the basis for re-inscribing validity (in ways that suit the conditions of the study). Following the critique of regulatory validity conceptualized as a “regime of truth” and its inherent discourses of power (Lather, 1986, 2002), Lather considers validity as “a discursive site that registers a passage to the never arrived place where we are sure of our knowledges and ourselves” (Lather, 2002, p. 247).
Participant involvement in making sense of the data will provide the basis for validity: what meaning do participants make of the data, what themes do they see emerging from it, and what are their interpretations? This focus will shift from having validity solely as a legitimation process, to “research as praxis” (Lather, 1986) that will “enable[s] people to change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their particular situations” (p. 263).

6.8 Research question and purposes of research

This study investigates internationalization of higher education by examining the experiences of international students studying at a Canadian university. It is guided by the research question “What are the experiences of international students enrolled in a mid-sized university in Western Canada?” and seeks to understand related aspects of internationalization. I am interested in whether and how the experiences of international students might help us to better clarify the connections between globalization and internationalization of higher education. Further insights are sought to reconceptualize internationalization of higher education so that its practices can better serve students rather than support a competitive model of internationalization. How might these experiences inform the design of learning environments and shape pedagogy in higher education, provide guidance to educators in how they teach universities in how they support students, and provide insights to international students themselves? The next few sections in this chapter describe the setting of the study and how I conducted the study.
6.9 Setting

A mid-sized university in Western Canada, Good University, was selected as a site primarily because of its familiarity to me, with access to international students made possible by my network of contacts.

Good University (GU) is composed of six Faculties (Applied Sciences, Arts and Social Sciences, Business Administration, Education, Science and Health Science) and has three campuses spread over the Metro Vancouver area. This study was carried out on the main campus. GU has an enrollment of about 25,000 and more than 700 tenure-track faculty.

GU had an enrollment of 19,979 undergraduate students and 3,666 graduate students in the 2005/2006 academic year, and of this number, 1,805 (or...
9.1%) undergraduates, and 505 (or 15.4%) graduate students were identified as international or visa students (GU analytical studies\textsuperscript{13}). It should be noted that while these numbers represent recruitment targets set by the university in 1998 (9% for undergraduates and 15% for graduate students), target rates set in 2003, ratified by Senate, were increased to 10% for undergraduates, and 20% for graduate students. Statistics from 2001–2006 show that international undergraduate student numbers increased steadily over the five year period. For graduate students, numbers did not increase over the 2001–2002 period, but rose by a percentage point each year after that to reach the 2005/2006 levels of 15.4% (GU Analytical Studies).

GU’s statement on internationalization outlines the principles of their internationalization process, as well as the elements of internationalization. Objectives, and goals of internationalization spell out the strategic plan for internationalization. Internationalization at GU is understood to be adding “an international perspective to the teaching, training, research and services of a university”\textsuperscript{14} and appear to be adapted from the Knight (1995) definition. In its commitment statement on internationalization, and strategies for internationalization, three recurring principles are noted that drive internationalization. They are: “the universality of knowledge in the information age, the competitive nature of world trade, and the increasing rate of cultural exchange.” Internationalization, accordingly, is essential to fulfill [the university’s] mandate to create and share knowledge, and to provide a learning environment that prepares students, faculty and staff to function effectively in an increasingly integrated, global environment.

The values that guide internationalization at GU include, adherence to the university’s mission and enhancing the university’s standing in Canada and abroad “as a leading comprehensive university,” and a belief that

\textsuperscript{13} These and other statistics and references, as well as documents from GU have been masked for reasons of anonymity.

\textsuperscript{14} This and the following information about internationalization and international activities at GU are summarized from the GU website – International Office at GU.
internationalization should "enrich educational and professional experience" of faculty, students and staff by "introducing them to the languages, cultures, and intellectual traditions of other nations." International activities are meant to "embody the principles of partnership and mutual benefit with the communities involved."

Goals for internationalization have been created around key strategies for internationalization at GU. These strategies include, internationalization of curricula, student mobility programs including both international student recruitment and students going abroad on field schools and exchanges, faculty and staff mobility, international delivery of curricula, development cooperation projects and contract education, and internationalization statements at Faculty level.

The International Office at GU serves to implement the goals of internationalization and their website introduces its services at the university with this statement:

We believe that the quality of education grows when a classroom is filled with students from around the world, when discussions include cross-cultural perspectives, when faculty and staff grow their skills internationally, and when students can study and work abroad.

To achieve those goals, the office coordinates programs for delivery on their local campuses and overseas. These services include, support services for international students, opportunities for students to study abroad, opportunities for staff to build professional skills abroad and services for faculty seeking international development projects. The office also supports program development and co-op opportunities related to international activities, and participates in events addressing international issues and concerns.

This overview of Good University's commitment to internationalization, its rationales and strategies for internationalization and the mandate of the International Office, provide an understanding of the background to internationalization at GU.
6.10 The Participants

The participants in the study were a mix of undergraduate and graduate students: 12 undergraduates and 17 graduate students from a variety of disciplines. The undergraduate students were from Engineering, Computing Science, Science, Business, Fine Arts, and Linguistics departments, while the graduate students were from Physics, Math, Engineering, Computing Science, and Education. The undergraduate students hailed from Asian countries: China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and Bangladesh. There was a wider variety of backgrounds in the graduate student mix, although still, predominantly from the Asian continent: China, Japan, Sri Lanka, Iran, Mauritius, the UK and the USA (see table on p. 137).

According to statistics published by the university, the top numbers of nationalities enrolled at GU (for undergraduate students) are in descending order from China, Republic of Korea, Hong Kong, the United States of America, Taiwan, Indonesia, Japan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Norway. China, with almost 40% of the international undergraduate student population, has consistently been the top sending country for the previous 5 years, with numbers from that country tripling since 2002. For graduate students, the top country was again, China, with 200 of the 500 international graduate students. The other top countries were the USA, Iran, Germany and India, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos and the UK (GU Analytical Studies).

Figures for male and female enrolments were not available for the international student population. According to breakdowns by Faculty, the most popular Faculties for undergraduate international students over a 4-year period from 2002 to 2006, were Business Administration, where enrolment of international students accounted for between 18 – 20% of its students. This was followed by the Faculty of Applied Sciences whose international students comprised between 9 – 9.6% of its total number of students. Faculties of Science, and Arts and Social Sciences registered about 7 – 8% of its students from the international student population. Among graduate students, the highest proportion of international students went to the Faculty of Applied Sciences (26 –
36% of their students), followed by the Faculty of Science (24% - 30%). Business Administration and Arts and Social Sciences were tied at third place.

It was not my plan to have a proportional representation of participants by nationality, nor were the students representative of the general university demographics (e.g., undergraduate vs graduate student numbers, representation by faculty, and background and so on). It was fortuitous that the participants who volunteered to be part of the study were fairly representative of the international student demographics in general. The large proportion of Education students in the study, relative to their representation in the university reflects the networking approach to participant identification and my own long-term connections in that Faculty.

On the whole, undergraduate students were younger than graduate students. Undergraduate students were between the ages of 20 and 25, with one being older. Graduate students were in two age groups. Some were between ages of 28 and 36, while five students were in their 40s. These age spans were roughly comparable to means for populations of non-international students. Interviewees did not mention age per se as a factor that was important to them in their experiences at Good University. More significant were the nature of certain age related experiences such as family responsibilities.
Table 1: Research participants\textsuperscript{15}

**Undergraduates — 12 (listed in alphabetical order)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Field of Study</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>ESL / Economics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroki</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Computing Science / Communications</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krystal</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefty Blue</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Arts - Theatre</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Onion</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Arts / Business Administration</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samshul</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherry</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Arts / Linguistics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sushant</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Graduate Students — 17 (listed in alphabetical order)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Field of Study</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Education (doctoral)</td>
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<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowei</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Biology (doctoral)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jota</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Education (doctoral)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Education (doctoral)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parth</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Physics (doctoral)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Computing Science (doctoral)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pris</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education (masters)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rojin</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Education (doctoral)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
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<td>Shabnam</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Math (masters)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunfu</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education (doctoral)</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Sonali</td>
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<td>Education (masters)</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upul</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Engineering (doctoral)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{15} All names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.
6.11 Selecting participants and interview protocol

I used my contacts in the student community to identify international students who might be interested in being research participants. I distributed information sheets about my research to international advisors in the faculty of applied science, the International office, the office of the LCT Seminar, and to other contacts around the campus. The information was also forwarded to the established international student alliance/network on the campus. Friends and colleagues were very helpful in telling their own friends in the international student community about my study. First, contact was established by the students, and once email contact was established, I described the project and its goals including expected time commitment and participation, and invited them to consider my request.

The interviews began with a pilot study with three graduate students in the Faculty of Applied Sciences. After a series of interviews and preliminary analysis, I made a decision to expand the study to include undergraduate students across the campus. For example, I wondered whether such support networks mentioned by graduate students (such as supervisory committee, fellow graduate students) existed for undergraduate students, and what form they took, and in general, what it was like for undergraduate students who had no supervisory committees or 'home' departments in their first years.

The decision to include undergraduate students resulted in unanticipated problems. Recruiting of participants among this population turned out to be time consuming and did not result in attracting students. This phase of the study delayed the process considerably. I learned that undergraduate students were under enormous pressure with assignments and examinations close to the end of a semester. After May, students either went back to their home countries on holiday, or disappeared from the campus over the summer semester. The beginning of the Fall semester, I was told, would be the best time. And so it was, the second time around.

I had another priority in participant selection, which was to ensure participation of women. So far, those who had volunteered were all male, and I made an extra effort to get in touch with student advisors, the Director or the
ITA Seminar, the Director of the Women's Centre to find interested female participants. This search did bring in a few more female participants in the undergraduate population. I tried to speculate on the reasons for the earlier paucity of women participants from among the undergraduate population, and could only surmise that it was a safety issue. The call that did bring the few women forward went out from the coordinator of the ISG, a peer, who sent out a call on her listserves after she had established contact with me herself.

On the subject of safety, there were a couple of leads that I did not follow and these were with the Women's Centre. When I had approached the Director of the Centre about recruiting participants for my research, she interviewed me very thoroughly, and questioned me about my motives for research, and also about how I would handle participants' disclosures. She was, in particular, very concerned about the official use of such disclosures, and the sensitive nature of the topics that may arise from the interviews. Being committed to respectful research (Te Henneppe, 1997), subsequent to this meeting I was very careful not only about approaching these participants, but re-evaluated my own ethical stance in including them at all. I noted down the issues faced by some of these students, as related by the coordinator, and came to the realization that the investigation of these issues lay well outside the scope of my research focus. The decision not to pursue these leads was a difficult one, and an ethical dilemma. On the one hand, I would have captured yet another layer of diversity of student experience, and one that is rarely documented or acknowledged. On the other hand, I recognized that I had no resources (personal energy and otherwise) to follow up on disclosures made, nor advocate for the issues raised.

The participants became available at varying times. A table indicating the frequency and kind of interview conducted is included in Appendix 2. All of these interviews were recorded on audio-tape, except for one student who did not wish to be recorded. I took field notes at the time, highlighting observations on body language, group dynamics, what participants were animated about, or not and so on. After the interviews, I wrote reflective notes that were useful in the interpretation.
The recruitment of participants among graduate students was a much smoother process. As mentioned earlier, the initial interviews for the pilot study were with three graduate students in the Sciences, and all of the others were interviewed towards the end of the data collection time period, many, after the undergraduate interviews had been conducted. I had a choice of going to departments other than Education for graduate student participants, as I had a good network to access. Several times I was approached by international students in Education, who offered to participate in the study. I was unsure, however, of the benefits of such input as I considered them “too close” to me as researcher. That view was to change soon. While I was doing the undergraduate interviews, I realized the limitations of the participatory approach to data analysis I was hoping to accomplish, given the enormous time commitment it would take to both educate the students on the issues I was studying, as well as the burden on their already very full workload. I tried it with Samshul and Wayne, my first undergraduate participants, and indeed, it was not just time consuming, but involved a level of understanding research methods, theory, and analysis to an extent that was an unfair burden on the participants. As Samshul pointed out in one meeting,

Look, you are the one who knows about these things, so why don’t you carry on with it? We can just see whether this [your interpretation of what we say] is OK or not.

In casual conversation with a couple of Education graduate students, I realized that they were better able to participate in such discussions over interpretation and analysis as they were grounded in the same discipline as I was. Besides, they had the advantage of insider perspective. This realization prompted me in the direction of inviting graduate students from Education to participate in the study. Observations and reflective comments were recorded.

In terms of representation, I was caught up in the dilemma of trying to get a representative sample of the different academic backgrounds and nationalities present on the campus without being trapped into the essentialist thinking that any one person could be ‘truly’ representative of his or her cultural or academic background. In other words, I wished to recognize that while each participant’s
views and utterances illustrate the filters of race, gender, culture, class, and so on, that I was not setting out to capture the 'true story' of the Chinese, Iranian, Bangladeshi, or Engineering or Education student. On the other hand, it was important to recognize and listen to whether and how the students identified in terms of the cultural and national identities that are both ascribed to them, and how they self-identified as discussed in Chapter 4. To tie this back to participant selection, although it may appear that the participants do not represent the university ratios closely in terms of nationality, gender and fields of study, it was not my goal to understand a specific national identification but to have a general diversity of background. The purposes of my research questions were not meant to seek meaning for specific identities or representation. The high ratio of education students among the graduate student population tied into my initial intent to involve participants in the research process. Those students were intentionally brought into the interview process to serve, in part, an interpretative and participatory function. As I have mentioned the method was meant to elucidate data that are illustrative rather than authoritative, the data being used to generate theory.

Let me comment now on the participatory analysis that I planned for in the research design, and how this turned out in reality. As noted earlier, Lather's 'research for praxis' calls for reciprocity and mutuality, and possibilities for empowerment. The participatory analysis on the part of participants would allow for decreased researcher bias and interpretation, as well as engage research participants in the interpretive role in the research. This did not work well with the undergraduate students as I mentioned earlier in this section. For one, member checking alone proved to be a challenge as students were extremely busy with their course work. For those whose first language was not English, keeping up with course requirements was time consuming, and reading more documents in English was another challenge. I dealt with this challenge by meeting with students individually to read back their transcripts as a summary of the issues. I then presented my preliminary interpretations, and students commented on them. I adjusted some of the interpretations accordingly. Although this was not as satisfactory to me as having a stronger level of
participation, it was a step towards the accomplishment of empowerment mentioned by Lather, in promoting a greater awareness of the issues and having an opportunity to have participants comment on interpretation.

In my first pilot study with the science graduate students, I encountered similar challenges to those faced with undergraduate students, in terms of the lack of knowledge about the goals and purposes of qualitative research. The participants were, however, more knowledgeable about issues relating to international students, such as isolation, language acquisition and the role of socialization, pedagogical approaches that would be more effective in the classroom and so on. They were also able to comment on their own situations with insight. The participants engaged in a good discussion following my preliminary analysis of the data. By the time the graduate students in Education were interviewed, I had completed much of the data collection and preliminary analysis of the other data, and embedded questions arising from those data into their own interview. Some examples follow: Summarizing data about going abroad to study, I asked participants what they thought of their own and others’ decisions to leave home and study abroad. Another question related to how they interpreted internationalization and what they thought about it. Questions on identity, their own, and interpretation of the process on others, were responded to with much animation and insight.

In spite of the limitations on full participatory analysis there were some positive outcomes. I am satisfied that the deeper discussion had the effect of making them more reflexive, and more aware of the issues on a macro level. Several undergraduate students reported greater self awareness. Two students became more confident about their own abilities to network with other students. Others took an increasingly critical stance about their program of studies in relation to their needs for services. Graduate students expressed gratitude that someone was interested in their stories and their well-being. There were requests for more meetings like our group interviews where they could discuss concerns and issues openly.
6.12 Reciprocity and mutuality

Following the earlier discussion on the interview and the roles of the interviewer and participants, I characterize the interviews as conversations (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995, Kvale, 1996; Ibanez, 1997) in order to indicate my role as "passionate participant" (Guba & Lincoln, 2000, p. 115). Following the success of the first set of interviews which were group interviews, I made a decision to follow the group interview format as much as possible, with individual interviews filling in where requested, and where groups would not be possible. I considered myself more of an interviewer who participated in the conversations, rather than a moderator who elicited responses from participants.

I maintained a flexibility around offering the group interview or an individual interview, or both, to participants, and the availability of these options ensured that participants were able to choose a medium that was most comfortable for them.

Reflecting back on the different relationships created among us, I could see the differences in the sessions with undergraduate students and graduate students. The first two interviews, which were with graduate students, were more relaxed and reflected the tone of a relationship of equals. We joked amongst ourselves about the stresses of graduate student expectations and work loads, all understood the research expectations of students and the pressures of study and work. All appreciated the seriousness of the study I was conducting and they were engaging in, and its significance to me. The first group of science students who were more versed in scientific inquiry of their fields, were curious about qualitative research and wished to learn about the methods I was using. How, they wondered, would I ever make sense of 'conversations'? This easy relationship characterized the later interviews I had with other graduate students as well. The friendship I shared with the Education graduate students, in particular, helped me to go directly to core issues easily, and to throw questions around interpretation spontaneously, as they emerged. Follow up and member checking, in particular, was unproblematic. I wondered whether this too 'cozy' a relationship may have prevented the airing of difficult or contradictory stories or experiences, and created the 'group think' that Fontana and Frey (2000) warn
about. However, the lively nature of the conversation and diversity of opinion and views that were expressed, laid that fear to rest. The trusting relationship I already had with some of the participants prompted them to feel comfortable in seeking individual interviews to air sensitive issues. The individual interviews, in general, helped to probe sensitive topics around discrimination, for example, or difficulty with faculty members, or university regulations.

The relationship with the undergraduate students was a little different. Until a comfort level was established it was quite formal. I was not a peer, which made the relationship somewhat hierarchical. When I explained that I was a graduate student, and not representing the institution in any way, and that my research was ‘independent’ in that sense, the tone and expression of the students became visibly more relaxed. The recommendations to participate in the research came through trusted networks and friends, and this helped to break the ice. As an awareness of power relations was a key consideration in the research design and implementation, it was important to me that each aspect of the research protocol and process be examined for its effect on the participants.

The first few minutes of all our meetings were spent in making social conversation. To create a level of comfort with and trust of the protocol, in particular with usage of language and familiarity with the questions, I then talked about the questions, and explained how we might start. We explored ideas and views, and only when everyone was ready, did I turn on the tape recorder. This helped me as a researcher to follow the comfort levels of the participants, and helped diminish the power I had as a researcher to dominate the sessions with threatening protocol (Jayamane & Rutherford, 1990).

All of the interviews lasted around 1.5–2 hours each. Some of the group conversations went on for longer. Some students participated in two interviews and the others participated in one interview (see table in Appendix 2). In the first, we explored questions relating to our background, time in Canada, learning environment, issues that helped or constrained their learning. At the second interview, while valuable clarifications were added, we were able to deepen our understanding of some of the issues with further conversation. The second time around, I checked out my interpretations of what they had said earlier, by asking
them to confirm again what they meant. With the Education graduate students, I introduced interpretive questions into the main interview, and followed up by sending them copies of the analysis for feedback and comments. The open-ended and developmental nature of these conversations allowed us to understand the ‘lived experience’ of the learning/teaching and social environments of the students.

Finally, notwithstanding my efforts to involve participants, in the end decisions regarding the design of the study, selection and interviewing of participants, transcription of data and final analysis were mine.
Chapter 7

Arriving at a Canadian University

There are complex issues of international study in Canada and an attempt to understand some of the problems should begin by focusing on the subjective lived experiences as narrated by the students themselves.

(Dei, 1992, p. 1)

Foreign students are at the centre of a complex network of international academic relationships. They are the human embodiments of a worldwide trend toward the internationalization of knowledge and research in an integrated world economy.

(Altbach, 1991, p. 305)

Fig. 26: Arriving (Copyright 2007, Matthew Beck, by permission)
7.1 Introduction

What began as impromptu, casual conversations with international students who were fellow graduate students, developed into a formalized research study on the experiences of a select few of the five hundred graduate and the eighteen hundred undergraduate international students on the GU campus. The students who came forward to participate in this study were generous with their time, were somewhat surprised (and pleased) to be invited to participate in a study of this nature, and appeared to be eager to share their stories. The students expressed interested in my own background, some assuming that I was an international student myself. I began each interview, group or individual, by relating my background, and how I came to be researching this topic. One of the dilemmas of writing up their experiences has been balancing the reporting of their stories, in their voices, with the research task of presenting their stories through a thematic lens, resulting in what Ibanez (1997) describes as "co-optation of the other" (p. 119). The participants have trusted me to describe and represent their experiences, views and opinions, and I hope I live up to that expectation.

To maintain some integrity of the original conversations I have organized the stories of the students according to the broad themes about which we conversed in the interviews. I followed Gerson and Horowitz (2002), who state that "[c]hronologically ordered questions thus provide a structure for recounting a coherent narrative and for remembering potentially important, but easily overlooked events and experiences" (p. 206). We explored why they decided to go overseas to study, their choice of Canada, Vancouver and GU as a study destination, what their process of application was like, their first semesters of studies at GU, learning experiences in classes, courses that they experienced as favourable and/or negative, the barriers to learning, the factors that supported their learning, their social lives on and off campus, how they see themselves, and overall, their assessment of whether and how internationalization was taking place, and how they rated their decision to study abroad. There is more narrative detail in the thematic sections presented in the early stages of the students'
experiences. This reflects the ways in which I got to know the participants myself.

While recognizing that a rigid distinction between the categories of undergraduate and graduate students was simplistic, I have chosen nevertheless to present the undergraduate experiences separately, so that the reader is able to identify how the experiences are similar or different from graduate students. There are patterns of similarity for some themes, such as socialization and interpretation of internationalization, while some differences emerge in other areas, for example, in matters related to learning, and finances. The focus of this chapter and of Chapter 8 will be the presentation of the data; thematic patterns, connections among, and distinctions between the experiences will be commented on in Chapter 9, which will be a discussion and interpretation of the data.

7.2 Getting here: Why leave home, why Canada, and why Good University?

Many of our interviews began with a mutual curiosity about how and why we ended up in Canada and at GU, and about our disciplinary backgrounds. This in turn led me to ask questions about students' reasons for leaving home, and their selection of Canada and university. For undergraduate students, the status of studying in a Western, English-speaking country, family pressure, getting away from home, and professional growth, were the reasons students identified for their decision to study overseas. Canada's high living standards, lower tuition costs than the USA, family and friends residing in the area, the beauty of the West coast, the diversity of Vancouver, and the international reputation of the credentials awarded by Good University (GU) weighted their choice of Metro Vancouver and GU. Some students mentioned 'chance' or 'good fortune' (assisted by web browsing) as a reason for picking GU.

For graduate students, professional and academic growth was the predominant reason for studying overseas. Graduate study in their disciplines was not available for students from some countries, and this was encouraged by the perception that Western credentials and research were superior to the choices in their countries of origin. Personal growth and personal/family reasons were
behind the choices of some students to apply to GU, and for others, the element of chance or accident seemed to figure in their selection of Canada and GU. Availability of scholarships and financial support was another factor that helped graduate students select GU over another institution.

Here follow the stories that illustrate the diversity of reasons students ascribe to their selection of Canada and Good University.

7.2.1 Undergraduate students

_Leaving home, choosing Canada_: Going abroad, for most students, was a goal for personal and professional growth. Long describes the situation in his home country, China:

Now that there are more foreigners in China there is more influence from the Western world. There is a trend to study outside. ... There are many companies in China who need people, those who speak English fluently — when you study abroad and come back to search for a job, you get, ... it’s easier ... I had a strong desire to go out. ... I had a one-year experience of university in China but I didn’t feel like I learned a lot.

Long identifies western influences as contributing to the ‘trend to study outside’. Fluency in English commands well paying work, and learning ‘outside’ must be better than in China.

Krystal, talked about how an imaginary of western ideas, people and way of doing things was created for her and her family and helped to motivate her to come to Canada. An aunt of hers had gone traveling, and gave her a “definition of North America”:

[It is] a really beautiful place, really rich, education is really high and people are high quality. ... From her mouth, North America was like heaven (laughter among the 4 of us).

Krystal’s image of North Americans were that “white people ... do things better than us”, do things “the right way”, that “they are smarter than us and work harder”. She then went on to elaborate other factors that contributed to her decision to come to North America. Academics was “about thirty percent of the reason” for her coming here. Her marks were not high enough to get into the best and most competitive universities in China, and rather than go into whatever she could get, she wanted the chance to have an excellent education
elsewhere. Learning English was seen as being very useful; another reason was "to make different country’s friends". Having a future “net” of contacts was seen as an important consideration for living well, a valued lesson passed on from her mother. Krystal (and many of the other students) mentioned the economic benefits of having a degree from abroad to ensure better, higher paying, and secure jobs in her home country as well as the international job market.

Little Onion arrived with her husband, who is doing a PhD in Chemistry at GU. Their family, including parents, collectively came up with the financing needed to send them both to Canada. As she mentioned, “China is now learning more from countries abroad” which has resulted in foreign degrees commanding greater respect, good pay and better job security than local degrees: “actually in China it’s easier to get a decent job if you have a degree from the United States, or Canada or Europe or something,” Little Onion herself had been in the middle of a Bachelor’s degree in science in China, but took two years to build her confidence and levels of English to apply to GU to compete her BSc. here. She reflects that the family investment was, in their view, well worth the effort as both of them will be able to pay back family even before their return to China. “Getting a good job” was the main reason for leaving home, and a job could be had anywhere with this degree, a comment made also by others from China.

David (China) had a solid plan about how he would carry out his studies overseas. He would study in an English-speaking country, first improving his English, and then enrolling in a university to follow a degree in Business. The main reason he chose Canada was:

one of my cousins lives in Canada — it’s probably the only reason.
Friends of my parents came to Canada ... and compared to the U.S. it is safer.

Chris came to Canada from China as well, to study English. He studied in a Language and Culture (non-credit) program at GU for nine months and then applied for undergraduate study in Economics and Business at GU. He already had a Bachelor’s degree in Economics from a university in China, but decided to ‘go for a second degree’. When I asked him why he responded:
A degree from China is only good for there, right? But I want to have, like, experience and go to other places, and then it is good to have ... to have something from the U.S. or Canada ... or ... Europe. Also if I go back, this is better.

Samshul's story is a similar one of leaving home to get a better credential; in his case, it was twice removed. His family moved from Bangladesh to Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates, where he finished high school. There was such a high population of Bangladeshi and Indian students, that he “didn’t have to learn in Arabic or English — I could just study in Bengali” (Samshul). Samshul’s parents are part of the South Asian expatriate professional community in the Gulf States, working to make it possible for them to finance their son’s education in ‘a good place’. He had no plans to go anywhere, but in Grade 12 he saw many of his friends making arrangements to go overseas, mostly to Canada. He then started to explore possibilities. He didn’t research any other country but acting on “information gathered from my friends”(Samshul) applied to one of three universities whose applications papers were available at the Canadian Embassy in Abu Dhabi. He was accepted to an Eastern Canadian university and after a year, transferred to GU to follow his interest in electrical engineering.

In contrast, Sherry (Taiwan) and Sushant (India) did not want to leave their home countries at all. They both felt they had good lives and wanted for nothing. It was their mothers and the family who insisted that an overseas university education would be good for them.

To be very honest with you I didn’t want to go anywhere, Canada, the U.S. anywhere. I didn’t want to leave my home country; I had so many friends and my friends mean a lot to me, but my mom and sister insisted. (Sushant)

Parental and family influences and values about education did play a role in how Wayne (Taiwan) and Jay (China) arrived in Canada and at GU. Wayne’s parents decided to immigrate to Canada as part of a plan to get a good education for Wayne.

I came here because my dad realized how important English is — and he likes the environment, the teaching environment here. Because in Asia its.. the education is pretty stressful. ...

K: How so? Is it, like, competitive?
W: Ya like we have to wake up at, like, 7:30 and I think our classes end like at 4:00 and then we have to go to another place, which well, most people do, but we do like a classroom in the school ... and we’re there ... like. ... till 9.

K: So how did your dad realize that, or come to realize that that was stressful for you and that the system here is different?

W: Coz he knows that the system, that the western ... it’s more, like, well [meaning, better]. He’s a business man, so er, he travels sometimes, and he’s got poor English, and so that’s why he realized that, like, ... that it’s important to study English, and to study in a different way.

The original idea for Jay to study abroad was established by her parents. She knew that “[s]ome point in time, they’ll send me abroad to do studies”. They raised her to be a ‘world citizen’, by traveling, having friends from a wide variety of backgrounds, and encouraging a ‘global view’ so that learning in a foreign university felt like a natural choice to her. Furthermore, “[t]hey recognized that who I was didn’t fit into the learning ways in China. In essence, it’s simple. They want me to be happy, and they want to find a way to do that.”

Other students too appear to have been supported around their decisions about leaving home. Hiroki reflects in hindsight that he was looking for a change, and his parents were willing to support his choice of studying abroad. For him, it was not that university education in Japan was deficient. “Well I guess Japan has a few good universities — but I just didn’t care about it I guess — universities are all the same (silence).” He continues:

My favourite subject in junior high and high school was English — and I wanted to study that and ... I guess I was kind of stupid because in Japanese university I study something, just something and anything. And if I go to U.S. or Canadian or British university then I study my specialization plus everyday English so I think that was an advantage, so that’s how I basically ... I chose to go outside Japan.”

This was Lefty Blue’s story:

I was born in Hong Kong — to like, to like ... a typical Hong Kong family, parents, brother and stuff — and then I’ve been living in Hong Kong for 16 years I believe — and then from my high school I heard about United World Colleges — and at that time, I thought Wow, here’s a chance ... [ in a conspiratorial whisper] I wanted to
get away and ... see people from everywhere! So I chose, I go to the interview and ended up in Norway for 2 years!

K: Whoa! Norway! How did that happen?!

Lefty: There's a United World College there. There's even one in Hong Kong — [but] if I am leaving my current high school, then why not go away as far as possible?

He studied in an International Baccalaureate program in Norway before he arrived in Canada and GU. He wanted to pursue a career in theatre, at university, and didn’t want to go back to Hong Kong. He didn’t like the education system there (“you study study study”) and the lack of social status and recognition for theatre and the arts as a legitimate career would have made it even more difficult: “You’re not a doctor, or lawyer or something like this. ‘How are you going to make any money?’ is what people say”. He ruled out the U.S. (“you may say for obvious reasons”), and the UK was “pretty expensive”. “I got to know a few Canadians, and they seem like ... pretty nice people, nothing against Canada (laughter from K and L).”

Long talked about how Canada's ‘good reputation’ in China had developed through the popular historical figure Dr. Norman Bethune, and pop culture icon Da Shan. Bethune, is a legendary Canadian doctor, even featured in school texts as a hero, and Da Shan, is a 20-something-year old Canadian TV talk show host, who has taken up residence in China. Da Shan, meaning ‘big mountain’, hosts an English teaching program on TV. “Everyone knows him” (Long). This TV show has had much to do with young people associating Canada with learning English, and having fun, according to Long. He did still conduct a web search to make sure that other opinions ranked Canada and GU as a good place to study. Canadian university programs cost less than U.S. ones according to Long, Hiroki and Chris, as well as Little Onion, and it is easier to get student visas here.

16 These 'obvious' reasons were the current conservative political climate in the US, and what he felt to be a divisive, racialised social environment in US colleges.
Selecting Vancouver

Vancouver is a popular travel and immigrant destination spot. The students reported hearing in the media and 'official' polls of its being one of the best places to live, as having a diverse and multicultural population, and easily accessible to Pacific Rim countries. This location was a factor for Chris and for Hiroki, who wanted to make sure that the university he chose was close to the 'beautiful mountains'. The choice of Vancouver was made for some through the recommendation of friends and relatives (Sherry, Sushant, Krystal, David), and being able to live with a family friend or relative to reduce expenses, as well as becoming acclimatized to their new environment, was a much valued bonus. In their opinion, many international students base their selection of country and city, and finally university, through this kind of networking and rationale.

I have an aunt in Vancouver — so Vancouver was the place. That is the main reason why many people come. Staying with people saves a lot of money — and the family back home is not worried. Not only that, no matter what you do, families are always there — You look left, you look right, they are there. (Sushant)

Choosing Good University

The choice of GU as the academic destination was influenced by a number of factors. For some, it was pure chance that they applied to GU. Chris and Long found GU on the web as did Hiroki. Lefty Blue heard about it through the GU's registrar who had traveled to the IB campus in Norway while on a recruiting trip. For some, like Sushant, Sherry, David, Wayne and Samshul, aunts, parents and friends recommended the location as well as the university. Little Onion followed her husband, who had selected GU because it was recommended by graduate students who were already in Vancouver. David, Krystal and Sushant, chose GU on the basis of its reputation and conferring an internationally recognized credential. They first took English courses as well as other prerequisite courses at colleges before transferring to GU, in spite of having a more positive learning and social experience at the smaller institutions (college and private university), (this is discussed below). I asked David why he would want to move from a small university where he had a good educational experience.
If I want to go back to China, they don’t … better I graduate from a public university. “Valley” is a Christian university and I don’t think Chinese government like too much religion. Otherwise I won’t change — “Valley” has small classes, you can easily talk to profs, it’s more conservative — good for me.

For Sushant, transferring to GU “was the second wise decision I made” the first one being coming to Canada. A credential from GU provided status, here and at home, as well as marketability for the job search.

Samshul “didn’t even know that B.C. existed” until he came to a Canadian university in Ontario. After a year there, he searched for a university that offered a program in electrical engineering, and on the recommendation of friends, applied to and transferred to GU.

In summary, prevailing attitudes in the home country about the desirability of a western education, the status of a credential from an English-speaking Western university, the marketability of the degree in getting good jobs both at home and abroad, and the cultural/linguistic value of international study, appeared to have influenced students’ decisions to study abroad. The choice of Vancouver and GU was influenced by recommendations made about GU by friends and family members, advice of friends and family about living and studying in Vancouver, Vancouver’s international reputation as a beautiful place, hosting a multicultural population, the location of family members living in the area, GU’s reputation as promoted on websites and media ratings. As well, Canadian universities, according to the students were less expensive than U.S. programs.

7.2.2 Graduate Students

The decision-making process regarding going abroad for graduate work, and for selecting Canada and GU, was more complex for the graduate students in the study. There appeared to be a greater focus on academic reasons for their choice to study abroad; some of the other factors, sometimes overlapping, related

17 This is a pseudonym.
to availability of financing, family reasons and economic factors, including the benefits of a western university credential.

For some of the students, going to a Western country was seen as having strong advantages, both economic and otherwise, similar to the reasons given by many undergraduate students. When asked why he left China, Peter explains:

I'll say that for myself, in my country it is always a good thing, it is considered a good thing to go abroad to an advanced country to study. For me it was a boyhood dream to go and study in an advanced country. It depends also on the discipline — some subjects like computer studies, it is in countries like that that there are lot of things happening, and it is an advantage to come and learn here and take the knowledge back to my country. For developing countries there is no other way I think.

When I expressed surprise that he thought of his country as a 'developing' country, and encouraged him to say more he continued:

Well — yes but I look at what the people need to have more in their life. We have not had the ability to do that. If you look at the economic trends, who has the most? It is the dominant force in the world- I'll say that they are having a hay day!

Going abroad provided distinct economic advantages, but the emphasis was more on the academic benefits — taking the knowledge back to his country. Peter also mentioned that in program areas like Computing Sciences, the study of the discipline and the practices were more advanced outside of his country: “programs like Computing Studies are very strong in Canada.”

The point made about 'developing countries' was also true for Nimal. He was a lecturer at a science, trades and technology university in Sri Lanka, and in order to advance in his career, he had to get a post-graduate degree from an overseas university. Nimal needed funding in order to go abroad for his graduate study and it was less a matter of him choosing Canada than an offer he received from a central Canadian University for funding and a masters degree. He suffered the cold weather, 'culture shock' and isolation, although he enjoyed the Engineering degree, in order to advance in his education. From there, encouraged by his supervisor, he carried out an extensive search for suitable universities and programs to pursue a PhD. After many applications and
searching, he was accepted into the Engineering department at GU for a PhD including an offer of funding (I examine finance and funding issues below).

Shunfu was a math teacher in his country for many years. He too wanted to go overseas to further research interests related to learning, and computer collaborative learning methods.

People value overseas experience. Even an MA from outside gives more opportunities, like a higher position. This is one of the main reasons. North America is well developed. Living standards are higher than in China. Economic reasons are the main consideration for my wanting to leave — especially for my son.

He talked extensively about the process of finding a university and choosing his line of research. Universities in the USA required the GRE exam, and Shunfu doubted his ability to get a high enough score to enter a U.S. university. He then started to research Canadian universities, and discovered that schools of education did not require an exam such as the GRE in their entrance criteria. He applied to several universities, and was accepted to an Eastern University where he did his masters degree. From there, he looked around for a suitable PhD program, and was accepted at GU into Educational Psychology.

For other students, special circumstances motivated them to look outside of their home country. This was the case for the Iranian students in the study. Parth and Shabnam did not feel they were academically challenged in their home universities, and many of the “good people”, both students and professors, were all leaving the country. Shabnam experienced hostility as one of the few women students in the math department in her home university. One of her professors even suggested that being the only woman in the course was a good reason for dropping it. It was difficult for her to think of continuing her studies in this kind of environment. Rojin mentioned that it was not possible to do academic work at a high level in her field in Iran, at that time (although at the time of the interview things had changed), and had to leave home if she wanted to pursue a doctorate. Michelle’s field of interest and specialization was the teaching of English as an additional language, and she wanted to carry out research in an English-speaking country.
The overseas and local reputation of GU as well as scholarly connections rated high as a reason for choosing GU. Polls and rankings conducted in magazines such as Macleans and on websites had carried authority in how universities were held in regard by Peter, Orange, and Pris. Naomi had studied in the US, and completed a masters degree at another Western Canadian university. The reputation of GU, as well as the recommendation of her supervisor helped her decision to apply to GU for her PhD program. GU, according to her, was not known very well in her home country (Japan) as much as the larger universities, perhaps because its name gave the impression it was a private university. Reading up about the university helped to change those perceptions. Dana, from the US, reported that GU came highly recommended, as "the Harvard of Canada", which was part of the reason she chose it, together with her wanting a faculty or department that fit with her values for higher education and her own program of study. As she travels from Washington State to attend classes each week, ease of travel and proximity to her home was a factor in her choice, and it was a bonus to have all these considerations fulfilled at GU.

The recommendation of students, alumni, and friends rate high in the selection of the university as well. Parth and Shabnam, heard about Canada and GU from other Iranian students who were already at GU. Michelle’s choice was influenced both by initial website research, a visit to the university, as well as hearing about the good reputation of GU from other Iranian/International students who were studying there. "I chose GU — I asked different people about the quality of education, and they said its better than any other university in North America in education issues". During her visit to GU to find out more about the Faculty of Education and the programs that were available, she was pleased to see that there was expertise in the area of her interest (English as an additional language) and made a commitment to apply for the PhD program.

For Rojin "[i]t was just chance" that she came to GU. Her professor, who was visiting GU on a sabbatical, inquired at two of the Western Canadian universities, and GU was the only one that entertained January admission to the PhD program. Her application was sent in, the paperwork was processed, and in a matter of weeks she arrived at GU.
Bowei, Pris, Orange and Jota went through a slightly different process—they were enrolled in an M.Ed program that was specifically for international students. As there were agents in their home country (China) who had been involved in the promotion of the program, I had assumed that they had been recruited. I learned however, that the desire (on the part of the students) to go overseas was quite prevalent, and rather than being recruited, the agents and the university were benefiting from the demand for Western university education. According to them, “lots of students in China are going abroad for their studies” (Pris).

The reason I want to study overseas—firstly, my undergraduate degree is English and I always want to speak native like—fluent, standard English. (Xx) students always want that ... Another reason is—like, Canada is very developed country and ... have a good reputation in China (Orange)

Bowei had already spent a year in a Canadian university before he heard from his agent about this program, which he felt was more suited to his needs. As well, the reputation of GU as a ‘good university’ was part of the attraction for all of them.

I found this program accidentally on the internet—one of my friends, he studied at GU—and he said it’s a nice university. Combined with his opinion and happened to find this program, and I apply and then I come here. (Orange)

For some students, coming to Canada and GU was motivated by specific personal reasons. Andrew, a U.S. citizen, wanted to live close to his brother who was studying in Metro Vancouver and so the choice was one of two universities in the area. Belinda had a sister living in the area, and she relocated from the UK with her spouse. “We wanted to move to Vancouver”. She too had heard of GU’s reputation, and having started a ‘multilevel masters program’ already in the UK, was attracted to the Education Technology expertise and program at GU. Sonali, from Mauritius, had traveled prior to her application to GU, and wanted to continue experiencing other places and people. She had not traveled in the North American region, and Canadian universities were cheaper than the U.S.

18 Students register themselves with agents and pay a fee to be informed about educational options and choices.
universities, which narrowed the choices easily. She wanted to gain experience teaching in another country, and to combine it with more education. “It was mostly for self development,” she said. Although funding wasn’t guaranteed, there were opportunities for work and scholarships during the program, which made studying at GU a possibility. She enrolled in the teaching of English program at the masters level. Carlos sounded very passionate about his reasons for leaving a good faculty position in Mexico, to come to Canada as a PhD student: “I am here for my children. I want my children to have access to another culture, to have ideas. “Later on in the interview he came back to this focal point: “The only inheritance we can give to our children is ability and some kind of open mind. “

In summary, the rationales and reasons presented by the graduate students for coming to Canada and enrolling at GU are, their perception that graduate programs in Canadian universities are superior to those in their home countries, the absence of suitable graduate programs in their home universities, the marketability of a Western graduate degree, personal and professional development, the opportunity to acquire intercultural experience, specific expertise offered by departments and programs of study at GU, the offer of scholarships, and finally, the ‘chance factor’.

7.3 Funding and finances

My previous explorations of international education (Beck, 2001), pointed to the predominance of an economic model for internationalization of higher education, especially in relation to the increasing numbers of international students on Canadian campuses, encouraged by the Canadian institutions, and fueled by a global demand for education in English-speaking countries (Savage, 2005). Although money appeared to be a key issue it is rarely spoken of in the literature, especially in terms of how it affects the students arriving here as international students. I wanted to hear about ‘money matters’ from the students themselves. It was a sensitive subject to explore, especially among undergraduate students, and thus, the information I was able to piece together is
not a comprehensive picture of their finances, but rather some glimpses into how some of them experience financial and funding issues.

For the undergraduate students, their studies at GU were financed by parents and families. There was one instance of an entrance scholarship. They were conscious of differential fees paid by international students, and two of the students had since become landed immigrants in order to qualify for the lower fees. Some of the students questioned the economics behind the fee structure, while some were uncomfortable with their being labeled as a rich elite.

The matter of money was a decision making factor for many of the graduate students who would otherwise not be able to afford their studies away from their home countries. Fees were the same as for residents (or higher by very little). Scholarships and financing were part of the entrance package offered to four of the five science students. One student in education also received
guaranteed funding in the form of an RA ship. Others relied on TA, RA and other on-campus work to finance their studies.

7.3.1 Undergraduate students

Parents were the common source of income for school fees and living expenses, among the undergraduate students I interviewed. Lefty Blue's example, where he was offered an entrance scholarship, was rare for international undergraduate students. Little Onion was dependent on her husband's earnings as a graduate student, and initially, on their families who financed them to come to Canada. Little Onion and her husband (a PhD student at GU) applied to become landed immigrants, and were accepted as permanent residents. This changed their status from international or 'visa' students to residents, and also their fee structure. This strategy was also used by Wayne and his family. It is interesting to note that while the financial designation has changed, allowing him to pay the lower fees charged of residents, Wayne continues to identify as an international student.

The conversation among Long, Chris and Bowei elicited some sharp criticisms about how they felt international students were perhaps exploited: "they [the university] really get the international students" (Chris). As Long mentioned,

Money is a big issue — and I didn’t realize. At that time the fees were ok, but I experienced 3 tuition hikes, 3 raises, and that was really terrible ... and if I had known that the fees were so much higher for us, I may have gone to another country maybe France or Germany — those were also given to us as possibilities.

They didn’t feel like they were getting value for their money, compared to the quality of instruction they received, or they had heard about, in the colleges/university-colleges. "Where does all the money go?" asked Long. In their discussion, the students understood they were giving up on a better instructional environment in the colleges to get the higher status credential from

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19 Since the time of the interview and the changes in work regulations for Visa Students, she began to work full time.
GU. I brought up the reasons for differential fees as being real costs of education and that domestic students were subsidized by provincial and federal government contributions for Full Time Enrolled students. This is the standard explanation offered by the university. The response of these students to this explanation was another question: Why then, does the university want to increase the number of international students? Is it because they don’t have enough domestic students and “they want to get our money” (Chris)? And from Long: “What I want to know is, like, do they add on extra courses just because there are international students?”

Students’ comments showed they were very sensitive about and aware of the sacrifices and effort made by their parents to finance their study in Canada. “My parents are paying tuition, right now, and they have to work like very hard to do so, so it’s a big pressure” (Wayne). They spoke about being motivated to do well, and to complete their degree in good time to maximize time and money spent on them. The ban on off-campus work was difficult for most students, as there was very little work on campus that would meet the demand for jobs. Jay and Samshul were very appreciative of the Co-op placements that afforded them the opportunity to work in their fields. Sherry showed frustration at the attitude from domestic students towards international students, that all international students are rich. She pointed out that international students do not qualify for student loans, and they have to show money in order to get their student visas, and they were prohibited from working off campus. This wasn’t, in her judgment, being rich, which meant having excess money. Her family had to work hard to come up with the financing for basics, and she couldn’t afford to have extras in her day to day life: “I have to watch what I spend my money on, you know, like if my friends go for coffee and things.” Some of the other students too mentioned their discomfort at being perceived as part of a rich elite.

7.3.2 Graduate students

The funding situation was a critical factor for the graduate students, in facilitating their being able to study at GU. In general, there is little or no difference in tuition fees between domestic or international students at the
graduate level,\textsuperscript{20} as compared to the undergraduate international students who pay differential fees.

Shabnam, Parth, Peter and Nimal, who are science and computing science students, received partial to full scholarships from the departments they applied to. From their descriptions, many if not all international graduate students they knew in their fields were on scholarship. As Nimal explains, professors in the science faculties have research funding ("almost all the profs have an NSERC") and they are personally able to offer funded places to graduate students whom they think will be an asset to the research as well as the department. Nimal is from an economically less advantaged country (Sri Lanka), and he would not have been able to leave his country without such guaranteed funding.

Shunfu (China) ended up in Canada in much the same way that Nimal did — first through a funded offer to do a masters degree at the University of PEI. His supervisor had a research project, which made it possible for him to offer Shunfu guaranteed funding for his program. It was a bonus that his supervisor’s research interests matched his own, but Shunfu emphasizes how the availability of the funding made the difference in his being able to leave his home country. He cites two main considerations that governed his decision making: ranking (of university, program and professor) and funding. From PEI to GU, it required another search for research and funding possibilities. He was accepted by two universities in Western Canada, and his reason for picking GU was the offer of an RAship that came with it. He admits that this is rare in the Faculty of Education, which has, in his estimation, about a hundred doctoral students. In his view, guaranteed funding made graduate study that much more accessible to a wider range of students from diverse backgrounds.

Shabnam had an interesting perspective on how the funding and possibilities for TA positions afforded her economic independence from her family. Although she knew that her family helped her from a place of a deep

\textsuperscript{20} An exception are differential fees charged for professional programs as defined by Senate. International students enrolled in dissertation or research project oriented masters and doctoral programs are not be charged differential fees.
regard for her, and without resentment, she felt an ongoing financial dependence on them as a burden. "I feel so bad that they have to put this money. All this [TA position] mean I'm able to look after myself here." Although this meant greater pressure on her to look for TA positions it was preferable to her than the stress of relying on family. In her view, this independence supported her to have a more positive attitude about her learning.

Some of the graduate students did not have the benefit of guaranteed funding. Carlos, the PhD student in Biology, was an exception among the science students, as his supervisor did not have any research funds to offer. Carlos made the decision to come anyway, and planned to look for research funding for his own project during his course work. The Education graduate students, except for the sole example of Shunfu, were also not guaranteed funding, and they have had to rely on TA or RA positions in the faculty for sources of income. This did not occur until after they had arrived and were more comfortable with their setting and their program of study. All of them had enrolled at a time when working off-campus was prohibited for international students.

Financial stress was not unique to students from less advantaged countries. Andrew and Dana (from the US) and Belinda (UK) had similar funding issues. When they started their degree programs, the prohibition on off-campus work was still in effect, so they had to track down RA ships, and TA or TM positions in order to cover their expenses. Belinda, in particular, spoke of the stresses of finding work: she and her spouse had savings from the UK, but did not want to erode savings for daily expenses. One of her complaints was the lack of opportunities for alternate forms of funding and scholarships for international students who were assumed to be well-off, or having good sources of off-shore funding. She comments:

Problems [faced by students] have to do with visas, and also funding. You see a lot of scholarships going around but you have to search through each of them and then when you get to the bottom it says Canadian citizens only. So it would be very useful if it said so at the top. Or if the GU International office would send out details of scholarships that are available to international students because there's so much to search.
Bowei, Orange, Pris and Jota, all members of a designated international masters program, had to pay premium fees. They were frustrated about their being the minority of graduate students who paid such a high fee for their program, and could not understand the reasons for premium fees. They did not discover the fact that they paid differential fees until they were well into their program, after conversing with other international students who were enrolled in standard programs, and domestic graduate students. Orange, Pris and Jota took issue with the agent they had been dealing with when they were first negotiating their application to the program. “My mom asked the agent why the fees were so high, and the agent told her it was because there was an internship. ... I think that’s because they want to get more students” (Jota). They came into the program expecting an internship and were further disappointed that there was none. No one from GU had given a rationale for the higher fees, nor an adequate explanation either before the program began, or when the students arrived at GU. During our own conversations, I gave some examples of other programs, such as community-based graduate programs, and leadership programs whose fees were higher than on-campus fees, and referred to some of the institutional rationales that have been presented at information sessions on these programs. Orange responded,

O: I think they have to maybe clarify that — I think a lot of students can understand the explanation that you gave us, but no one has explained it like that.

J: Yes, and if they tell it like that, then we can decide on our own whether we want to come into the program or not, and whether it is worth it. But it looks like not all the information is there.

The students concluded that much of the problem in their view, was the role played by the agent in both representing the institution, and his own, in recruiting high numbers of students. They also pointed out the conflict of interest in a paid agent using many strategies to increase student enrolment.

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21 This agent collected fees from students, and was also on a contract with the university to recruit students.
7.4 Preparation and transition: A reality check

Once the institution was identified, students went through a variety of preparation activities before they were accepted at GU. The rigor of preparation varied among undergraduate students, and between undergraduate and graduate students. Language proficiency and exams, preparation, and general qualifications were topics for many of the students, both undergraduate and graduate students. I was also interested in their impressions of their first contact with GU, and their dealings with staff both prior to and during their first days of student life at GU. A number of factors influenced the quality and experience of transition into GU and these include prior experience in a Canadian school or other educational institution, living in Canada before their entry to GU, and having relatives and friends to live with or to advise them on transitions. Transition includes students' experiences of orientation to GU and their first semesters.

7.4.1 Preparation

Preparation for admission to GU included meeting entrance criteria such as getting transcripts and sitting for examinations. Students whose first language is not English must get a required score in an English test (TOEFL or IELTS\(^{22}\)) as one of the entrance criteria to GU. This is the only form of assessment for proficiency in English (at the time of writing). Students, whose first language is not English, but have four years in the B.C. secondary school system and have a satisfactory grade in English at the provincial examination, do not need to additionally take these tests. Once accepted for admittance, students had to apply for student visas for Canada, find accommodation, make financial arrangements and so on, all of which required paper work. This section on preparation will cover these initial activities.

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\(^{22}\) These are English proficiency tests accepted by many North American universities in their entrance criteria. TOEFL stands for Test of English as Foreign Language; IELTS is the International English Language Testing System.
7.4.1a Undergraduate students

Many of the students were already in-country when they applied to GU: Long, David, Krystal and Chris were enrolled in English language programs, Samshul was at a university on the east coast, Wayne and Sherry applied from local high schools, and Little Onion’s spouse enrolled at a doctoral program at GU. Others applied from their home country or from overseas — Lefty Blue, Jay, Sushant and Hiroki. Accordingly, their application process varied. Paper work was often cited as a normal, but aggravating requirement. Visas, transcripts, processing documentation were all handled extremely well by GU, according to the students, but was time consuming. Chris mentioned being happy to get a response from GU in 24 hours regarding his application, although Hiroki only found out in July that his February application has been successful. Jay’s application took time to process as well because of problems with translation and transcripts. She commended the GU office for being knowledgeable about the
requirements and process in her country: “It’s amazing that they understand and
know everything because there are lots of cases to process.”

The application process ranged from “easy” to “time consuming” and
“competitive”. Students who applied from other institutions reported easy
transfer procedures, especially if they had taken courses in their field of study.
Entrance to GU could be competitive, especially in programs that have high
demand, and whose entrance requirements are high. Jay was admitted to the
Computing Science department and is very proud of her accomplishment:

I’m glad I got in, I was really really glad, and so happy ... I remember the
semester I got in, the Computing Science GPA requirement was a 3.8 [for
international students] which was the highest requirement of the last few
years. I got in direct on my high school marks. The requirement is much
lower for domestic students.

Krystal’s story of preparation to be accepted at GU is unique and striking
in the detail in which recounted it. She begins by reflecting that “GU is kind of
amazing”. During the time she was studying ESL at a Christian university, she
happened to accompany a friend who wanted to visit GU. She described her
entire trip to the university: “It’s amazing the way you come to the university”,
and by the time she went on a walking tour, she was very impressed by its
physical surroundings and its ambience. “That’s just great — and I walked over
the university — you know the stairs (in the Main Centre ) — I walked up the
stairs to the [top] and up the 4th stair — one by one, and at the top you love it
all”. She decided there, at the top of the stairs that she wanted to study at GU.
She discovered, however, that ‘loving it all’ was not sufficient to get in.

I don’t have the marks — wanted to study really hard to make up
the grades ... either go to college and transfer, and the second way
is a pre-university high school. I asked and asked. Every time a
different person told me a different story about how to get here, but
all told me I can’t enter. So I went to Pre-university school in
Toronto just so I can get into GU.

On the topic of language preparation, all of the students whose first
language was not English, spent much time on developing their English
language skills. Some students like Little Onion and Hiroki, took English classes
in their home countries. Some, like Long, Chris, David and Krystal enrolled in
English classes in Canada, before they started classes at GU. Students do spend time and effort on improving their English skills before they enter GU.

7.4.1b Graduate students

The initial contact with and ongoing communications with GU were reported very positively, sometimes glowingly, and even with gratitude. Students reported that the processing of documentation was all handled extremely well by GU. Peter recounted that the university was the only one that offered him a place, and he still feels grateful. Once students had made initial contact, faculty and staff at the university were proactive, welcoming, and flexible. This is a “good, decent university” (Parth), “a really really flexible university” (Shabnam). For Shabnam, when negotiations with other universities broke down for various reasons, “[a]t that hard time, [GU] was really kind to me”.

Preparation for applications to GU were difficult and getting here was a struggle. Paper work (transcripts, communication with departments, negotiating funding and scholarship possibilities) was often cited as normal, but aggravating. All of the students worked very hard to prepare their applications. “After the decision is made then we study hard. It is tough going” (Peter). In addition to the English proficiency tests (TOEFL or ILETS) test, three of the science students sat the GRE 3 even though it was not a requirement, as it strengthened their application. Doing this and the TOEFL was a great inconvenience. Shabnam and Parth had to take both tests outside of Iran, in Turkey or United Arab Emirates (as they are U.S. tests and not offered in Iran), and getting there, especially for Shabnam who could only travel with a male member of her family, was expensive, time consuming, and “very bad trouble” (Shabnam). The U.S. had been the preferred destination for Shabnam, Parth, Peter, and Shunfu, but the problem of getting visas for Shabnam and Parth (both from Iran), and lack of access to ranking information about U.S. universities for Peter, prevented this choice.

For Belinda, the registration and administrative requirements did not go as smoothly as she expected. “The process itself was OK — but I did struggle because they didn’t tell me if I was accepted or not, but (in the UK you have to
do 3 months …) until after that day [deadline to give notice of departure], so I was lucky that my head teacher was flexible. So that was a bit of an issue.” The terms and conditions of their admission were negotiated with faculty members, and while students report positive relations, they put in hours of research on seeking the right university and making the contacts.

The subject of the TOEFL test generated lively conversations, much animation, and humour. As Parth explains:

If you know English well, you are going to pass those exams with a good score no matter what. But if you don’t know English, you can still pass those exams with a good score — just learn some tricks. … I don’t know which way they are looking at the problem the ones who are giving the exams. … Just looking at people passing those exams or looking at people who know English.

Recognizing that TOEFL preparation was a matter of “learning tricks”, Peter immersed himself in activities that gave him access to speaking and socializing in English before he left China, but it still was a shock to hear and practice the language. Exams and classes in their home country weren’t enough, according to him. In fact, the TOEFL test scores and their widespread acceptance as entrance requirements, gave them a false sense of the linguistic expectation of study at GU. Students discover they don’t come equipped with the fluency they need. Some, as mentioned already, spend months in ESL preparation classes in private schools or colleges. I will be presenting more on English language constraints in the section on ‘Learning’ below.

The experience of students in the special international masters cohort was unique. Their first contact with the university was through an agent23 (in China).

I did lots of research on Canada’s universities. The school of communication in GU was pretty competitive to get in. And then I saw the Education program on the internet — and then I contacted the agency to have an interview.

This agent had processed their application papers and documents, and while someone from GU had arrived to conduct interviews, the students claim that the

23 As mentioned earlier, this agent is under contract by GU, and is paid to recruit students. The agency also collects fees from applicants in China to process their applications.
selection process and criteria for entrance were inconsistent. Pris, Orange and Jota claim that they spent an enormous amount of time and energy preparing their applications to the highest standard, and they were pleased to be offered a place in the program. However, some others who had been admitted did not prepare their applications with the same rigour, and had been offered places without the detailed applications. In fact, says Jota, some only did their TOEFL exams after they were admitted to the program. These inconsistencies, they point out, contribute to a falling reputation of the university, and that should be guarded against.

*Orange:* Once the reputation [of the university] is ruined, it is very hard to make it up. Especially for recruiting students. I think the students, the qualification is the most important thing. … you have certain qualities — other people believe in that. If you recruit students who … and don’t qualify and they graduate, then it’s ruined. No one wants to go there.

*Jota:* When I got into the program, their English level was different. It’s not fair for students who have higher application background — It’s not fair in this way, Some of them even don’t have TOEFL — they did the TOEFL after they got the offer.

*Orange:* The qualification of the student is really important — linked closely to the reputation of the university...

*Pris:* I’m afraid that the reputation will go down, and no one in China will recognize GU masters qualification —

The agent had also promised them that this would be an international cohort, with people from different countries. The students discovered only after their arrival in Canada that the cohort comprised of students all from China. They expressed frustration at being in a closed Chinese cohort, and felt excluded from the rest of the faculty, and from other students.

7.4.2 Transitions from other programs/institutions

The initial experiences of the students at GU varied depending on whether they came to Canada and GU direct from their home countries, or whether they were transferring from other institutions either in Canada or North America, and how long they had been in Canada before they began their program of studies at GU. For the undergraduate students, some had no
experience in a university, either in their home country or anywhere else, while some did. I was surprised by the number of the undergraduate students who had taken courses and programs of study in other post-secondary institutions before they began at GU. This information is relevant as the students cited their prior experience when asked to evaluate their first semesters at GU. Graduate students, for the most part, came to GU from their home countries, except for three students, and many of them were experiencing life in Canada for the first time. I will present the data on learning, and student social lives in separate sections below, and so this section on transition will not address those issues, although it is difficult to make a clear distinction between general transition issues, and learning.

7.4.2a Undergraduate students

Many of the students had attended other universities or private colleges to do a variety of courses ranging from regular first year university courses to discipline-related courses as a supplement. Only one of the undergraduate students, Hiroki, came to GU direct from his home country. Jay got admission direct on her high school marks but arrived in Vancouver early, and, not wanting to waste time, as she recalled, took a course at a Technical Training institute while the application was pending. Long, David, Krystal and Chris studied ESL at other institutions, while Sushant made up on prerequisite courses at a university college. Samshul was at an eastern university for a year before he transferred to GU, and it was the same for Bowei. Little Onion was in Canada for two years, her husband was a doctoral student at GU and so she could observe what student life in Canada was like before she applied herself. Lefty Blue came to GU direct from an IB school in another country. As his experience there was in an internationally focused IB program, he was able to compare his international experience between his IB college in Norway, and GU. Wayne and Sherry graduated from Canadian high schools, and agreed that their experience as new first year students would have been similar to domestic first year students coming in to university, although, as I will illustrate, there were some significant differences, and they both consider themselves ‘international students’.
David came to Canada to check out his options for university study, and lived with relatives while he made up his mind. He enrolled in an ESL program at a small private university, and started doing courses in Business there. During his time there, he applied to GU’s Business program. His transfer and acceptance into the program was communicated in a timely manner. Long arrived in Canada and enrolled in an ESL program for nine months during which time he researched his options between college and university. As mentioned earlier, his choice of GU was based on web-site ratings, and information from others. He was satisfied with the work of the international office staff in facilitating his admission smoothly.

Sushant’s transition and arrival was effectively facilitated, in his view, because he stayed with relatives. When he applied to GU, he was advised to work on prerequisite math courses, which he did at a community university-college. At the time of the interview he had completed two semesters at GU in the Business program, and found the transition was smooth. He had praise for the International office: “They are very well organized, and they know what they are doing, and they know how to help students”.

The move from a smaller institution to GU was an adjustment for some students. David and Krystal applied to GU from a smaller university where they had experienced good program support, assistance, and friendship from other students and staff. “People want to help” (Krystal). “The profs are all so accessible — you can go talk to them anytime” (David). At GU both noticed the absence of such personal attention. Sushant and Long commented on the small class sizes at a university college, and how it was conducive to better student-instructor and student-student relationships. Chris related his first academic semester in terms of “shock” regarding the competitive environment in the program, and the lack of friendly relations. He was comparing his first learning experience in Canada, at a Language and Culture program offered at one of GU’s campuses, to his first academic class. Moving from a ‘fun’ environment to one where “people don’t talk to you, don’t know you and don’t care to know you”, was a difficult experience.
7.4.2b Graduate Students

Many of the graduate students in this study came into GU primarily from their home countries. Masters students Pris, Orange, Jota, were fresh out of their previous undergraduate programs in China. Dana and Sonali, were working and actively seeking further professional development. Belinda was already in a masters program in the UK, and so was Shabnam, in Iran. Bowei had been in an Eastern Canadian university for a year when he applied for the M.Ed program at GU. The doctoral students began their programs here direct from their home country institutions, except, for Nimal and Shunfu who applied to GU direct from their masters programs in other Canadian universities.

These participants didn’t comment very much on the differences of experience between former institutions and GU, and their experiences of transition were more to do with problems in settling in, which will be presented in the next section, and learning, which will be described in a later section in this chapter.
7.4.3 Arriving

The data here documents very specific memories of the first semesters, and what it was like soon after arriving. These are varied and encompass a range of areas from administrative to social and academic. They were different for different individuals. There are commonalities between the undergraduate and graduate student stories, and one of them is the sometimes serious and sometimes light-hearted comments about the weather. There was nothing light-hearted about Michelle’s summary of her experience: “Things [that were] very awful ... was the weather — all the time it was gloomy and cloudy and very difficult to tolerate”. Other commonalities included language and cultural encounters which they found to be the most challenging ‘learnings’ on arrival at GU. The topics covered by the students include orientation offered by the university, activities organized by the international office, finding out about services and resources and generally getting oriented to the university and campus.

7.4.3a Undergraduate students

Factors such as length of residence in Canada, prior educational experience, institutions attended contributed to the variations among undergraduate students in their first semesters at GU. For Sherry and Wayne who attended high school in B.C., the transition to university, they say, was much what all first year students experience: getting used to a larger environment, independent study, higher expectations and so on. In many ways, however, their situation is similar to new international students in terms of social networking and friendships (see section 6.6 below on Social Lives), and they were mistaken for newly arrived international students by peers and instructors. Wayne described how his orientation wasn’t very useful because most, if not all the information and activities were geared to newcomers. It didn’t address his own situation as an international student entering from a B.C. high school.

Finding out about resources or services available for students was a hit or miss venture. As Samshul described:
With international students ... when I came to university here I don’t know there’s support out there — like at UW I just didn’t know. You think that’s how it goes. After some time you figure out. And it was the same here. The lack of information — you come to just take it.

The first semester or two were significant, as many of the students felt a significant difference between their first contact of friendly staff, flexibility, and good communication before their arrival, and their first semesters where the contact from the institution dwindled, sometimes into nothing. Samshul was describing orientation activities organized by the GU International Office.

Samshul: They organized some good events at the beginning, and then after two things, nothing. ... I found — they are quite effective at the beginning — I really enjoyed the boat ride, everyone was enjoying and dancing and trying to make you feel at home. ... But afterwards you never had a chance to get together again. Most of the people don’t even know names of the others — afterwards there wasn’t much. They don’t send you any more emails after the first month. They don’t organize more events and like - I think they should have regular events like monthly ... Like a pub night, or barbeque —

David concurred:

Ya, like, you find, people don’t really exchange information the first time, there’s too much information and stuff so you can’t take it all in— I just talked to the person next to me — When you are ready for that kind of more contact, there is nothing happening.

Hiroki’s experience, was similar to Krystal’s. When asked his memories of the about that first semester he said:

Uneventful ... I think I didn’t have many friends. Makes sense.
Didn’t have many things to do . I think I’m thinking of residence.

If the first semesters were uneventful for Hiroki, it was different for David.

I found [that] for a lot of international students, the first part is the most difficult. I lived in Res — the people on my floor invited me to everything. After I step up. ... It made my life easier to get involved.
He also acknowledged that he was outgoing, and likes to step out of his comfort zone “then it starts working for you.” I will address the bigger picture of life in residence under the theme of “Social Life” (see section 6.6 below).

Lefty Blue’s story of arriving at GU was something of a surprise. As he describes it:

L: Actually, it was more of a shock coming from Norway to Canada than Hong Kong to Norway

(K: Really? Why was that?)

L: A strange logic of mine ... I expected it when I moved there — living with people from all over, and in a new place. And then I got to Vancouver ... When I came here, like I was ... (makes an exaggerated face) ‘Am I back in Hong Kong? Or have I left?’ It still bothers me a bit — like ... Asians are pretty stereotyped ... I hate to say that but yea a lot of them are so similar. After two years in an international school these things feel like a bit wrong. Kind of looks wrong to just hang out with people who have the same language and same background.

Lefty went on to explain how ‘strange’ it was to see that GU, in his experience was less international, because of the large population of students from east Asia. It was new having to get used to seeing large groups of students from the same cultural background, and to be considered part of the ‘Asian’ population rather than being seen as ‘international’. His explained his transition also as a “big school, small school thing.”

Jay didn’t remember having any trouble adapting. When I asked her about her first semesters, all she talked about were her classes, and the learning she was excited about (see in Section on Learning below). When I asked her specifically whether she had any difficulty getting settled in as a new international student, she explained further:

I grew up in an environment that was dynamic. I always had a chance to make friends of different backgrounds, I traveled a lot, and so I had zero culture shock. ... For example, my mom and dad are gourmet cooks, and for many Asians, food would be a barrier but not for me. I love it — I’m grateful. And I suffered no barriers ... It makes life easier especially when you’re new to the environment. I did a lot of backpack travel, and I am able to adapt very fast.
7.4.3b Graduate students

After their arrival, Peter, Parth, Shabnam, Rojin, Michelle and Carlos plunged right into programs without much orientation or assistance and with mixed results. If students arrived at times outside of the regular orientations that take place in late August, and early September, it appears they did not have the same level of assistance or information about how to settle in. Rojin, for example, who arrived in January from Iran:

Those days were dark days. I was disoriented. Didn’t have access to anything. Nobody recommend. No one told me anything, where to go even for information, no map to find where Education building was. Nobody was available. I was like a ghost.

Carlos experienced a similar lack of welcome. He had come to Vancouver earlier in the year to assess the possibilities for accommodation and so on, as he was moving with his family. His first semester began in January, and there was no welcoming or initiating activity in his Department (Biology). “As a newcomer, I had to learn, to ask about things from students. It was not inviting. I have to find out all by myself.” Carlos was discovering more about the department and program during the time he did this interview, as he had volunteered to be a contact person for new students. In learning how to orient new students, he was able to find out about a number of resources, supports and so on. He was critical about the fact that “no one tells you these things — they just assume that you either know, or that someone would tell you.”

In contrast, Belinda had a more positive experience. She did experience some stress from the delay in being informed about her acceptance at GU (as mentioned earlier in this chapter) but after she was accepted, she had praise for the contact person in the graduate programs office, whom she reports as being “amazingly supportive” and for her protem advisor, who went on to be her supervisor. She described warm and friendly email communication before she arrived, and when she did arrive, her advisor had come up to campus to welcome her. This personal attention had been the highlight of her program.

Sonali described “little things” that cause huge stress. One example she gave was paying fees online, and selecting courses.
Sonali: And the system here is bit different — the students here are more independent. ... From where I come from usually you don’t go do your own thing — like paying fees online ... And how do I select my course? This is the first day ... like ...I was so stressed for a week! And each time I ask ... [the response is] It’s easy ... Oh that’s OK ... you just ... It’s ok ... That’s not a problem I mean, it’s ... You just go online and do it — like it’s easy — it’s like, Aah — with my background, it was very very stressful for me ...

Andrew: That’s fascinating ... Institutionally — my knee jerk reaction is to say, If we had known, (Yeah) from the EGSA [graduate student caucus] if we had known, there would have been much support. (Yeah) Like if I had known, I’d say I’ll meet you at 10, and let’s go over and do it — But institutionally, generally, just do it —no problem it’s easy — no problem just do it... It’s the face of the institution.

Sonali: and if you don’t — I couldn’t like — I felt like I couldn’t ... it’s pretty stupid, actually. Mostly — it’s something that’s taken for granted — like, you eat with a spoon ... I don’t think the intention is to make you feel stupid, but it’s just taken for granted –

And that creates a great deal of hesitation for me to go and ask for help. ... Even now, it takes effort for me to ask. There’s things that are just taken for granted.

For other students, the challenges of settling in were very much connected with their learning/classroom experiences, and it was difficult to separate those to identify what was strictly related to courses and learning, and what to the rest of their time on and off the campus.

With these data about students, their decisions to come to Canada, the process of selecting Good University, and their arrival at the university, this chapter comes to a close. The next chapter will present more data on the students’ experiences at GU after application and arrival.
Chapter 8:
Learning in a Canadian University

"I am not here merely to get an education but also to widen my horizons. I want to develop a global imagination."  
("Sylvia" in Rizvi, 2000, p. 217)

8.1 An overview

This chapter describes the experiences of the students that relate to the period after their arrival at Good University. Having related the benefits and frustrations about their early experiences, students were able to speak in depth about other aspects of their student life. My initial interest in doing this research was to focus on and make recommendations regarding inclusive pedagogies for
the university. I soon discovered however, that students were more interested in talking about topics like learning in English, or social life, or their peers, more so than particular teaching methods they had encountered. This chapter will present the data relating to their academic and social experiences: learning, social life, how they perceive their identities and how they thought others perceive them, and internationalization.

8.2 Learning

Studying abroad may have conjured up ‘rosy’ pictures and exciting prospects for the students when they planned their futures. After getting here, however, the excitement was tempered by the details of settling in, and encountering the reality of studying in a new place, and in many cases, in new ways, and for many, in a foreign language. For many students whose first language is not English the conversations about their learning experiences, the quality of their experience and how they rated their programs, were described in terms of the barriers and affordances related to their fluency (or lack of) in English. Hence, ‘learning’ in their course work and program was seen to parallel or was even conflated with how they saw their progress with English and academic literacy. I begin the data on learning with issues related to learning in English before I describe other student learning issues, such as classroom experience, and teaching.

8.2.1 Learning in English: Noise and silence

As students have attested, Canadian universities are desired destination points for a variety of reasons, one of them being that Canada is an English-speaking country.24 Thus, students whose first language is not English aspire to get a better working knowledge of the language by studying in an English-speaking environment. However, as the language of instruction is English, they must demonstrate a knowledge of the language to be admitted to GU, a requirement that mandated students to study English before they arrived.

24 No one mentioned the fact that Canada is bilingual, and that French is an official language of Canada.
Students are deemed to have enough English to function at the university if they pass a proficiency test, which in the case of Good University, was TOEFL (or an equivalent in IELTS).

Not all of the students interviewed were non-native speakers. English was either the first language or one of the languages spoken in a bilingual repertoire for the following undergraduate students: Lefty Blue (Hong Kong), Sushant (India), and Samshul (Bangladesh). Samshul and Sushant spoke about using different styles of English in their home country. English was a second language for Jay, but because she had a tutor in English when she was growing up, and had traveled in English speaking countries, she experienced few problems using it at university. The others, Wayne, David, Chris, Long, Sherry, Hiroki, Little Onion and Krystal, were non-native speakers and required English classes to function at university level.

Graduate students Andrew and Dana (USA — mother tongue), Belinda (UK — mother tongue), and Sonali (Mauritius — fluent second language) were fluent in the language, although Sonali mentioned problems with different accents. For Shabnam, Peter, Parth, Nimal, Rojin, Shunfu, Naomi, Michelle, Orange, Bowei, Pris, Jota and Carlos, the topic of English, or rather, the lack of English skills, was raised as an issue (major issue for most, and a lesser one for others) in their learning experience at GU.

8.2.1a Undergraduate students

Wayne and Sherry enrolled in high school in B.C. anticipating that they would be applying to a university in Canada for their higher education. Their parents, conscious of the benefits of fluency in English, made these long term plans so that their children would have no difficulty in achieving the English requirement for university. Learning English in high school was difficult for Wayne:

Our school is pretty small so the ESL program wasn’t very good — like we had to ... a full class like first semester ... I had one math and all ESL classes, but a lot those ... Our school, like, we had 2 ESL teachers but they can’t like, they did a lot of like repetitive things. I found like it wasn’t helpful. Each year a lot of international
students came, and so they would do the same thing over, and it wasn’t helping — like ... it helped for the first semester, but then it didn’t help.

Although the first few months in high school had been difficult, he noticed that his English improved because he joined electives such as Art and Woodwork, where they socialized with non-ESL students, and learned to talk to one another. When it came time to apply for university, he wasn’t too worried about his fluency or expectations as he was applying to the Engineering department and he anticipated less of a linguistic expectation. He was correct in this regard: “In university class, it’s like more focused on technical stuff, so I didn’t find that the English was ... like not that difficult. ... It’s not like you have to write essays.” He didn’t experience problems with his language in his Engineering classes, and if he had questions, he would ask his friends, other international students who were in a higher level than he was. He had minimal demands on communicative and written English and so he feels he improved his English at a comfortable pace.

Sherry equated improvement in English (also in high school) with her membership in friendship circles, and her making more friends, both in school and at university. “The teachers [in school] are really nice in the ESL class. And I joined the multicultural club. I got to meet more friends, and not just Koreans and Japanese and other Taiwanese and stuff. This is like an international club.” At university, she started in the department of interactive arts, but changed over to linguistics because she made more friends in that program. Her improved language helped her to maintain her GPA in linguistics, although she said that she didn’t need much English writing in the courses she took.

Krystal, David, Chris, and Long anticipated that they would not have enough English to function at a university, and enrolled in ESL programs to improve their English before their entry to GU. Krystal and David were enrolled in ESL programs at another university, pre-GU, whereas Long studied in a private English college in Vancouver, and Chris was enrolled at a Language and Culture program at GU “I can’t say I like English a lot but it is very useful. I know if I come here it is way better than studying English in my home country”
(Krystal). All of these students commented on the cooperative, collegial, “fun” learning environment created in their respective ESL programs. They said they made a lot of progress in their ESL classes because it was a ‘fun place’ and as Krystal remarked, “everyone wants to help.”

Once they left their ESL classes for regular classes at GU, they experienced difficulty adjusting to using English. For David,

It’s hard to say — for some of my class I don’t care. I don’t think English makes a difference. If I have to write a big paper, I’ll feel stressed out. Sometimes I don’t think it’s fair, but I think it is fair because you have to mark everyone equally. You have to use the same standard to mark each paper. You can’t say because this is a paper by an international student — you can’t be nice to this person — this is my understanding of what marking is.

David, (and others), spoke about the extra time it took to prepare for classes (“it takes that much longer to read something and understand it”), to write papers (I have to always ask someone to proof read it, and after a while you don’t want to ask the same people because it takes a lot”) to prepare presentations, and to gain the courage to speak in front of a class.

Preparing and giving presentations in front of others was a scary prospect for many of the students. Little Onion spoke of how she prepared for a month and a half for what was her very first public presentation before her classmates. It was a 15-minute presentation, and a requirement in her chemistry course. Her instructor had told her that she had done well, but she had looked at the expressions and body language of her classmates as she was presenting, and concluded that she had not done a very good job. Later, her instructor confirmed that although her presentation was good, there hadn’t been enough focus on content.

Students like Samshul, who used English in their home countries, also experienced some problems in working with English in the first semesters. He mentioned carrying a dictionary to class all the time, because he was unfamiliar with words, their usage, and some of the technical terms. He also described how it was difficult to get used to the accent and intonation of the language as spoken by Canadians, and how Canadians found it difficult to understand his accent,
“although we were all speaking English.” He continued, “You learn to just listen a lot for the first while, and not say much.”

Little Onion summarized a theme that recurred among many of the second language speakers:

It’s quite different culture background compared to here. And sometimes, sometimes it is a little difficult to me. I think culture is a kind of barrier, for me, to study language. With more and more communication with native speakers, I can improve.

8.2.1b Graduate Students

Getting the right score on TOEFL was a recognition that students had a certain “knowledge” of English required to gain entrance to CU, but as the students point out, this did not give them the fluency to function in an English language environment. The reality of using English daily in a variety of settings in Canada was very different than preparing for exams. As Shunfu described it,

Language has always been my headache. Always been the obstacle. Social and academic success is prevented even now. I am dissatisfied with my spoken English. ... I experience much internal suffering because of this situation.

Shunfu had been a Math teacher in his country for many years, and had received teaching awards at his university. To experience problems with his communication was difficult for him to accept and live with. When he was at an Eastern university doing his Masters degree, he had a home stay with an English-speaking family. One of the family members was a counsellor, recognized his difficulties and counselled him on how to deal with the psychological problems she observed. “She told me my expectation of myself was too high, and helped me to deal with it. [her advice] was very helpful.” Shunfu made recommendations several times during the interview about how international students can be supported with their English language development. He recommended home stays with English speaking families to promote frequent usage of the language. He did admit that he spoke less English in Vancouver than he did in PEI.

For Shabnam, studying English through the TOEFL test had been a barrier: “I think I didn’t change after studying for TOEFL. My English was the
same. I just learned how to do those tests. ... I have to do English to write it and TOEFL was just something that stop you” (Shabnam). Shabnam learned more English in email communication with staff and faculty in the process leading up to her acceptance at GU, than in preparing for TOEFL. That was what she meant by “I have to do English to write it” rather than getting proficiency through preparing for and learning it through a test.

Peter, worked very hard to be able to cope when he arrived:

I’ll say I was also OK — fine with my language because ... I believe before I came to Canada I spent a lot of time using language, before I came to Canada, to get to know the language. I went to English speaking clubs in my extra curricular time to practice, so I am also comfortable with the situation when I came. But of course I did feel that I improve a lot after being here physically.

Although Peter did not have great difficulty in communicating, he spoke about the time spent “reading or re-writing, over and over”, in looking for equivalent technical terminology, mastering academic English (“how do you organize your words, how do you write your reports ...”) and participating in everyday life. I will discuss the impact of this on the learning process, in the next section.

Parth describes the problem insightfully as one of transition, especially for those like himself who perceived they could function in English.

I would say that on the surface there was no problem, [but] deep down there was a problem. Because the surrounding environment was totally changed. For example, when I was on a bus, this is probably not very important, but the signals that you are receiving are completely different. You are not listening to what they are saying. So although I don’t have a problem as such, when I am not listening, all the signals come in as noise. The level of noise in my life was higher ...

Shabnam added to this conversation by explaining that “I think my problem was language because I was not — sometimes you feel, you feel that you are very limited — you have a few words and you want to explain something and you don’t have enough words to think ...

If noise describes the quality of life, silence marks their academic identity, in those first months:
if you want to be active — if you are thinking and you want to say something or add something. ... But at this moment I have to be very careful what I say — good grammar, and proper words. I want to explain something and I want to ... I have to be able to say no, I am right. I am afraid that if I say this ... So it is better to be silent. Gradually it make me ... I don’t feel very self confident — I can’t show to my professor that I understand or maybe sometimes I have good idea I couldn’t say (Shabnam).

Rojin describes her first class:

in the class — I was like a deaf person. I couldn’t follow the conversations, I couldn’t follow the class, the discussions, so I couldn’t participate in the discussions — I couldn’t. I was just like a statue in the class — and I was just looking ... I don’t like to get back to those days again — never ...

Shunfu kept repeating how difficult it was to deal with what he perceived as a ‘not a good improvement at all” with his English. He had spent many hours during his masters program working on his English writing, listening and speaking. He still feels he has problems with fluency. His fears emerge when he is teaching a class as a TA, or having to present a paper. Sometimes the words don’t come as quickly as he wants them to, and even responding to questions, he is afraid that he looks like he doesn’t know the right answer, when in reality he is searching in his head for the right English word to say.

Michelle was another student who articulated the specific frustrations of learning in English:

major problem is our language deficiency, you know, we are classed on the basis of our incompetences. But we are good thinkers. In some way when I compare eastern students with western students, western students don’t think much of those issues, ... wars, politics ... We’ll be more successful at studying and working if we can find a way to overcome our language deficiencies. So you get quiet — and when you get quiet, you ... It’s another suffering for us — And these are very harmful, and no one understands. It does not mean that we don’t know anything. You have to be in our place to understand this — The measure is not fair I think. The measure is not fair.

Rojin echoed this with similar words:

Language barrier was the main problem that I had — and because of that I couldn’t communicate very well, and because of this
sometime I even ... I censure myself ... and I didn’t want to get involved in ... I prefer to be quiet — rather than not be capable of defending myself.

Of the students I interviewed, all five of the Science students, and three Education students tried out a university-wide seminar on Language, Culture and Teaching (LCT seminar) for international graduate students and teaching assistants. It provided a social venue to meet other international students (“It was a happy place” — Parth) but involved a big time commitment (once a week for 13 weeks) which did not help some of them in connecting with their peers and professors in their departments. It worked well for two of the students, Carlos and Nimal, but not for others. This was Carlos’ recommendation of the LCT Seminar:

It was the only thing I was having the most fun... It turns out to be more of a cultural thing. I am learning a lot about Canada and Canadians ... I realized with the LCT. Initially I didn’t think of TA ing, but [the instructor] encouraged me to teach, so that encouragement is the reason.

For Nimal the LCT Seminar was a good training to be a TA. He had the experience of a Masters degree in a Canadian institution where he had improved his use of English, but needed the confidence to use his English skills to teach.

As for the students for whom the LCT seminar did not work, the time commitment was the main problem. Parth and Shabnam started the course but didn’t complete it for this reason. Shabnam said it did not help her with the English required to be a Math student in her department. For this, she relied on making friends who were English-speaking Canadians, studying in the same department. Here’s what Rojin had to say:

I wanted to go to English classes so I went to the LCT seminar, but it was not very useful. You know — it was good at that time because it was better than nothing, but the program was basically about pronunciation and this kind of stuff. And the other part was about common idiom. I wasn’t comfortable because I didn’t know anybody — so how can I go around the campus and ask people ‘what does this mean?’ If I had this — but this personality to approach a person that I don’t know at all [and say] — ‘I am an international student, and I have a problem’ ... Actually the only person I was comfortable asking was [a kind person] working at
the grad office. So I used to go ask her. Later on — I couldn’t remember anyone of those [common idioms and expressions] — so what was the use of all of those — even some Canadians didn’t use them. I was in this place for two hours — with other students like me, and that was alright. The other students [were] as bad as I was.

The graduate students made recommendations for what could be done to help graduate students with their English. Carlos spoke about what had been helpful to him when he was doing his masters degree at a U.S. university:

One of the things I miss compared to Wisconsin is having a Writing Lab. You can be fluent in reading but not writing. I wrote better then because I was in it all the time. Then I went back to Mexico, and, of course, I was working in my own language, and now it is time to get back into the English. ... Well what I had in Wisconsin was not a workshop, it was one on one help with writing. You take a writing test, and there is an assessment to see whether to take the courses or not. Then based on that assessment you get writing help. I would have expected something like that at a university with such a multicultural background to have it.

Another recommendation came from Rojin, and it was about improving listening and speaking skills:

I said [that] class was a main resource — but now I can say the best way to learn a language is to have a native speaker friend or close to you, and to be comfortable to ask without any judgment. I went to international students office, to get somebody — to get a Buddy, but the buddies they had was mainly teenagers — [so I] didn’t feel comfortable with that. Best to have a close friend or roommate — at least for 2–3 months ... someone who is comfortable to correct your phrases ... I’m still starving to have this condition. I really appreciate if someone correct me, but here people get used to hear whatever people say without giving a comment [without correcting another’s English].

Michelle and Naomi suggested that faculty members should have an understanding of the needs of international students, especially their linguistic ‘sufferings.’ This knowledge might help them to alter their teaching methods to accommodate the international students in their classes.

Understanding accents in English was a problem mentioned by several students, and from different perspectives. Sonali mentioned that people found it difficult to understand her, and she had to be conscious of the way she spoke. On
the other hand, Nimal, Rojin and Shunfu mentioned the fast pace of Canadian speakers to be problematic for them. They had to think, or guess to figure out what was being said, or have to ask the speaker to repeat what they said. This latter became a burden for them, as they felt it was imposing on the speaker to ask repeatedly. The students commented on how much easier it would be if everyone remembered to speak a little slower than they usually did.

8.2.2 In the classroom
The data in this section describes undergraduate student experiences relating to programmatic and classroom matters such as course selection and constraints that international students face, differences in expectations, class size, and classroom learning environment. The issues mentioned by graduate students were about speaking and presenting in class, participation in discussion, academic writing and following the pace of the class.

8.2.2a Undergraduate Students
Many of the undergraduates I interviewed cited language issues as barriers to their learning. Shamsul, Sushant, Lefty Blue, and to an extent, Jay were fluently bilingual. English was spoken in their home environments and schooling, and in the case of Jay, proficiency in English was encouraged at home, and practiced through travel. Wayne and Sherry went to high school and had a couple of years of English at least, but they too identified language as slowing down their learning.

Wayne offered his view that international students whose first language is not English choose science courses and programs of study to avoid the problem of writing in English and the higher language proficiency demanded by the humanities. For Wayne it was never in doubt that he wanted to follow Engineering, but both Long and Hiroki wished they could take other courses or major in something else, but felt that English was a major barrier.

For Hiroki, a particular challenge was the pace of the classroom, in the context of subject matter that required much reflection and critical thinking. The
course in question was Sociology. He was able to follow the lecture and enjoyed it thoroughly, but was put off by the tutorial and the way it was run.

Sociology is such a deep discussion subject, and in tutorial they discuss so deep and so fast. And I gave up tutorial — and after a week, I didn’t go to tutorial. Well I guess no one cares in Canada — if you go you go, and if you don’t you don’t. Even the first few weeks, sometimes I don’t see people from the previous week or something. ... I just couldn’t participate. I (silence) well I didn’t have much to say and I was so nervous and I didn’t know how to be, how to discuss (silence).

He then expressed his ambivalence:

I passed the course — my grade was not very big — I think I got C+. I got questions I got wrong because I didn’t go to tutorial. For my Final I wrote an essay — it was hard, but I liked the topic a lot.

Hiroki was turned off tutorials from that experience; in future course planning, he tried to avoid courses that had a requirement for tutorial attendance. However, he became very interested in sociology. Later in the conversation, when I asked him to recall a course or teaching that was memorable, he came back to that Sociology course.

Sociology is fun, interesting, but takes so much time (K: why?) — I hate reading — even in Japanese. (laughter) Of course English too takes more time thing too — ... I don’t think I can major in Sociology because physically it’s impossible to do all the readings. ...

However, he still enjoyed the subject:

Everything is so new — sociologists ... we got the other side of things taken for granted. Like gender relationship or wealth, power, race and things. We think, ... we see the world and we think it’s natural, but actually, something, something going on behind — sociology looks at the other side of things.

He decided to major in math because it was easier and less problematic regarding language issues. But he thought a lot about the subject: “Sociology helps me a lot — in terms of ... helps me grow as a human.”

Long had a difficult encounter with a course in Philosophy, a subject he enjoyed but just couldn’t cope with. He found it difficult to write philosophical argumentation in English (and no support was available to improve or learn how
to do it), and when he discovered this he asked for permission to drop the course because of his language difficulty. The instructor was at first agreeable to this option, but hesitant about giving a written letter to provide a release, and the Dean in charge of this subject area refused the permission necessary to drop the course. Long ended up with an "F" grade on his transcript. This incident left Long very troubled, somewhat cynical, and he still carries feelings of frustration about it. He refers to it as 'the trouble' in his life, and how he did not have anyone to turn to, no one to advocate for him, and no one who knew him well enough to talk him through it and problem-solve. It was a low point in his first year, and he ended up calling his parents to get through the 'hard time', but subsequently decided that he didn't want to bother his parents because there was nothing they could do from so far away. Long changed his major to Business on the advice of a friend.

There were comments about class sizes from those who had been enrolled at a smaller university, or in university-colleges before they came to GU. Sushant, Long, Chris, and Krystal, said they learned better in a smaller class, after having experienced smaller class sizes in the former place of learning. Another comment was the easy access to professors, opportunities to participate in discussion, an ease with which they could ask questions and seek clarification if they couldn’t understand the material. As well, they found it easier to make friends in class when the classes are small. At GU they found class sizes to be intimidating. David says:

GU has huge classes compared to [former university]. Even for year 3 it is pretty big — like 100 students, esp for business. And I think the relationship between students was, like, not that good because in business all the class is curved. Even if you got 80% if other students get 90%, you could be failed (do you understand that?). It’s all about your relative position in the class, so it’s more competitive. And also because of the huge class and ... you attend all the lectures for the whole semester, and you still don’t know ... even know someone in the class because the people sitting next to you change.

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25 At the time of the interview, the university was just setting up a Writing support centre. There had been none in the university over the previous few years, and not when Long needed it.
another topic that was significant for the students, their social lives and relations on the campus.

8.3 Social Life

We talked extensively about friends, office mates, and of being far away from home. This topic led students to talk about what they missed the most about being away from home, and how they compensated for those losses.

8.3.1 Undergraduate students

The students talked a lot about their social lives, either the lack of social networks that they were used to having back in their home countries, or their satisfaction with new-found friends. The responses and the outcomes were varied.
Chris and Long also commented on the lack of friendly classroom relations in their classes at GU. They had the experience of “fun” English classes, and Long had attended a course at a community college one semester, and had those reference points to compare their GU classes with.

Maintaining a good GPA was an important consideration for some students, especially those in Applied Sciences (Wayne, Samshul and Jay), as their place in the department was contingent on a specific GPA. Wayne and Samshul mentioned that maintaining a good GPA was difficult for international students not just because of language difficulties, but because ‘everything is new’ for international students. This required students to “get to know the system”, which students have to do by asking. As Samshul mentioned, you also have to know who to ask for what information: “Things are not well known, like writing support, where to get it.” On the other hand, numbers are lower in Engineering classes (“because there’s very few students in the whole department, right”, Wayne) making for a better learning environment. Wayne says that for these reasons, he doesn’t feel it to be competitive.

These data on classroom experience from undergraduate students highlighted several challenges. Some who were not fluent in English had difficulty with course selection in the Humanities courses. Classroom relations with other students were not friendly for most, and noted in particular in the Business classes. The competitive environment encouraged in the classes contributed to unfriendly students. The large class sizes (compared to other community and university colleges) did not contribute to successful learning as professors and TAs were not as accessible. Information on resources such as learning support was not well known and not distributed.

8.2.2b Graduate Students

Learning in classrooms, for graduate students, was complicated for many by language barriers and cultural adjustment, as it was with the undergraduate students. Other classroom experiences, however, were different. Learning was a slow process in the beginning, not in terms of comprehension of subject matter, but in showing evidence of their learning at a pre-determined pace. “[Y]ou
understand that you are very much slower so you have to compensate for that in other terms — more hard working, or thinking more” (Parth). For some of the applied science students, lectures were the primary mode of teaching in their home countries, and, having a predominantly lecture style of teaching at GU was a relief. Says Parth, “It is easy being an international student in science — we don’t have to speak that much ... Usually the prof is teaching something. The flow of information is unidirectional.”

The lecture style of teaching and the resulting lack of engagement was a source of frustration, however, when they attempted to participate in class discussions or do a formal presentation. Shabnam felt impatience from her peers in the time she took to respond to a question, so she didn’t participate much in her first two semesters. Parth reported being complimented by well-meaning peers on his English rather than on the content of the presentation. The participants in that interview group (Peter, Parth & Shabnam) all agreed that Parth’s experience was common to many international students. While they accepted it as ‘normal’ for a student whose first language is not English, they were frustrated at being judged for their ideas and academic skills on the basis of their English language (deficiency?) proficiency.

Interactions with peers were described as being either difficult, or in some cases unproblematic. For Carlos, things were difficult.

In my group, I am the only foreigner. Maybe only two married people. Take for example the team I’m working with — I feel like I’m begging them for access to get involved with the project. It is a team research. So we have to decide on the research, and who is doing it, and divide it up. Also we have to present to the others. I have never heard back from the rest of the team until it was class time, and then they tell me, here you do this. The task was, you know, very simple. I feel like they are telling me that this is all I can do. So — no problem I do that. But overall, we get marked on what we do, and so it doesn’t look very good. I am the only man on the team, so that may be something.

Peer relations in the classroom were difficult for Naomi, Michelle and Rojin. Naomi spoke of feeling constant ‘pressure’, the pressure to speak, and to present herself well. She was not comfortable speaking in a large class (and for her, a graduate seminar of 20 students was large) and she was conscious that others
may not know her background, or how her thinking was shaped. For her, it was important information that others should have about her so they wouldn’t judge her. Michelle did not understand some of the behaviour in the classroom and what she perceived as a lack of respect for others: “Very very shocking — do they know how to respect others? Can’t understand what’s going on.”

Rojin felt judged by her peers as being inadequate. “The only system of defense ... was just to be quiet and to follow the people, and get used to those kinds of things.” The ‘kinds of things’ she mentioned were for example, peers (classmates) met her a few months after a course, and expressed surprise that she was still in the program. They had expected her to quit because of her communication and language difficulties. “This kind of comment ... I felt bad, but I didn’t want to be rude, so I always was patient, and smiled and said [to myself] the only reason they had in their mind was because I couldn’t present myself well. ... I prefer to be quiet.” Sonali agreed that “it’s not easy to interact.”

Coming in as a new international student was difficult.

[the] students all knew one another and I felt intimidated by everyone. ... It was difficult for me to interact easily, especially asking for help to my peers — I didn’t know how that would be perceived, you know, would it be considered rude or too much?

Assumptions that were made about students and their access to technology and computers were a problem for Sonali.

When I first came ... the class was using WebCT. It was assumed that all students had a computer. The instructor didn’t even ask. It was really tough — I couldn’t invest in a computer, I didn’t have the money, I was just getting settled in.

She reported that everyone told her to use the library and the Educational Technology lab in the department, but it wasn’t as convenient as having a computer at home. “[I]t took hours” just to go to campus to post something on WebCT. Keeping up with course requirements was difficult, so she dropped the course and took it up the following year when she was more settled and had a computer at home.
Andrew had no problems with cultural adaptation or language difficulty, as he is a student from the US, with English as his mother tongue. The classroom difficulties he reported were differences in standards and expectations.

... the academics — from my own experience, ... the scholarship here is more rigorous. What I will say that I did feel like — [in the US] I was just not a good student, but an exemplary student; my work was far above the other students. [But here] I felt like I was a small fish in a big pond. I felt intimidated and a lack of confidence. [there were] more expectations of me by my profs and peers, to read more than I had read. It was very challenging for the first year. All of my classes, in all of my required classes, I felt uncomfortable and felt like I didn’t know enough.

Belinda from the UK said she was fine with most of her courses, although the first semester was difficult.

When I first arrived I was doing 2 courses and I was the only international student. With the ed tech course, to begin with, it was quite difficult — because the education and tech system is very different here than in the UK so that was a bit of a challenge. The vocabulary was quite different and it took some time to get used to it, or to figure it out.

Figuring out differences in expectations, standards, and technology were common issues among graduate students. What affected students more were unfriendly and disrespectful relations and encounters with other students.

8.2.3 Teaching, good and bad (and learning)

The purpose of exploring teaching and learning was not to establish or evaluate the instructional skills of instructors and professors (which would require a much more comprehensive investigation), but to understand how the students themselves experienced the instruction in the courses they took, and how they perceived it impacted their learning.
8.2.3a Undergraduate students

The students connected teaching as being a key factor in their learning. Samshul says: “To get a good grade, you have to get a good prof.” For Wayne and Samshul, a key description of ‘a good prof’ was being able to teach. Most of their classes were unremarkable because of boring lectures.

Students just don’t bother going to lectures because you can stay at home and read the text. All the homework is also from the text, so you are better off spending that time working on the problems rather than listen to the prof read out the text book.

Asked for examples of good teaching, Wayne listed humour and being able to make a joke, as something that would help a professor get the attention of students. He also mentioned that he liked having interactive classes, where there was a lot of engagement between the professor and students, and also among the students in the class. Samshul mentioned a Chemistry professor who brought in very interesting real-life examples to illustrate lecture notes, and everyone came to those lectures because no one wanted to miss out on the examples.
Good lectures were not the only criteria in their minds. Samshul mentioned another example of a professor who had good notes and "everything in order", but the final exam had a lot of material that students had never seen before, nor was covered in any lecture. Students could not do the exam successfully. That assignment brought his grade GPA down. "It was most frustrating when you are trying to maintain a GPA for scholarship and co-op placements." He mentioned that it felt like a betrayal of trust for the students in that class who were all working very hard.

Boring lectures and paying too much money for courses was a talking point for Long, Chris and Bowei. Long and Chris were frustrated that they had to pay so much money, and didn’t get much attention. Both had experience in a smaller college classes and if they had to do it over again, would have stuck it out in college. They too were constrained by feeling like they had no choice if they wanted a more prestigious degree. In College, professors were more accessible: "You could talk to them anytime ... the classes were smaller, and you could get help" (Chris).

In reflecting on the kind of teaching that made a difference for him, Hiroki stated "interactivity has a lot to do with it — “One course I’m taking right now, and it isn’t very good because he, the instructor, he’s not very interactive. Math.” Speaking of an interactive class that did work for him, he described a professor in sociology who made the class very interesting. However, as Hiroki points out, interactivity isn’t the only element that makes a class work for all students:

... but say in a big class, students who want to speak out, they speak, and those who don’t want to don’t. But there are students who want to speak and don’t because it’s a big class, you have to be brave. ... Make them comfortable at being there — it’s really hard.

When asked what helped him to learn, Hiromi considered the question, and responded with a recommendation for good teaching:

The instructor should of course look at the whole class, if it is a 15 people class, then see 15 different abilities and skills, so the instructor is responsible to look at all of them and try to balance those — then he or she has to, you know, has to at least try to make the environment which suits at least each of the students. Which
obviously didn’t happen to me in my first class, sociology (with a smile).

In recalling good teachers, David spoke of a professor who had won an Excellence in Teaching Award, and he was very appreciative of his skill. For one, this professor “didn’t just use the textbook.” He had presented self-designed case studies and practice problems that made the subject more interesting and engaging. He tried to slow down the lecture with these real-life problems. He was a tough professor in that there was a big work load (“I did study very hard”) but he also paid attention to individual students. “If a professor cares about a student, then the student will work hard.” In contrast, another professor in Business, was “very arrogant.” In David’s view, he just did not understand international students, and did not care. For example, when asked to explain vocabulary that was difficult for international students to understand, he would make sarcastic comments about the intelligence of the person asking the question. David said he did very poorly in his first test, and when he spoke to the professor, realized that “it was useless talking.”

Krystal, Lefty and Sushant had an animated conversation about TA’s, professors, and course content. They were most frustrated with TA’s who had limited knowledge and speaking ability in English. No one could understand the TA, most of whom could not answer students’ questions. According to Sushant, these complaints about TA’s were not limited to international students’ experiences, but were common complaints among many students in his classes. He had a list of recommendations to the departments about the hire and training of TA’s.

Just because they get A’s they shouldn’t just get a TA position. As a good university, they should realize that they have a reputation to maintain, and if these TA’s are going to ruin it for everyone, it’s a shame. Why can’t they train them, and make sure that they go through some teaching training, and also some English training?

In his view, fourth year undergraduate students who had good communication and teaching skills, and a solid understanding of the subject
matter would do better than the majority of the TA’s he had in the courses he was taking.

David was another student who spoke of his lack of satisfaction with TAs. He said: “The TA system doesn’t work. Every grad student is guaranteed a position as a TA. An MBA background doesn’t necessary mean a business background, and some don’t have this background but they try to teach us.” He compared TAs in Communication courses that he had taken with the Business courses. In the former, the TAs were “pretty good” and in Economics, “pretty bad.” He too recommended that undergraduate students who knew their material would make better TAs.

Krystal mentioned that it was hard enough to follow professors in lecture, (listening comprehension) but it was worse when there were professors whose pronunciation was difficult to understand. She feels like she is “paying for nothing.” For international students in particular, listening (comprehension) is difficult — “don’t make it harder,” she says. Little Onion was another student who found it difficult to understand accent and tone, although she said that with each course she became more confident about her ability to understand. David commented: “Profs without English is bad! It makes life way more difficult. It’s just too difficult. When I pay tuition, I expect that I get some standard teaching that everyone can understand.”

A positive description from Little Onion was that professors and instructors in her courses had been very patient. She found their encouragement and patience helped her to gain confidence as a student. She preferred email contact sometimes because she could compose her emails in her own time, and she was impressed with the response time and careful attention from her instructors and TAs. She highlighted one professor in particular for a Chemistry course, who spent a lot of time giving her feedback on her work. In Little Onion’s view, this kind of attention made GU an excellent university, “a good place.”

Lefty’s experience in theatre was positive. He had no problems with language, and he enjoyed his classes. Jay’s experience of professors was also positive. She spoke of one professor in particular who exemplified excellent
teaching. She perceived him to be ‘brilliant’ and he expected high levels of cognitive engagement from his students. His course had been “very difficult”, but he was willing to spend a lot of time with his students, helping them to discover the solutions themselves. Jay thought it was evident he loved his subject, which showed in his mentoring of students. They would sometimes spend over two hours on just one sub-problem. She was very proud to be one of 3 students who got a perfect score in the examination, and will treasure this professor’s comments on her paper. She went on to comment about how important this kind of teaching was to advance the field, encourage new students to take risks, and to encourage innovative research. She felt that China could learn from professors like this in how to develop the field.

Students were very clear about what helped them to be successful in their classes. Good teaching for them meant that professors used interactive methods, brought in interesting examples, real-life examples and case studies, and had a good sense of humour. Professors who spent time with their students and were available and accessible to them earned students’ respect, and were able to facilitate learning success. Students appreciated the challenge of hard work and course content, but also expected fair assessment practices. The students in Business and Science commented on poor quality of TAs.

8.2.3b Graduate students

The teaching approaches they experienced at GU were new for many graduate students. Some experiences were positive, with students reporting how they learned a great deal from the seminars. For others, it was less than a positive experience.

For Rojin, classes were “a shock” because it appeared to her that everyone sat around and spoke about whatever topic came up for them. Most of the time, in her opinion, the conversation was not related to the text, or the readings, or even the topic of the class for that day. She had been used to classes where the instructor took a strong role in facilitating the class, and so in her GU graduate seminars she did not feel she learned anything much. The discussion was about other students’ life experiences and local school issues, and it had no relevance to
her. "It wasn't pleasant at all, and I didn't learn that much." She had been used to the science conventions in academic writing and reading, and it took her two semesters to get used to the conventions expected of her in Education. She did appreciate one-on-one help with academic English provided by the department. One "very bad result" was with course readings. She had spent hours "reading every word" and that had been a mistake. "Reading or not reading it doesn't matter. Whatever you do, it's the final paper that matters." Again, it took her more than two semesters to figure this out, and after that, she used her time to research and read in her area of research. Professors should, in her opinion, offer some advice about the "rules of the game" especially to students from other disciplines and countries. Rojin's final analysis on teaching and classrooms was that she didn't learn much from classroom teaching.

Michelle had similar comments to make about her experience of teaching and learning. She too spoke of not knowing 'the rules of the game' of graduate school: "how much to read, how to read, the seriousness. What is the level of discussion?" She too expressed frustration about spending a great deal of time doing detailed reading of the texts. She would arrive in class and observe that other students had not read the material in such detail, but had focussed on one point or another, and would speak authoritatively on those points, giving the impression that they were familiar with the whole article. The professors did not, in her opinion, take charge enough. Professors were there, in her opinion, because they were experts in their subjects, and should have more to say in the class.

Carlos' related his challenges to not being able to follow comments and feedback on his writing. He had received a paper back, and couldn't understand the feedback.

The feedback left me in the middle of a sentence, or some comment about something that I didn't understand. ... I got no feedback on my second draft, so how am I expected to improve, or know what to fix the next time?

There was appreciation as well from many of the students. Science students Nimal, Shabnam, Parth and Peter respected the immense knowledge and expertise of professors in their departments. In particular, they noted the
time spent by their supervisors on encouraging them and supporting their research. Shabnam was greatly appreciative of the encouragement she received about the quality of her work. Peter attributed progress in his learning to the kind of attention that he received from his supervisor.

Maybe for me, my supervisor does a lot of writing. Whenever I have a good report or writing for a conference or journal, he goes through all the notes line by line. We meet, we sit down and go through the whole draft line by line — use this term first and then you can give an example, probably go deeper, and then wrap it up — those are all the things he did. ... I don’t think whether most profs do that. ... [I have] better training in my writing than I have ever had in my native language.

There was appreciation also from many of the graduate students. Sonali mentioned that she was very happy with her program, that she was learning a lot, and in particular enjoyed the class discussion. Andrew’s assessment was that “the profs are awesome.” The students in the M.Ed cohort were also complimentary of the instructors in their program, whom they felt did a very good job with adapting material and course content to their needs and interests. Pris mentioned taking a couple of courses outside her program area, and in comparison, appreciated the approaches of her program instructors. In particular, she mentioned how they explained teaching methods, provided clear instruction and directions, supported students to be successful with their assignments. Orange agreed saying the quality of instruction went beyond her expectations.

Overall, graduate students offered mixed reviews about the teaching, and for the most part they were more positive than the undergraduate students in terms of the quality of instruction. There were exceptions to this as some students in Education found that professors could have been more authoritative in the seminars, and offered more structure and guidance in the seminar discussions. The Education cohort students felt that their cohort program offered high quality of teaching. Mentoring and supervision were of importance to graduate students, and all of the students were pleased with the quality of supervision.
8.2.4 Curriculum

This study does not investigate curricular materials in depth; I will leave these topics for future exploration. The data in the present study on curriculum are student perceptions of the content of their course. There were few complaints or comments about curriculum from both undergraduate and graduate students.

The undergraduate students for the most part were appreciative of the content of their courses. The Engineering and Computing Science students found their courses challenging but welcomed the challenge and the material they covered. Little Onion observed that “sometimes the materials taught by instructors was a little bit difficult” because the terminology was different and it took her time to make the connections with her own prior knowledge of the topic. As described earlier, Long and Hiroki enjoyed courses they had taken on Philosophy, Poetry and Sociology even though they had not been personally successful in the courses.

A discussion among Krystal, Sushant and Lefty expresses the dilemmas faced by international students regarding course content. Krystal and Sushant were describing some of the difficulty they faced in their Business courses when their professors illustrated lecture topics with North American examples that everyone else was familiar with, but they could not understand. Few explanations were offered, and Krystal mentioned that professors should not have to provide explanations because it would slow the whole class down. When I asked them if case studies and examples should be included from a comparative or ‘international’ perspective, Krystal said:

But if you make it international, then local students won’t know what’s going on. That’s what makes it international for us [that we come to study] .. we learn about Canadian and American examples, but then it’s much harder to figure out.

Sushant agreed that the North American examples were ‘ok’ if only the professor would post a few background notes on the case study or example. He welcomed learning about “such famous examples.”

The graduates students in science too expressed satisfaction with their courses and programs of study, mentioning how much they learned, and how
valuable it was. Carlos had a different perspective, which was based on his assessment of whether the curriculum was internationalized or not. "[L]ooking at the material, Biology for example is focused on Canadian issues, U.S. too I think, and there's no way for anyone to see anything else going on." Belinda offered similar observations about her courses in Education.

It's very westernized .. Sometimes a course can encompass materials and approaches that are different. But the approach is very narrow .. it is the Western canon. I don't think I've had research papers or anything [by way of course material] that is from a non western point of view.

Sonali mentioned that the class discussions brought in a diversity of examples and this in her view made the curriculum 'international.' The students in her cohort were international students themselves26 and their professors encouraged them to bring in examples and ideas from their own countries and backgrounds. The M.Ed international cohort (Pris, Orange, Jota and Bowei) were also appreciative of how they were encouraged to incorporate their own background and ideas from their context into course curriculum. Orange compared the courses she took in her cohort program to others: "Actually I found various advantages of being in a special cohort. Actually for the regular program, they pay attention to the North American or local content - not so much international. " Jota agreed. She had taken a course where "the focus was really on what is happening in North America." There had been many international students in that class, but the course "was not set up in that way" to encourage different views on the topics.

These comments on curriculum conclude the data on student perspectives and observations on learning. In summary, I have presented data on different aspects of students' learning including challenges and barriers related to learning in English, backgrounds on how students made decisions about course selection, classroom issues such as relationships with peers, what students evaluated as good teaching and bad teaching, what they appreciated about their learning, what they believed were factors in their success in class, and finally, some brief comments about curriculum and internationalized curriculum. I will now turn to

26 They were in a Masters program in Teaching English as a Second Language.
A few of the students feel they have been successful in their social lives, both in residence and on campus. Sushant made many new friends while at a university college, and he carried these skills over into the larger university environment, where he became the vice president of a student club, and sought out social activity with students of the same discipline. For him, as it was for Lefty, Samshul and Jay, the secret was to join clubs or activities of people from the same discipline. This was a conscious way to avoid friendship groups made of people of the same ethnic background, and to ensure a good network of friends in the discipline. But this strategy was not useful for students like Little Onion and Krystal. They pointed out that if you don’t drink, or find pub life attractive, there’s not much you can do to socialize with domestic students.

Friends mean a lot to Sherry, and so she made a decision to move from a comfortable homestay with family friends into residence to meet and make new friends. In our conversation, she almost always came back to the topic of friends, making friends, and making more friends. “Especially when you have troubles you can talk to your friends. You feel like more comfortable and safe with your friends — because you know that they are always there to help you out”. Even her choice of program was influenced by her being able to make friends. “I didn’t mean to choose linguistics. I tried to take different courses and then I took two linguistics courses, and then decided to take more linguistics courses —and I made more friends in Linguistics, ... and thought about doing ESL teaching.” She acknowledged that she missed the family life of homestay, and that “Res can be both good and bad” but “I force myself to talk to new people and different people — and that’s a good thing. ... It makes me make new friends.”

David makes a conscious decision to ‘hang out’ with students who are not of the same cultural or ethnic background so he would broaden his circle of friends. These connections were all made mostly in residence, and outside of classes. He believes that the effort should come from the international students to reach out to others. This will make student life easier. “I want to make friends with everyone. ... I’m that way.” I asked him if that strategy worked for him, and to provide more detail, and he observed
I found for a lot of international students, ... the first part is the most difficult. I lived in Res — the people on my floor invited me to everything. After I step up ... It made my life easier to get involved ... I realized that. They [other international students] didn’t want to step out of their comfort zone — because they think that people don’t like them or people can’t communicate with them. If we step out of our comfort zone things will start working for us.

Stepping out of a comfort zone was not a successful strategy for Krystal, who had already had a successful experience in residence at a smaller Christian university.

Residence life wasn’t all friendly and social for all the students I interviewed. Hiroki reflected that one had to have a certain personality that was more helpful to socialize in residence. “You have to be brave” (Hiroki). He had a difficult time in this first year, but is doing better in a residence that has a shared kitchen where he has made some friends.

H: That building didn’t have kitchen, but this building has one. I have a good time and I think it has all to do with having a kitchen — gives a sense of community

K: Sense of community — what you mean by that?

H: Basically I’m shy — if you are very friendly, outgoing, it’s ok — or can adapt to the surroundings ... all things will go fine. For shy people I think they need some reason to go outside from their room. And kitchen is the way it is. ... In my first year — there is nothing outside the room. Maybe common room, but it’s outside — so no reason to stay there. And nothing in the common room except TV nothing — just a sink or microwave and TV that’s it. And it’s pretty far from some room, far from my room too.

Krystal finds residence lonely and isolating. She compares her experience at GU with her first months at a Christian university, where she found the dorm life to be more friendly. Other students had reached out to her, and she found everyone on campus to be friendly. “They all want to help.” She attributed it to the Christian faith and teaching that encourages people to be loving and kind to others. At GU she found that no one visited one another in the rooms and socialized; people tended to stick to themselves. She found it too overwhelming to be the person to initiate an interaction each time, not knowing if it would be
welcome or not. So she didn’t pursue this strategy. She concludes: “maybe it is me — I don’t know.”

Other students found the campus itself a lonely place. Long said strongly that “Campus isn’t a good place to socialize”. Domestic students go back to their homes, families and established friendship networks and don’t include newcomers into those networks. Long lives off-campus because “You can get to know Canadians”.

People outside campus are more friendly — somehow felt that. Got to know people in my neighbourhood, they come outside, and washing the car and things, and ask questions about me, and China, ... But not on campus — Not really. Maybe one or two questions during class breaks — like where are you from — but not much.

In a concerted effort to make the most of his time here, Long volunteered at a seniors’ care centre, and as a web-designer for the local municipality, to get to know Canadians and the life styles. I asked him why he chose a senior’s centre, and he said he often thought of his parents living alone, and he thought of other people living alone, like seniors, so he wanted to contribute something.

One of the more difficult things for students to share (and for me to hear) was how much they missed family. Wayne was the only student whose family immigrated to Canada, and so although he lived in residence, he was able to go home during semester breaks, or for weekends. Samshul spoke about how the most difficult thing in the first year was, for example, special occasions like Eid 27 where there was no one to celebrate with. Little Onion became very emotional when asked about her family, and spoke of a ‘big loneliness’ that she could not be close to them. She was looking forward to going home on holiday, a few months after our interview. This is what Long had to say about missing family:

Yah .. It was much harder in the beginning. After that course thing happened, 28 I realized that no one can help me when I’m in trouble, so I developed ... What’s the point of me missing my parents because they can’t do anything to help me, right? What can they do

27 Eid ul Fitr, the day of celebration at the end of the Muslim Ramadhan fast.

28 This was the problem with the Philosophy course, being unable to drop the course, and having no one to advocate for him, or even to talk about it.
— maybe it’ll make them feel worried or sad. So I am contacting them less and less.

When I asked him whether the ‘hard situation’ made him stronger, he said, “Actually, the hard situation moved me to ignore it, learn how to ignore it.”

Little Onion spoke often of the social network that her husband belonged to. They were chemistry students and their spouses, many from another university across town. The social events they organized were beneficial also for her language learning.

I had opportunities from my husband’s friends — they have a party like a potluck something like that and we always participate in that kind of party. That was an effective way for me to get opportunities to talk. ... Just a relax — not academic.

The students who came were of mixed background, some international students, and some domestic students. She missed those events as they had stopped attending when her own workload, and her husband’s thesis writing did not leave time for socializing. As for making friends, she found the language barrier to be too much of a stress to pursue. She noted that in class, international students (in this case Asian students) and Canadian students sat in their own groups, and did not mix.

For me it is very understandable because making friends is [ought to be] kind of relaxing and sometimes for me, it is hard to make a Canadian friend. She or he is not familiar with what I’m talking, and this process is not enjoyable.

Asked what else she missed, she talked about ‘simple things’ like movies and books. She read a lot in China, and enjoyed going to the movies, and as she pointed out, it was all in her language. She has little by way of leisure time activities and entertainment here in Canada.

Other students expressed similar frustrations to what Little Onion expressed about fitting in, and finding a way around the cultural barriers. I asked them what it was like to be a new comer, and whether the students had strategies to ‘enter’ social groups. Lefty admitted that it was a problem. He kept comparing his experience here with his experience in Norway, where “Asians are rare and it was a talking point. .... ‘Wow! A Chinese with long hair’ — that’s
something!" In Canada, he found it a little more difficult to interest people in who he was.

It was not as easy. [but] I’m not all in to having a thousand friends — I’m OK with it. I talk to people when I want to, and I can just use like... 'I went to Norway and lived there for 2 years in an international school' — and that is a good entry point, and people get interested and I can tell stories. It is more natural — you get to know people more slowly.

Jay had a different take on the situation of insider/outside as well as missing family. She spoke often of her parents as being ‘the greatest’, how they were “unconventional, very distinctive, and so different. I really appreciate their outlook.” Asked whether she missed them and how she coped, she said “Oh yeah, I miss them, every single second, but you know, it’s not a melodrama. I talk to them often, on the phone, and it’s like speaking to friends.” As for being a new comer, we were talking about being an insider or outsider, in the circle or outside. She said, “you’re always out of the circle, if you’re born here or not. It doesn’t mean you are isolated. It just means that you position yourself that way. You can be an observer.” Asked to explain further, she continued

There’s two meanings. I mean, you can think of it as being negative and being left out. You can constantly jump in and jump out [of the circle]. It’s good to be able to move. That’s powerful to have two ways. You are what others can see, and be what others cannot see.

She saw an advantage of being able to move in and out of social groups. She felt it gave her more freedom and greater flexibility in how she participated. She gave an example of when she goes traveling, that she was with people all the time, but she also spends time “sitting somewhere, people watching.” She explained further that “[to be] out of the circle is good.” She considered being part of the circle all the time as being limiting, as you can’t consider your independence or make choices if you can’t compare. Being outside, “you have access to new alternatives, and this is not just personal growth, but a legacy for the nation.”

Samshul reflected on his prior experience at a university on the East coast. There had been three other Bangladeshi students and the four of them had developed a very close relationship. “We were a family ... we were inseparable.”
He said the importance of that year with close friends had resulted in building their confidence about living in another country and experiencing “new things all the time.” They had a kinship group to share things with, and “I could just be myself.” When he moved to GU, “I realized I had to make new friends if I wanted to get anywhere” and so he set out to live off campus, share an apartment with a mixed group of students, joined student associations, and took a leadership role in Engineers Without Borders. In his view it was important to have both experiences of close friends from the same background, and also take the courage to make friends outside of that group. “That is why we are here as international students.”

8.3.2 Graduate Students

Many of the graduate students felt impacted by the absence of social networks and family support. “Again, there is something lacking” (Parth). Shabnam commented that being away from her family, and not having her mother close by affected her life as a student. Although she needed the closeness of her mother to share problems with, she had decided not to confide in her when she moved to Canada because her mother would worry about her, and would be unable to help, being so far away.

I think it does affect my studying, because I have to think myself about my problems. I don’t have the support — social support, family support, but still you still feel out of place, and as an international student on student visa, and if you run into a problem that you can’t solve in a reasonable period of time you might be even forced to leave the country.

Students who did have family members living with them acknowledged that it was an important source of security and comfort. Andrew, Carlos, Nimal and Shunfu had their partners with them; Shunfu and Carlos were here for their children and their future, and this gave them a focus.

Students’ attempts to create a social network merit some attention. Three science students, Parth, Shabnam and Peter preferred and consciously sought out lab and office partners who were Canadian or of a different cultural background so they could practice their language and discuss their discipline, but not always
were they successful in this. A well-intentioned staff person located her in an office with other Iranian students to make her feel at home, but this isolated her further from the linguistic community she sought so much to be part of. Parth and Peter spoke of shared office space and locations that were more isolated when they were new students, at a time when they needed more social time, and as they became senior students of being placed in more social environments, precisely when they wished for more solitude so they would not be distracted in their work. All of them wanted to seek out and make friends with students from different backgrounds than their own, but admitted that tiredness from work and study, lack of time, were reasons why they did not fulfill their intention.

Parth observed that close friendships “were very important to my well being and my psychological stability.” He continues:

Making new friends is difficult. You have to spend time with people to make friends. Either you don’t have time or you don’t feel like it. You have to gather in places, see people, talk to people and that requires a lot of time. Basically you don’t have time. You are studying, you are working, you have commitments. ... That image hasn’t come true, that you are part of a very active.. Probably you have, you are part of a very active research group, say, but in your life outside, it is not really very active at all. ... And it is not living life to the fullest.”

The experience of residence was for the most part lonely for the graduate students who lived on campus (Rojin, Shabnam and Michelle). Shabnam felt isolated in a residence with an individual room when her preference was to live in shared accommodations, an option that was not available to her. On the other hand, Rojin’s first experience was in a town house, but the other students living there were not very social, hardly interacted with one another, and Rojin and Michelle created a circle of friends who were of Iranian background primarily, although a few other women from a math background were also part of this group of friends.

Sonali lived off campus, and from having had a very social environment in her home country, found it quite lonely with no friends. She missed the expected interaction with local Canadians:
that's how you get to know a culture, but ... there doesn’t seem to be a lot of opportunities — I don’t know the people who live next door to me in the next apartment. Even if you want to be friends — if you bake a cake and share with them, it’s like, why ... It’s strange — it’s perceived as ... It’s weird.

She reflected that “it’s still not easy” trying to meet and socialize with other people. She spoke of trying to make friends with students in her course. She had invited them to her home twice, and “everyone came but that’s it.” Many of the students in her class were of Chinese background, and she wondered whether it was because she didn’t share their cultural heritage or language, or food preferences that kept her out of their social circles. As for other Canadian students, she acknowledged the difficulty for others to include her:

Because everyone has their family and their own commitment and their own friends so it’s hard. ... I used to live alone so I was quite isolated in a sense, right? If you talk about socializing in Canada I don’t really have — I just study and work.

Belinda found it lonely too, even with members of her family around.

I think for me, the people don’t see me as an international student. People are surprised when I tell them I am on a visa, so the judgments are not there. But socially I find it difficult — I don’t participate in international student events, I don’t find that it is an attractive thing to go to ... and take part in. I think that is interesting ... the people who made a huge difference are Mac and Nicole29. They are proactive in bringing people together and they are open socially ... and they were a great support socially.

Participating in student government was one activity that some students chose in order to make friends and participate in university life. Andrew joined student caucus in his department as well as cross-campus committees. He was familiar with this kind of participation during his time in the U.S. and was comfortable pursuing this. M.Ed cohort students Orange and Jota joined the executive of their department student caucus to make friends, to learn about student governance, and to participate in student activities. As they felt isolated

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29 Pseudonyms for two graduate students in Education who were well known for hosting social events for international students.
from other graduate students in their program, this was an ideal opportunity, according to them, to connect with others in their department.

This strategy did not work for Carlos, who was quite critical of the lack of friendliness among the graduate students in his department, and generally on the campus. When asked what connections he has with other students, and his social life on campus, he responds first, “Maybe this is personal or personality maybe — hard to say.” He speculates first on the reason that things are not going very well, by explaining that in Mexico, he was a professor, a faculty member, and now he is a student, and that perhaps the change in roles was difficult for him.

Once I went to the Grad student caucus meeting and they didn’t even address me. No ‘Hi’ or ‘How are you’. I’m social but a little shy maybe at new things. So I’m thinking, why am I wasting my time. I volunteered to help set up a poster session. Not a Thank you or anything. In that way, I’m very, ... I’m bad-mannered. I won’t be begging for conversation.

And he commented on social life in general on the campus:

if you’re not introduced to someone, they hardly talk to you. You can walk by them every day but they won’t know you. I have made more friends in the swimming pool. Some talk. Some people think I’m a professor. So that creates a problem too- they don’t like to be that friendly.

I don’t come to the university to make friends — why should I? Being a professor, maybe it’s difficult to change attitudes and habits.

Overall, both undergraduate and graduate students spoke extensively of their social lives both on and off campus. They missed their families and familiar social networks. Making friends was important for them, and some were successful and others were not so successful. Those who had families with them were unlikely to seek friendships outside of their family. Friendships were easier to form within students’ own cultural groups, or among other international students, with the exception of students like Jay and Lefty. Residence life was a positive experience for some, and for others it was isolating and lonely.
8.4 Being seen and seeing themselves

By exploring how students experienced their learning and social environments, the conversations also revealed how students perceived themselves, how they identify themselves, and how they think others perceive them. Although the focus was on their status as international students, other aspects such as their cultural and racial identities, student and teacher identities, emerged from the data. The data from graduate students were more extensive, detailed and thoughtful than comments from the undergraduate students.

8.4.1 Undergraduate students

Little Onion rarely referred to herself as an ‘international student’, more commonly identifying herself as a student from China. In response to questions about learning and barriers to learning, she cited cultural difference as being a major challenge. She identifies often as a wife: her husband came to Canada first to start his PhD program, and in her words “not able to manage very well” she decided to move here as well to support him. She does not engage in many activities outside of that relationship. For example, her own degree completion came second to the role of support. In turn, her own primary support came from her husband who she says was her friend and fellow student. She didn’t need to make friends because she had her husband.

Hiroki describes himself as being quiet and shy, and in explaining why he didn’t initiate conversations with other students etc, he says “you have to be brave” implying that he was not.

I think I am just interested in how local students see international students — (K — what do you think they notice?) ... they think we are stupid ... There’s lots of Asian looking people — once you speak you know if you are an international student or immigrant.

He observes that “I see a lot of internationalization on myself in Canada” meaning, that he is understanding more about people from other cultures, and how to behave and act with others. “Being a foreigner, being someone outside Canada, it’s a good thing.”
Jay commented on her accomplishments: her getting into Computing Science on her high school marks from China, getting an A- in a difficult course with a difficult professor, being awarded full marks in another very difficult course with an internationally renowned professor, and doing a double major in communications as well as computing science. She considers a sense of freedom as being the "fun part of being an international student", a freedom "to live on your own", have "a positive outlook" in life, and a "new sense of responsibility." This responsibility means that "you can’t do what you want, and go wild", for example; "there must be a balance." She sees herself as having self-discipline. "Everything I do, I think to myself, ‘what would my parents think?’". Being an
international student brings with it "an attitude about your life. You don’t just sit there in one place, it’s always happening." Jay spoke thoughtfully about identity, in terms of “what shapes you, your own ideas, and your vision” and that it was “very important to have your own identity." She reflected that her parents have been a ‘huge influence’ on her. She did not feel international at all unless she went to an event organized by the International office. Seeing all the other international students would remind her that she was international, but outside of that setting, she didn’t think of that label. She was comfortable and felt integrated into student life and social life. She believed that all students should develop such an outlook.

When I asked Lefty about his thoughts on being an international students, he responded that he was "just a student" and that like Jay, he didn’t think of his international identity. Long, however said that he felt “international all the time.” When I asked him to elaborate, he explained that he didn’t fit into any local student group, or have local Canadian friends (only other international students for friends). He paid high fees, and he felt he was having to work harder than domestic students.

Sherry’s student life revolved around her maintaining friends and friendship circles, and she saw herself as being successful in school because she had so many friends. Krystal saw herself primarily as a student, and talked about how she persisted in following her dream of studying at GU. Sushant, Wayne and Samshul also saw themselves and spoke of themselves as students of their disciplines. Sushant and Samshul took on leadership roles in student clubs and associations because they wanted to ‘add something’ to their time at GU, and didn’t want to “waste [their] time just studying"(Samshul).

8.4.2 Graduate students

I was curious about how they perceived their status as international students. The science students, Peter, Shabnam and Parth, responded without hesitation that they thought of themselves first as students of their discipline (a math student, a physics student and a computer science student) rather than as an international student. There was some amusement around the question as
they referred to how they couldn't hide the fact that they are international "especially when we try to speak" (Parth) or "try to say an idea properly in the class" (Shabnam) or "when you don't understand a joke" (Peter). As time went on, the feeling that they "stood out" lessened as they felt more comfort with speaking the language, and as other students got to know them better.

Peter says that in school (meaning GU) he does not feel like a foreigner, but he did feel like one outside of the campus, when he was new in the Vancouver area. At the time of the interview, he felt like a long time resident. He compares himself to other Chinese students, saying "I am relatively more open. Some of my friends from China stick to only Chinese students [for friendship]." As described in the earlier section, Peter recommends seeking out a variety of friendships in order to get the most of an international placement such as this. He continues: "I have a much more global view and understanding than most people I meet."

Graduate students were very conscious of how they were perceived as students, and identified strongly with this student identity. Parth reflects on how his focus has changed from the time he was in Iran. He sees himself as a research-oriented graduate student with a good future:

I wasn’t, you know, back in Iran, I wasn’t studying very well. Part of the reason was that I was hanging out with my friends a lot, but the bigger problem was, there was not a lot of motivation. Didn’t have a very bright future in Iran. So when I came here, now I’m here, I’m studying Physics, and that is very important here. I’m going to get a good job, and be part of active research and so on.

Andrew mentioned that the only time he felt ‘different’ or that he was an outsider, was in his first two classes. This was because the standards in his opinion were higher, more was expected of him as a student, and he felt a lack of confidence in himself. He was more confident about his abilities as a student at the time of the interview.

Michelle was critical of social ‘labels’ and how people labelled others. She gave an example of how she attracted labels herself.

Everything has a label. How can they permit themselves to give labels. ... How can they judge others when they are here to learn
about one another. ... I sometimes felt that I have short hair — maybe they think I am lesbian. And I had got this impression.

One of the labels that Michelle feels she is being judged by her level of English proficiency. Naomi agreed: “I feel more like an ESL student than an international student.”

Michelle: I have changed, my world view has changed, my identity has changed — and under great pressures, sometimes. ... I’m happy that I know myself better ... it helps me to not judge others. ... Every person is made because of different pressures.

Belinda felt less judged here than in the UK. “People judge you on your accent how you present yourself, how you look — it’s automatic — whereas over here, people judge you on how you, your level of education and your ideas, rather than the superficial things like how you look and your accent.” She also spoke of other changes between the UK and Canada. “My sense of identity changed considerably — from teacher to student. It was a complete shift in perspective and that was quite difficult as well to adjust to.” Belinda had a long illness and was supported by the campus centre for disabilities, and she felt that this dominated her experience as a student.

Naomi reflected on her experience saying

It’s a journey every time you see yourself you see yourself in a different way. I recognized myself as worthless, in being a student here. And then, I don’t know — the [graduate student caucus] experience was interesting — I got to know people better. I realized that it’s not just me suffering — I think other people suffer. The pressure I create myself sometimes. And then I think maybe it’s just me.

One of the women students of Iranian background (she requested that this data not be identified with her name, not even the pseudonym) talked about how her head covering created problems for her both on campus and off campus. Off campus, store clerks, or grocery store employees would not talk to her directly, but if there was someone with her, would address remarks to her through her friend. On campus she felt that people would avoid her, and she thinks it is because of her scarf. Of the time spent here and her experiences she says “I’m a
different person than the person who came here.” One explanation she offered was that she had regained her self-confidence, and she copes with what she has to do. Another explanation was that she has had many experiences of dealing with people, both negative and positive.

8.5 Internationalization

As the students are designated “international” students, it was important to explore what the students themselves understood by “international”, ‘international education’ and the process of internationalization. I shared the definitions of the terms (as presented in Chapter 1) and asked whether in their opinion the process of internationalization was happening on the campus, and furthermore, how they might recognize it, and what recommendations they might have. It was, as with other themes, a mixed response. For the most part, however, students did not think that internationalization of the campus or domestic students was happening in noticeable ways.

8.5.1 Undergraduate students

Reflecting on the notion of what international means, Chris offered the observation that “if students don’t interact it’s not really international — everyone sticks with their own, and nothing changes.” Many students agreed with this, noting the lack of interaction between what they saw as local or Canadian students, and the international students. They could not tell if the groups of same-background students were all international students, or whether they were domestic, immigrant groups clustering with others of their own background.

Referring to the diversity of Vancouver, and the campus, Hiromi said that the resulting diversity was not a result of a conscious strategy of the university to internationalize:

I don’t think it is because of internationalization of education — but Canada as a country is such an immigrant country. People come here for a better life, or for any other reason, or if they come here, some new people who want to immigrate they want to study first — as a first step.
He also clarified that he doesn’t bring anything to the campus, and that it’s the immigrants who do. Other students agreed that in their opinion they don’t add much to the university or their classrooms by way of personal experience, expertise, background or other ways. They were never acknowledged as doing so. The only time they were officially recognized by the university or programs was when there were international student events. In this sense, ‘international’ was understood as the mixing and interaction of international students among one another. “Just bringing IE students to Canada does a lot in a sense of introducing other cultures, I don’t think it is just introducing any new culture because — they don’t mix” (Long).

Jay offered the opinion that “… the Canadians are too local — they should be more outgoing and try to mix with others more because this is what it means for the future, to mix all different cultures of people.”

8.5.2 Graduate students

Carlos was well informed and had many opinions about internationalization and international education as he had been a Director of a mobility program in his home university among the U.S. Canada and Mexico. He had also been involved with international students and student services. Of CU’s internationalization efforts he said:

Well — maybe this university is international because of the students. But it’s a façade. (why?) maybe I’ve not had the opportunity to take courses, but … I suppose there’s international societies and clubs where people from different backgrounds can join, but there’s not a way of linking programs or including more international perspectives. … I feel it is only the façade of showing international.

From a program perspective, he explained how in Mexico, graduate students were expected to learn English and another language, showing mastery of three languages in order to graduate. He was critical of the insular approach among Canadian students who expect a ‘one way’ interaction. In his view, learning another language, “an immersion in another’s language is the first brain opener [to another’s perspectives, culture etc].” Continuing, he commented, “English
speaking people take it for granted that everyone else will — Ah they’ll speak
English.”

Other graduates students also observed that “for international to happen
there must be interaction and that is absent” (Parth). Students were aware of
their own limitations in not being able to initiate and follow up on interactions
especially with Canadian students. Some offered the explanation that “it must be
me.” Naomi talked about this as a matter of reciprocity and mutuality. Asked
what she meant by reciprocity, she said:

It’s more like GU offers something to us, but not expect something from
us. In that sense it is not an equal thing. Their focus is how they can
introduce programs to others, not how they [the students] are going to
contribute to things here. I think they just want to provide their values in
their own way. If it’s reciprocal, that will be very nice. Right now it’s just
all one way.

8.6 The Future

Among the undergraduates, Sherry, Sushant and Krystal spoke of going
home, and being able to command well-paying jobs in their home countries.
Long wondered if he would fit in, after having independence from home and
family, and a good foundation in his studies. He felt he didn’t get much from the
Chinese university he had enrolled in, and wondered how he would function in
a work environment. He was very clear that he didn’t want to stay on in Canada
because his social experience here was a negative one, and so it was a matter of
choosing an East Asian country. When I first interviewed him, Hiroki was not
sure whether he wanted to stay in Canada or go back home, but the time this
study was winding down, he had made up his mind that he would stay. Little
Onion’s arrival and departure was dependent on her husband and his research,
and her preference was to go home. For Jay, an education in another country was
a door to further adventures, and she was leaving her options open. The chances
were that she would continue with a graduate degree in Canada, or seek study
and work opportunities elsewhere (David, Wayne, Sam, Chris).
As for the graduate students, Shabnam completed her masters degree at GU, and went on to another university to do her PhD. She had, in the meantime, got married and was planning to stay on in Canada. Parth completed his PhD, and he too got married, and was hoping to find work and settle down wherever the work took them. Peter was already looking for work during the study. Rojin, Michelle and Nimal had jobs awaiting them in their home country and were looking forward to going home. The students in the international masters cohort (Orange, Jota, Pris and Bowei) have already returned home, and are employed. Shunfu has not completed his PhD, and would make a decision on where he would find work, based on family needs and so on. During his interview, he did say that he was open to finding work at a university in the Asia-Pacific region. Dana was already based in her home country, commuting to GU, and would seek work related to her field. The other graduate students in the study (Belinda, Naomi, Sonali, Andrew) were staying on, and many were applying for landed immigrant status.

8.8 Was it worth it?

Was it worth it then, to be here at Good University? Except for Long and Chris who had some doubts as to whether it has been worthwhile, everyone else said they had made a ‘good decision’ to study at GU. For many the ‘good decision’ came with challenges and difficulties. On the one hand there is the feeling that there is “something lacking” (Parth), of a sense that the “image hasn’t come true” (Parth). This image was of an academic and social life imagined in a particular way. As Shabnam reflects, “You can say I have all things I want like study, good program, good professor, good university and so maybe I should be happy.”

Many of the graduate students spoke of their experience as having provided a chance to grow, and that they had gained in self knowledge and understanding. So how do we, and more importantly, how do the students, come to understand that in spite of this lack of something, of not being completely happy, that “[they] made a good decision to come” (Shabnam)? How should we understand these students’ experiences and perceptions in relation to
institutional initiatives to internationalize? How are the dynamics and issues regarding the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of globalization instantiated in their experiences?

With these questions, I will move to a discussion of these data.
Chapter 9:
Making Sense

The search is for theory which grows out of context-embedded data, not in a way that rejects a priori theory, but in a way that keeps preconceptions from distorting the logic of evidence.

(Lather, 1986a, p. 267)
The data in the previous two chapters were organized around the following themes: student decisions to go abroad and their selection of Canada and GU; the application procedures, arriving at and settling into GU; financial matters; learning experiences including second language issues; social lives; how they see themselves as well as their perceptions of how they are seen; and finally, their comments on the process of internationalization at the university.

In this chapter, I will organize those themes into four main sections for ease of discussion. These themes will be discussed in relation to literature on internationalization, and theoretical ideas on globalization, postcolonial thought, and identity outlined earlier in this dissertation. Discussion of undergraduate and graduate student experiences will be identified under each section, but not under separate sub-headings as in the data chapters. The first of these sections will focus on ‘getting’ an education in Canada, which will subsume the themes of leaving home, selecting Vancouver and GU, and arrival at the university. The second will be learning, and the third, social relations and identity. The fourth section will discuss matters concerning internationalization, including rationale and definitions. Having addressed aspects of Appadurai’s theory on scapes in relevant segments of the discussion, I will re-consider my proposal that internationalization of the university be conceptualized as an eduscape.

9.1 ‘Getting an education’ in Canada

Universities, considered to be inherently international by definition (see Chapter 3), are dealing with tensions of being oriented to both local and global needs and demands (Scott, 1998). Their engagement with recruiting, processing applications and registration of international students is made visible here through student eyes, illustrating the global dimension. The notion of higher education as being available beyond national borders is well established among the participants in this study. The data illustrate and confirm how the pursuit of higher education transnationally is predominantly operating through an economic dimension. The data enhance this analysis by illustrating the particularity of how this occurs. The movement of money (finanscape), people (ethnoscape) and ideas about education formed largely from media, including
web-based information (mediascape) influence the choices of students selecting higher education institutions. These data indicate that the concept of internationalization from the analytical perspective of the 'eduscape' is more complex and better linked to globalization than the prevalent definition of internationalization as an infusion of intercultural/international perspectives and content into all areas of the university.

9.1.1 Leaving home, choosing Canada

The wish to 'study abroad' illustrates how the discourse of Western universality and dominance is played out in the desires of students. Going abroad, for most students (undergraduate and graduate), realized family or personal goals for educational and professional development. There were a variety of reasons for students' choice of Canada as their destination. Studying in an English-speaking western country was a highly desired goal for higher education, especially among the undergraduate students. Overall, students reported a very positive reputation for Canada as a destination country for higher education. The students from China, in particular, had developed their opinions about Canada from TV, from media reports, and websites that provided information on rankings for countries and universities. Others found GU quite by chance, through the web. Web searches for ratings of universities appeared to be common practice among all of the students no matter what other factors influenced their decision-making process. The advice of friends and family who have travelled overseas was another strong influence on students' decision-making. Relatives living in the area offered homes that would provide stability and family settings. Word-of-mouth recommendations from friends also ranked high on the list of factors that resulted in students deciding to come to B.C., and applying to GU.

Although going abroad was the ultimate goal, this was easier for some students than others, confirming the geo-political climate and world order created by many of the Western countries especially after 9/11 and fears of terrorism. The global movement of people, ideas, and media, and the proliferation of IT communication and technology have had an impact on
students' perceptions on what education is for, and what kind of education is best. Many of the students in the present study, undergraduate and graduate, were part of the 'global demand' described in Chapter 2. The students were all aware of Canada’s reputation, as a “good place”, a “decent place”, “a very developed country” and that it has a multicultural society, which was part of its attraction. Some of Canada’s ‘fame’ in China comes from surprising quarters such as the hero status of Norman Bethune, and the celebrity status of Da Shan. Other aspects of Canada’s good image are supported by the media — the news, popular polls, UN rankings of liveable cities and so on — with confirmation from relatives and friends living in, or travelling to Canada. Recommendations from relatives and friends were influences that rated high in the undergraduate student narratives.

Studying abroad was associated with, and well connected to economic benefits — the prospect of good jobs, of higher paying jobs in the home country, and the ability to get jobs in many other countries because of a recognized Western university credential. A glimpse at the country of origin, adds to our knowledge about trends in flows of international students. Among the undergraduate students in this study, four out of 12 are from industrialized or newly industrializing countries (NICs) while the others are from a range of ‘developing’ countries. Of the graduate students, three are from leading economically advantaged Western countries who themselves are the leading host countries receiving international students. Except for one, who is from another advanced industrialized country (Japan), the other 16 come from lesser-advantaged countries (China, Iran, Mauritius, Mexico, Sri Lanka), less advantaged both from an economic and political perspective. These students are representative of the statistics and numbers regarding international student mobility, that “the large majority of the world’s foreign students are from the developing countries of the Third World” (Altbach, 1991, p. 305), and that East and South Asian countries lead the demand for study abroad (Savage, 2005).

Job marketability was cited by all of the undergraduate students as a worthwhile reason to embark on foreign study. The graduate students were very aware of the unequal power and economic differential between their countries.
and Canada, but some were very much caught up in fulfilling their dreams of studying in an advanced country. They felt responsible towards the home country, or home institution and this feeling was more prevalent among graduate students than the undergraduate students. Some had jobs to go back to, and their studies were part of their career development in their institutions, and some of the data confirmed Dei’s (1992) observation about less-advantaged countries legitimating study abroad by requiring international credentials for career advancement. Mobility, place of work and residence were unproblematic for the two students from the U.S. and student from the U.K. as they were able to move freely and appeared to have fewer constraints than others.

Getting a good job wasn’t the most important reason put forward by the graduate students. Many of them were drawn to professional growth, and doing so in a university that was recognized for its research and scholarship. The inadequacies of the home country environment, for one reason or another, were identified by other graduate students as well. Acquiring different forms of literacies, in particular, intercultural competency, were seen as important forms of professional and personal development.

9.1.2 Choosing Good University

The varied reasons provided by students on how they came to choose GU provided some insights into how students actually go about this task. The common perception is that students are for the most part recruited by the university. According to the last Knight (2000) survey, for example, much of the international program activity for many Canadian universities and colleges was focused on recruiting. In this study, only one student made a decision to come to GU as a result of recruiting. Other students were influenced by a variety of other factors such as friends, relatives and the prevailing ‘demand’, but rarely are these acknowledged by the university or the literature. Does the university recognize these as factors that influence students’ choice of Canada and GU? In other words, does the university carry out research on the returns gained from standard recruiting activities such as educational fairs, and how these strategies compare with other ways that students heard about GU?
The reputation of GU was an important consideration in how students made their selection. With the undergraduate students, ‘reputation’ was based more on the recommendation of friends and family, on what could be considered informal assessments of what constituted “a good university.” “Good” meant location in the multicultural and dynamic city of Vancouver, ratings on popular ranking websites, having family and friends close by for support, the recommendations of students already enrolled in programs there. Some of the science students were aware of the research and scholarly reputations in their particular fields of study. The graduate students were more concerned about scholarly bases for university reputation, and were able to negotiate directly with faculty members over availability of funding and the matching of research interests.

\[ \text{Fig. 35: "a desirable destination point"} \]

In summary, it was clear that Canada is well positioned as a desirable destination point for undergraduate and graduate students. Students have a role in maintaining western universality and dominance in what is considered ‘a good education’, while also being caught up in it. Western degrees and credentials are sought after. These trends reproduce the categories of advanced
and less advanced, developed and under-developed or developing country categories. The continuing dependence on Western universities and Western education further advances and entrenches the former colonial influences. On the other hand, the reality in many ‘developing countries’ is that opportunities for higher education are scarce, especially for graduate students. Undergraduate students are more concerned about the marketability of the credential they are seeking, while graduate students are more focused on advancing in their research, professional development and furthering their careers, some of which are already established. Applying globalization theory that was discussed in my framework, it is clear how GU’s participation in the internationalization process follows the economic dimension of globalization, such as the commodification of education.

9.1.3 Finances and economics

The increasing numbers of international students enrolling in Canadian universities (Savage, 2005), and the resulting economic benefits for both the province and the institutions, have encouraged institutions to be market oriented around international student recruitment, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. International undergraduate students pay differential fees, sometimes up to three times higher than what a domestic student pays. Although these fees are high enough to dissuade larger numbers of students from pursuing the ‘dream’ of western education, Canadian tuition prices, at least as reported by the participants in this study, appear to be less expensive than the U.S.A. or the U.K. All but one of the undergraduate students were self-financing, and their expenses were being paid by their families. International students are not eligible for most scholarships. Off-campus work was prohibited until recently. All these conditions, including dependence on family wealth, create limitations on who can study at GU (and indeed other Canadian universities). Seen from this perspective, the students who end up at GU belong to a small global elite who can afford the costs. The ‘elite’ label, however also masks difficulties and hardships undergone by families to support the students’ program of studies. At GU this label is applied to international students by domestic students.
The topic of tuition fees came up with all of the undergraduate students, who complained about differential fees. Some students had experienced three tuition increases in their time with the university, making it increasingly difficult to sustain their study abroad. As they pointed out, although domestic students suffered through the same tuition increases, the hardship for international students was exponentially higher. Questions raised by students show that they have grave concerns over the economics of international education. Addressing more specifically the case of undergraduate students, speculation has arisen whether the reasons for recruiting higher numbers of students relates to the revenue it generates — the ‘big business’ that Altbach (1991) refers to. The data from my study identify the need for research that investigates the economics of internationalization, as recommended by undergraduate students in this study. What are the economics related to international students? How is revenue (from international student fees) allocated and used in the university, and is the university dependent on these fees for general revenue in order to balance their budget? To what extent do international students sustain universities? This line of inquiry is of great significance, and should be taken up in future research into internationalization. These questions also bring in economic rationales for internationalization as playing a bigger role than admitted to by administrators and international education officers.

As for graduate students, their research brings recognition to GU, and even if they do return to their home countries, provide a strong and close research and collegial network of alumni for GU. As noted in Chapter I, Altbach (1991) reviewed how universities tend to benefit from international graduate students. The discussion with the international master’s cohort was an opportunity for them to warn against the dangers of market saturation and brand-name reputation. With large numbers of students from China getting overseas credentials, the students feared that the jobs available in China may be too few, resulting in disappointment for those who return to China with their ‘foreign degrees.’ Students show themselves to be ‘smart’ consumers, assessing the value and worth of the credential that they are acquiring after paying premium fees. They feared that the entrance requirements for the international
cohort was not rigorous enough and unfair on some. "If anyone can get in, what is the point?"

To summarize the discussion, differential fees resulted in access to GU being limited to wealthy families. The decisions of graduate students in the sciences to enroll at GU were dependent on scholarships and funding offered by individual faculty members or departments. All graduate students in the study relied on TA or RA positions to finance their studies, and although the ban on off-campus work had been lifted towards the end of the period of this study, work was not easy to find, creating a significant level of hardship on the students. From the university's perspective, the increase in targets for international graduate student enrolment will result in higher amounts of RA and scholarship moneys being needed by departments. More research is needed to examine the multiple layers of the economics of internationalization, its financescapes, and its impact on the university as well as on international students.

9.1.4 Preparation

Both undergraduate and graduate students spent much time, effort and energy on contacting the university, preparing applications, doing paperwork, and once accepted, making further arrangements such as visas, travel arrangements and finding accommodation. The undergraduate students mentioned fewer details than the graduate students in this study, and the fact that most of the undergraduate students were already in Canada when they applied to GU may account for that. The undergraduate students' search for a university and the application process did not appear to be as arduous as it was for graduate students. Many of the undergraduate students were enrolled at other Canadian institutions before they applied to and were accepted at GU.

The students whose first language is not English, spent considerable time strengthening their English before their entry to GU. Graduates students, in particular, spoke of the TOEFL English test that was an entrance requirement. I will discuss the matter of English proficiency in the section on 'Learning' below, (including TOEFL and other entrance tests) and would like to establish here that contrary to popular (perceptions?) about international students and their level of
preparedness, students took the matter of language proficiency seriously, and spent time and effort on this, to the best of their ability, before they started their programs at GU.

The impressions and reports about GU staff were generally very good, especially at this initial pre-arrival stage. Graduate students had more communication with staff in the departments they applied to, as well as with faculty members. They found faculty members to be friendly and warm, and generous with their offers of funding and Research Assistant positions. The application and acceptance process went smoothly. This experience of warmth, flexibility and welcome during the first contact with GU is important to note, as it confirmed for students that GU was indeed a good place to come to. The imaginary of GU created by friends, family members, other students studying at GU, web-site ratings and so on, was confirmed by contact with GU staff and faculty in these first communications prior to their arrival at GU.

9.1.5 Transitions

Students underwent different transition experiences, transitioning from B.C. high schools, ESL programs in a smaller university, community college classes, other universities in Canada, an international IB school outside of Canada, and direct from home countries. Undergraduate students benefited from being in other Canadian institutions and programs prior to their enrolment at GU. Some of them found their experiences at college or a smaller university to be more satisfying. This raised the dilemma for them of sacrificing personal satisfaction for a more prestigious or recognized credential. This demand for programs may create a complacency on the part of the university, which may not see a great responsibility in ensuring student satisfaction as students will put up with less, in order to get the credential.

English classes in Canada for undergraduate students helped with transitions into living and studying in Canada, but the difference between those programs and GU resulted in a less favourable first impression of GU. I will discuss the impact of these differences in the next section.
Transitions were further eased for students who stayed with friends and family. The role played by friends and family in the transition and adjustment process of students is a significant, and one that is not often acknowledged in the literature, or the university.

The great variety of prior experience makes it difficult to make any generalizations about student needs on their arrival at GU. General orientation worked for some undergraduate students, but not for others. For graduate students, transitions were difficult except for those who had prior experience in a Canadian university.

9.1.6 Arriving

The need to 'belong' somewhere, to be attached to a place is an important consideration for people on the move in the context of globalization, as discussed in Chapter 3. The participants in this study have all uprooted from one place, and experienced a sense of disembeddedness and deterritorialization to varying degrees. The students comments show that the feeling of disconnectedness (deterritorialization) is worsened by poor or no orientation activities at GU, a lack of information, and the absence of friendly people. Students who had attended other universities or programs noted GU student, staff and faculty support after their arrival as being minimal, inconsistent or absent. This is a contrast from the pre-arrival communications as mentioned earlier, and students struggled with the change in their connections with the university, resulting in alienation from the students’ perspective, and shows the dwindling interest in the students by the university after the students arrive on their campus.

In Chapter 3, I raised the issue of place, the diminishing importance of place as a result of globalization, and the paradoxical increased awareness of the significance of place, of the local, as a stabilizing or connecting factor (Edwards & Usher, 2000). As students move from the familiarity of home and place, they become dislocated at the beginning of their study abroad. Some of them experienced locating or connecting experiences (such as attachment to a new place, a memorable teacher) as helping them to counter and transcend alienating (dislocating) experiences at GU.
The theme of location/dislocation can also be used to understand the impact of friends and the lack of friends during that period of arrival. Understanding it from the perspective of 'figured worlds' some students were able to 'locate' themselves in their new environment by carrying over practices from familiar figured worlds. One such example was connecting with friends from high school, or other international students from the same country or ethnicity. Transition was the least problematic for the students who felt well prepared by family background and what we could describe as a 'cosmopolitan' upbringing. This raises the question as to what factors (such as a particular kind of prior life experience) would facilitate a successful international experience.

Connection to place, and 'mattering' to someone were two important themes to emerge from the graduate student experience, in both negative and positive ways. They served to either further dislocate, or locate the student in the new environment. For some students arrival on the campus and the time shortly after were alienating and disconnecting, just at the time when they were expecting and wishing to create a connection with their new 'place' of residence and learning. For some, the annoyances of the 'everyday little things' such as knowing how to register, select courses, understand technology and 'getting to know the system' were barriers to successful settling in.

Arrival and settling in were less challenging for the three graduate students who had studied in a Canadian university before and 'knew the ropes' so to speak. The graduate students from the U.K. and the U.S. appeared to have a less difficult orientation and settling in time than others. Personal attention from pro-tem advisors and department staff made a difference in making students feel welcome and helped them to make a strong connection with their program.

9.1.7 Summary
The process of deciding to study abroad, selecting country and university, preparing applications and leaving home were significant decisions for the students. The influences of finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes on creating an eduscape, in other words, the connections among the economic, cultural and political dimensions of globalization became visible through the students'
narratives. The co-existence of locating and dislocating practices were made visible through applying the idea of (dis)location to the data. Students were navigating different figured worlds. Some students were able to navigate their new figured worlds quite successfully as they used strategies from their repertoire to improvise in their new conditions. Others were not as successful as they had not developed new repertoires that would facilitate their movement into new communities of practice. As I will comment later in this chapter, students' identities were significantly affected in these times of transition and the first semesters of arrival.

9.2 Learning

Good University prides itself on "innovative teaching, research and community outreach" (GU website), and the discussion of the data on learning will examine the students' own learning expectations, goals and outcomes, as experienced and perceived by them.

9.2.1 Learning in English

This topic tended to be a significant one for students whose first language is not English. For undergraduate students, the constraints of learning in English affected course selection for some, the amount of time spent on reading and academic writing for many of them, and social relations for all of them. Although the expectations varied among the departments, the demands of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) were felt more acutely by graduate students.

As mentioned earlier, all of the students spent much time and energy on English classes before they enrolled at GU. Students believed that this preparation and the fact that they had passed the entrance requirement exams at GU were sufficient to see them through their program. For some students, the preparation was adequate for programs that did not require essay writing. For others, language barriers meant they could not enrol in courses that met their interest, but were forced to choose courses and programs that matched their linguistic skills.
In relation to language support, most students were not aware of English support classes or programs that were offered by the university although a compulsory course on writing and communication specially designed for Engineering students was useful and supported students' needs.

Overall, lack of facility with the language increased reading time, caused stress over writing assignments, and created anxiety about oral presentations in front of the class. Students had their own strategies for maintaining and improving their English skills. The most common one was asking friends to proof read and edit their papers, a choice that students were not always comfortable with as they did not like to inconvenience the same friends all the time.

Another problem faced by the students was following accents and intonation of Canadian and other forms of English. These difficulties would account for the silences that students mentioned had marked their classroom participation in the first semesters of their programs. Student silences in the classroom cannot be accounted for by simplistic explanations about 'cultural' difference alone.

Graduate students whose first language was not English focused a lot more on their lack of English, the problems of the TOEFL test, and the challenges they faced in the classroom. Students studied hard to pass the TOEFL test and passing the test gave them a kind of security that they had done what was required for language acquisition. There was also an expectation on the part of the university, faculty members specifically, that students were fluent in English and could function in their classes by passing the TOEFL test.

Learning English and learning in English is spoken of as the 'suffering' in their lives, as a 'headache', being 'like a deaf person' or a 'statue.' This suffering arose from their inability to participate in their classes in the way they wanted. Students were frustrated that they were being judged by the level of their English. "We are not stupid" was a common assertion among them.

The LCT Seminar had different impacts on each of the students who took the course. Some of them didn't find it useful because of time constraints, but
more importantly, because they didn't think it was useful to learn the English required for their studies. On the other hand, the seminar was the only 'place' of welcome, social connection, and 'fun' for others. It appears that the model of providing a syllabus geared to a variety of students satisfied some and left others frustrated. The recommendations offered by the students suggested multiple supports for the different needs: for eg, a writing centre for individualized attention, social contact with peers to improve communicative skills. One suggestion, to provide instructional support for faculty in how to deal with international student needs, was a refreshing counter to the status quo where the responsibility for improving and 'fixing the problem' falls on the student.

9.2.2 In the classroom

The data brought up the issue of how limitations in language imposed barriers on course selection. This raises the question of whether international students whose first language is not English have choice in their course selection if they are limited in what they can be successful in. Furthermore, students are not likely to find out until they enrol in a course, and then, it is often too late to withdraw.

Some students thought that English language limitations of students were the reason that science and business programs were very popular with international students. This phenomenon reinforces the stereotype such as, Asian students being good at numbers and science, and also the perception that they cannot be good at other subjects or programs.

Peer interactions in the classroom for undergraduate courses were problematic for some. They attributed the lack of friendly relations ("where people don't know you and don't care to know you") to a competitive environment. The assessment methods were intimidating and the students in this study expressed the opinion that it didn't encourage good learning, but selfish work habits.

One graduate student experienced patronising attitudes from peers in his program, but other Science students were able to navigate their peer
relationships quite well. Some students in Education were frustrated by a lack of collegial relations among their peers, while others commented on enjoying classroom interactions. The less-than-positive experiences were attributed by students to a ‘pressure’ to do well and a competitiveness in the classroom. These experiences show how peer attitudes and behaviours influence the access to communities of practice that students are striving for. They also show how difference creates divisive environments, with those students who were more visibly different having the greater challenge to be included in the informal classroom interactions.

9.2.3 Teaching and learning

The data on learning confirms the conclusions reached by the CBIE surveys, Andres, Lukacs & Pidgeon (2005) and Bond (2006) about what international students found effective and identified as not useful in the teaching methods and approaches used by instructors in their courses. There were no surprises here, and it serves to confirm what is generally known about teaching and learning in higher education.

Many of the undergraduate students had come to accept ‘boring lectures’ as normal. There were too many examples of professors reading out power point notes or lecture notes, reading out from textbooks, and making attendance at lecture redundant by not teaching or commenting outside lecture notes. There were examples of professors being inaccessible either time wise, or by their poor attitudes to students and their questions. To redeem this rather dim picture of university teaching, there were also some examples of teaching that facilitated learning and student success. Students appreciated interactive lectures, problem-based learning and real-life problems, humour, interesting stories, and so on. Students valued professors who challenged them to achieve high standards.

Students were well aware of the benefits of smaller class sizes, and offered opinions that the instruction at community colleges, university colleges and smaller university better met their learning needs. The difficulty in making connections with other students in their disciplines troubled many of the students, with the exception of four. For the others, the lack of social networks
and support, especially in the first months of study at GU, had negative implications for learning.

Learning environments for the graduate students were structured around the seminar. The graduate students in science however, described the teaching in their classes to be more in lecture format. They found the lecture to be a comfortable and non-threatening mode of entry into the learning environment of the university. Students acknowledged, however, that the lecture (i.e. having to sit passively listening to the professor) did not prepare them for the more rigorous debate and dialogue of a graduate seminar.

Using an analysis based on the community of practice, the successful acquisition of academic and linguistic skills is dependent on their access to the practices of their departments. Some students had access to those practices and were supported in their learning/academics. The Engineering department is depicted in these data as a good example of how the international students could be integrated successfully and supported to become academically successful. The department is small, “everyone is pretty close,” and the physical space itself promoted study and social groupings. More experienced students were available to help new students with queries, problems and so on related to course material. Maintaining a good GPA, however, was difficult and this meant that only a certain kind of student was able to be academically successful. There was a sense that one had to be a hard working and ‘smart’ in order to succeed. The high standards and the work-load drove students to work hard. Computing Science was similar in terms of the learning environment, help available and student support from faculty, although the numbers of students meant a larger department. Students mentioned special projects and teams that worked on projects, and that the approach developed strong team approaches to learning. Students were reported to fare extremely well in co-op work placements, showing how their learning environment prepared them well.

In contrast, other undergraduate departments did not appear to have such a close environment, except for perhaps the theatre program in the Fine Arts department. Other undergraduate students were isolated and had no ‘home’ department or program to become attached to like the Applied Sciences
departments or theatre school. These lack of supports became more visible through the data about course selection, absence of help from peers, and the search for social networks.

In spite of the more supportive conditions in the Applied Sciences departments, the responsibility of finding out, of making their way, to get to know the system still falls on the students themselves. 'Walking around with your eyes and ears wide open' seemed to be a common experience. Academic success then is dependent on students' ability to develop these skills of being constantly hyper-vigilant, about developing self-reliance, of knowing what to do and how to go about learning.

Becoming students of their particular discipline was of great significance for graduate students whose advancement in their program and studies depended on how successfully they acquired those skills. Some students were strategic in seeking office partners who could orient them and mentor them into the department. Other students, mostly outside of the sciences, were not so successful in their efforts and experienced isolation. This seriously impacted students' learning.

Attention paid to the socializing of graduate students resulted in more successful learning, confirming Hurtado et al. (1998) who noted that academically confident students surmount barriers in the way of their socialization. The data for three students illustrate poor socialization of graduate students into department culture (Hurtado et al. 1998). Faculty play an important role in the socialization process and in providing mentorship to graduate students. Some students provided glowing accounts of the efforts of their supervisors in providing academic support and other forms of support that helped students to become successful.

When faculty members put energy, time and attention into the supervision of their students, the students appreciated it deeply and reported a variety of successes. Overall, the quality of attention and mentoring offered to the graduate students by their supervisors and professors vary, but eventually, they are assured that their supervisory committees will oversee their progress
through their programs. This commitment kept the students connected to the program and their own studies. While quality of supervision is a concern for all graduate students, it is of special concern to international students who have higher levels of need for connection and support.

In practical terms, it became apparent that no assumptions can be made about the great variability of international learners and their needs. We need to become aware of the responsibilities and roles of all levels of the university, faculty, staff and other students, in the learning and socializing processes of the communities of practice in which international students seek to participate.

Although gender was not a specific focus in my investigation, these and the intersections of other markers of difference emerged to the fore in examining the varied aspects of student experience from the perspective of an anti-racist (anti-oppressive) framework. Some undergraduate students, especially those in Applied Sciences, were not aware of, nor did they understand issues relating to gender in their department. In spite of concerns expressed through reports and special events at GU geared to addressing the retention of female students in Applied Sciences, it appears that the issue had not been raised as a matter of concern - at least, not in the courses and programs that these students were registered in. Of the five female undergraduate students, there was a variety of experience reported about the affordances and barriers they experienced as female students. One felt respected and supported in her studies, and expressed her opinion that in general, she was out-performing male students in her courses. Others found it difficult to network and to find connections with other students in their disciplines, especially in extra-curricular activities. With the exception of the one student, other female students were less likely to initiate networking opportunities and seek connection with other students in their discipline. Male students on the other hand appeared to be very comfortable and at ease with initiating networking strategies. Among graduate students, some gained in confidence compared to the conditions of the classrooms in their home country where they were not respected as female students in their disciplines. Further research is needed on the factors that support and constrain female international students in their studies at GU.
I conclude this discussion on learning at GU by considering the internationalization of curriculum as perceived by the students. The undergraduate students had to think hard about whether their courses represented a comparative or internationalized curriculum. If this meant the inclusion of examples, perspectives or research from outside North America, the response was negative. In some cases an international approach was even discouraged. Some student discussions showed the dilemmas around internationalizing curriculum. On the one hand the students could not understand the specific local examples and cases (that is, Canadian or North American) referred to by the professors. But, they emphasized, international students were here to experience North American perspectives and education; this was international content for those coming from other places. What then constitutes internationalized curriculum? Is it dependent on who experiences it? Some of the questions and dilemmas arising from this relates to the limitations about theorizing internationalization of curriculum as the infusion or integration of intercultural/international content. For whom are we internationalizing the curriculum, and what kind of content should we include and why, and what does internationalization of curriculum then mean if not the adding on of international/intercultural content?

Graduate student experience of curriculum raised similar dilemmas about the notion of internationalizing curriculum. The science students explained that the curriculum in their discipline was international itself, and couldn't be further internationalized as such. One expressed the opinion that it was important to have international perspectives to signal that views other than North American ones were respected and valued. This was especially important for a university that was internationalizing. In Education too, students observed that there was little evidence of an internationalization of curriculum. Two exceptions were the M.Ed in ESL and the International M.Ed cohort. Students in these programs perceived that the program itself was international, and so the inclusion of international and intercultural perspectives outside of the North American canon was part of the program design. The students in those programs themselves
were international students and they were encouraged to bring their background and views into the classroom.

In arriving at what appeared to be a dead-end in terms of internationalization of curriculum, I then focused on the examples of successful learning among the students, and what made those situations successful. What was different about the approaches to curriculum and pedagogy in those cases? At both undergraduate and graduate level, the curriculum described by students could be best described as Aoki’s (1986/2005) ‘curriculum as plan’ and his examples of the View 1 and View 2 schools. In some instances, through inviting the student to participate in intricate and complex math problem solving, or engage in the ideas of sociology, or adapting the curriculum to their own context, curriculum was experienced as lived. This is Aoki’s curriculum/school as becoming. The progression of ‘in-dwelling’ between curriculum as plan, and curriculum as lived was the most developed in the M.Ed international program. This ‘in-dwelling’ could also be described in terms of Bhabha’s ‘Third Space’, an occupation of the interstices as well as the emergence of ‘something new’ as theorized by Wang (2006) and Aoki (2005), and curriculum as constantly in the making (Miller, 2006). I will comment further on the implications of this for practice, in the next chapter.

For the students, what appeared to be important was the opportunity to contribute to the discussions and have an experience of participating, of feeling included, valued and respected. This leads me to question whether it is indeed the curriculum that we should be addressing, or as Bond (2006) suggests, whether it is internationalized learning we should be concerned about. The latter signals the importance of pedagogical approaches and blurs the distinctions between curriculum and pedagogy, leading us to consider ways in which they are not separate but aspects of the learning process. Students appear to be developing an international competence in having to navigate and themselves dwell in the spaces between the North American (GU) curriculum-as-plan and their own curriculum-as-lived. In making those connections they are engaged in the process of ‘becoming’ internationalized. I will address the questions relating to internationalization itself later in this chapter (See 9.4).
9.3 Internationalized relations and identity

The discussion in this section relates to the various levels and kinds of relationships that the students form on the campus. From among these I have chosen to discuss their social lives, their perceptions of themselves and how others see them, and the important overarching relationship between the students and the university. As I have already shown in the discussion on ‘Learning’, students’ social lives are connected to the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their learning experiences. This section will discuss those connections in more detail.

9.3.1 Social relations among peers

When speaking about friends, the students almost always made reference to whether their friends and acquaintances were from the same cultural/ethnic background, other international students, or ‘Canadian’ meaning domestic students. These distinctions and divisions appeared to be important to them as a
sign of being successful in their social lives or not. Either way, it was clear that they came to GU with an idea of what their social life as an international student might be like. For some, it appeared that their expectations about making friends or becoming socialized, were not realized, and others found their way around the difficulties.

The participants mentioned that students on the campus formed social groups with those from the same ethnic, cultural or linguistic backgrounds. Some students were critical of it, others felt there was no choice, and some just accepted it as normal. The ability to make friends outside of one’s group seemed to depend on whether students were able to take a risk, to take initiative to reach out. Some indicated that making friends was about risk-taking and stepping out of their comfort zone. This strategy worked for four of the undergraduate students. The responsibility for making that first initiative lay with the international student, and students who felt constrained by language or personality were unable to do so.

Keeping to one’s own kind in friendship circles was something that students understood, even if they disagreed with the practice. Needing kinship, to belong somewhere, and to matter to others, students chose to create and have membership in friendship groups with similar background. The examples of some students confirms another finding in the Hurtado et al. (1998) study that showed students were more likely to initiate and participate in cross cultural friendships and connections if they had a successful experience of friendship and bonding in a same-background friendship group.

Difference was a key factor in dissuading the ‘mixing’ of cultural and ethnic friendships on the campus. Both appearance and language were barriers that prevented friendships across the local-international divide. Students who appeared ‘different’ keenly felt their difference as a reason for the difficulties they experienced in making friendships outside their cultural groups.

Numbers did not make the task of socializing at the graduate student level easier or more difficult. In some cases, as in Education which has the highest number of graduate students at GU, friendships and socializing worked better
than in other departments. Many of the students in Education found that joining activities in student association was an effective strategy for making friends, although the student in Biology found the opposite to be his experience. Some were disappointed that friendships made in class did not extend beyond the classroom. Some of the science students found their office mates and peers friendly, but did not have closer friendships with them. Again, it was different for the Biology student who found it difficult to find even superficial social connections in his department. There was no guarantee of friendships being made easier at the graduate student level.

Students who were seeking employment or career advancement in Canada or other western countries thought it was an advantage to have experience of cross cultural friendships and made an effort to seek them out. Students also sought native speaker alliances in order to improve their communicative (conversational) English. Those students who had partners and family members with them had less of a need for friendships outside of their family. Although it was difficult to support family and find the finances to make it work, the emotional (and social) stability in having them here gave students a feeling of being grounded.

It was clear that difference proved to be an enormous barrier to students' ability to make friends outside their ethnic groups, or outside of international student groups. Those who were able to transcend the difficulties associated with reaching out were those who were able to show conformity to dominant ways, or similarities with those in the host culture. You couldn't mix if you 'stood out' and students worked hard at becoming more invisible. During the discussion of the benefits and disadvantages of friendship groups, I wondered what was problematic about same-background friendship groups. Making friends was an important need for the students, and did it matter who those friends were? Why is it a problem, and who is it a problem for that students cluster in same-background groups? How does it pose dilemmas to the images students have of what their new identities will be and how their experiences would be beneficial to their futures?
9.3.2  Being seen and seeing themselves: Visibility and invisibility

From their accounts, the students were becoming different persons in terms of the social relations and learning opportunities that were possible for them. They gained enormous amounts of self-confidence and a sense of achievement in going through a rigorous process of preparation, test-taking and application. Contrast this with their first year after arriving at GU: an erosion of confidence for many of them, an intensification of the work required, isolation and an intense time of adjustment, and being away from familiar social and family networks of support. Their primary identification, what they wished to be known as, was as a math, physics or computing science student, a student of their discipline. Instead, they were often identified by staff, fellow students and faculty as ‘international students,’ and, for many, this label was associated with a feeling of deficiency. For some, this label is a visible marker, and for others it isn’t, and I discuss the data from the perspective of visibility and invisibility in relation to students’ self perceived notions of national, cultural or racial identities, and learner identities.

Students’ appearance marks them out as international students; so in other words, the label ‘international’ carries with it an association of looking racially different. The majority of the students in this study are Asian and look Asian (from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan), some are coloured (India, Bangladesh, Mauritius), others are Middle Eastern (Iran) and one is Latino (Mexico). One Iranian woman felt that she stood out, and could never disappear into the crowd or be like others because she wore a hijab. For many of these students, and the Iranian woman in particular, being international drew negative attention to national/cultural identities.

While physical or racial difference is the most important identity marker, another factor that made students ‘stand out’ was linguistic difference. (“when you open your mouth, they will know if you are an international student or immigrant.”) Reminders of deficiency were frequent as they were constantly positioned by their lack of facility in English in the classroom and outside. Although this experience varied among the students, some of the common themes were that they were limited in their choice of friends and in the time they
had available to make new friends (except for the few who found residence life a success), limited by their vocabulary and comfort level in English, limited in their active participation in seminars and presentations, often essentialized as non-speakers of English, and constrained in their social relations. There are limitations on the kinds of identities they believe they can inhabit.

Students are visible in ways they don’t wish to be seen, and are rendered invisible when they seek recognition and belonging. Those students who are not affected by the negative physical appearance happened to be those who were very fluent in English. I wondered about a connection between the two – that fluency in English may help to break down the barriers created by appearance or racial difference.

Some of the graduate students are “invisible international students” as they are white and *de facto* members of the dominant group on campus. The international label is not connected with these students’ national identity, or cultural identity, and hence they don’t think of themselves as international. These students found the label ‘international’ awkward especially when they tried to take part in special international events because they didn’t ‘look’ international.

There was a great deal of self awareness among the students about the notion of identity, self, and self-awareness. Most of the Education students had reflected on these topics in the courses they had taken. But even the students in Science had powerful insights about themselves and their growth. A pattern that I noticed was a tendency to blame themselves, or apologize for their reaction to some of the problems they encountered. This is because of the reinforcement of the view that difficulties encountered ‘must be’ the result of individual student problems relating to acculturation, or personality and so on.

From their accounts, the dominant view of international students as being deficient appears to be applied whether linguistic competence is perceived or not. The students in these instances were battling against negative connotations of the label ‘international’ and wished they could disappear from this scrutiny and judgment (“Take out the label ‘international student’”) and become a
‘normal’ student. This is in contrast to their first welcomes and interactions with GU, where students are afforded a ‘special status’ and led to believe that their new identities as international students will be positive, respected and welcomed. The contrast between who they think they are, and how they are treated creates dissonance in how they perceive themselves through their first semesters. Some resist by withdrawing, and others endure the sufferings silently.

Their identities as students/learners in their respective disciplines were shaped through the ways in which they were positioned. For example, some students’ linguistic identity affected their identities as learners. Students in science, and to an extent business programs were able to experience success. This theme was apparent among the graduate students as well. The graduate students in science were not as adversely affected and in fact, grew in their confidence as students of their discipline. These students with time, stood out less (as international students) and were able to become students of their discipline. This was an important accomplishment in their view.

As I listened to their stories, I started to form my own perceptions of and ideas about the students. One of the stronger impressions they left on me was a sense of their strength and resilience. Even when the students were talking of difficult circumstances and appeared to be vulnerable, and at times sad, they did not convey a sense of weakness, of victims. Their silence did not appear to come from voicelessness (lack of agency) but on the contrary, from choice. As some of them observed, they drew strength from ‘doing hard things’ and from other experiences and repertoires. Some discovered ‘psychological resources’ that helped them to cope. One student chose to volunteer at a seniors’ centre, and a municipal office in order to create the kinds of relationships and connections he wanted to have from Canadians. Others balanced out the poor classroom relationships by seeking social connections outside of the classroom. Many fell back on seeking and maintaining friendships within their cultural group, confirming the literature that friendships in similar-background groupings are identity strengthening. Three students who did not fit this profile, and had no difficulty forming friendships were those who had prior experience in cross-cultural and international settings, programs, or family environments, leading
me to speculate on how these kinds of experience are factors in the strengthening of diasporic or cosmopolitan identities. It also serves to confirm the views that the development of diasporan identities provide a strong base for and repertoire that leads to success in international engagement.

Another one of the ways in which I understand this growing confidence (agency) is the strategy of transformative resistance used by the students, which, as explained in Chapter 4, is not simple opposition to barriers or constraints. Resistance is developed in choosing a variety of strategies to deal with the situation ("better to be silent"); "I want to show my idea was right"; "I know so much more than Canadian students"). An example is the response to the LCT seminar. When some of the students felt it was not meeting their needs ("it was not useful for long"), they sought other ways of seeking the specific improvement they needed in their language. Even among students who did not express or display active strategies or improvisation, there was a sense among them that the very condition of occupying difficult spaces, the dissonances between their expectations and the reality brought about 'the something new'. Their self awareness and understanding was part of their becoming international, albeit in unexpected ways.

These strategies need to be examined in greater depth to see whether and how this resistance can disrupt the discourse of containment. Does this "come natural" as Shabnam indicates, and "no one can do anything about it" or is it possible to create change through, for example, pedagogical approaches that would facilitate agency. Whether they are stories of difficulty, or ease, we are able to see that the students are changing and growing, occupying a complex range of identities than are contained or associated within the static designation of 'international student' that they are labelled and identified by. Some students are not yet aware of the subtle shifts and changes that have taken place in themselves; others are self-aware of the changes they have gone through, and the resulting shifts in their identities.
9.3.3 Students and the institution

Students experience a shifting power dynamic with the institution. The students' first contact with the university is from the perspective of 'customers' selecting their university. They are treated well, courteously, and supported to arrive at GU. Then as they arrive on campus and over the course of their studies, they bump up against various rules and regulations regarding their learning, and some invisible barriers about course selection, language problems, poor teaching practices and so on. When they need support to navigate these unexpected challenges, there is none.

Students are recognized as bearers of culture who will contribute towards the internationalization of the campus. From this perspective, they are unknown and mysterious. On the other hand, they are malleable and knowable and there to be improved, resulting in ambivalence in the university’s regard of them. The students too develop an ambivalence towards the university: we are able to see both deference and resistance. Deference is expressed in how students excuse the behaviour of instructors, grading practices and poor relations ("it must be me"). Resistance can be seen in the 'every day acts' of the students who go about their studies, with 'eyes and ears wide open,' completely aware of the ways in which they are constrained, and finding their way to overcome their challenges. This ambivalence on the part of students and the institution, producing cracks in the discourse, in the authority of the institution.

The institution maintains ‘control’ or its authority through mimicry, that is, through students’ compliance with codes and rules, both written and hidden. Authority is maintained through students’ recognition that they will never be ‘quite the same.’ It also offered the international students the opportunity for mockery, as there is never any guarantee that learning the master’s ways will produce ‘the same.’ The goal of the university in bringing international students is to facilitate the internationalization of its campuses. The ultimate mockery or subversion of this goal is the internationalization of the students themselves, and I will discuss that in the final section of this chapter.

Students normalize disconnecting incidents and experiences. The causes of the problems themselves (poor website design, lack of information, dwindling
social and other contact etc) become invisible. Using the theoretical analysis of power discussed in Chapter 4, I argue that these unexpected barriers that the students come up against, the non-availability of information, the difficulty of locating sources of information, the dwindling contact, the inconsistent and long response rate from the International Office, are examples of how power manifests in rhizomatic trajectories. Institutional power is experienced as a series of unpredictable challenges, ‘inserting itself’ in unexpected ways into the student lives.

From figured worlds to global imaginaries, themes of the global and the particular emerge through images of the global, space, interstices and the in-between. The discussion confirmed how students navigated their various figured worlds developing and improvising strategies of survival and resistance. There were parallels among the theories used and the resulting analysis emphasized the effectiveness and suitability of third space, cultural creation and containment, difference and positioning. A key theme that emerged was the contrasts that students experienced between the imaginary of their expected learning and social community, and the reality they encountered. Most students were aware of the changes they were undergoing and this was an unexpected outcome. Students focused on their learning and studies, so they did not have to dwell on their disappointments regarding their social lives.

9.4 Internationalization

The goals of internationalization, as expressed in the literature, are to integrate intercultural and international dimensions into all areas of the university (research, teaching and service) to reflect the global conditions that such institutions are located. GU’s goals are similar. I will first consider students’ own views about whether internationalization was taking place. Following this exploration I will examine the data from the perspective of Homi Bhabha’s theory on cultural creation and containment. I will close this section by considering whether the idea of an eduscape is able to theorize internationalization.
9.4.1 Through student eyes

The participants in my study confirmed the premise that “their presence is undervalued, underappreciated, neglected and conceptually underdeveloped.” (Mestenhauser, 2002, p. 15). Asked what impact they might be having on others, the students reported surface interactions where, for example, misconceptions about communism in China, or women in Iran were corrected, or office mates learned a few words of Farsi. For the most part, the interactions served to correct perceptions about students’ backgrounds and home countries (“We are not backwards there. ... It’s hard for them to believe.”)

The students were very articulate in their views of internationalization, and were of the opinion that it should occur through the interaction of students. This was not, in their view, happening at GU. In some cases, students concluded that internationalization may be happening “very slowly” but only within a smaller circle of students that the international student herself came into contact with. There was a lack of mutuality and reciprocity that would make the university and the relationships within it, international.

A fairly common theme that emerges across the narratives is the absence of consistent interaction and socialization with domestic students. There is little of the mutuality and reciprocity that students came to expect from an internationalized experience. Without data from domestic students on their own perceptions of international students and their contribution to the university, it is difficult to make definitive conclusions about the results of internationalization. Certainly from the perspectives of these students, there are few opportunities presented to them to make that contribution: not in the classroom, not in regular interactions with fellow students, not with faculty members or staff. In fact, the culture of the campus (with little welcome from domestic students) encourages them to cluster in their own ‘international’ groupings, thus reproducing the stereotyping of international students as being exclusive, not mixing with others and drawing boundaries around themselves.

From these student experiences, it does not appear that they are contributing towards the goals of internationalization, nor providing evidence of an academic rationale. However, the data are pointing to the conclusion that it
was the international students themselves who were becoming internationally knowledgeable and interculturally competent. They have gone through application processes and endured protocols, selections and paperwork. They have moved to a new environment, dealt with challenges of housing, food and daily living. They have left established social networks and family and are learning to deal with new conditions, not often supportive of their needs. They struggle through difficulty and, while some recognize their strength, some say it is through learning to ‘ignore’ the ‘hard things’. They are meeting some of their goals, although differentially.

9.4.2 Creating or containing diversity?

The experience of the students illustrates the theories of cultural creation and containment advanced by Bhabha and discussed in Chapter 4 (Rutherford, 1990; Bhabha, 1994).

Increasing the presence of international students is one of the key elements in CU’s internationalization plan. University policy encourages the presence of international students and student recruitment targets set in 1998 were increased in 2003. There are repeated references in both policy documents and promotional material about the benefits of having international students at CU. For example, that it enriches the campus, and encourages cross-cultural exchange of knowledge and ideas. The flexibility, the invitation, the warmth even of their pre-arrival relations with university staff and faculty corresponds with this intention.

Students report seeing diversity on the campus such as dancing, special events, and different kinds of food. But in the final analysis, those events and experiences are isolated and are outside the learning experiences of classrooms, or of social life. It appears that ‘culture’ is expressed only through certain accepted ‘customs and festivals’ strategies characteristic of official multiculturalism.

After their arrival, the students disappear from sight. The message that the students received through their classroom and social interactions is that “no one is interested.” The data strongly suggest that diversity is not encouraged,
and that in order to be successful, students have to conform to dominant practices, cultural, linguistic and social. The unfriendliness of social spaces discourages newcomers from participating. International students are not treated as a resource, as bringing anything of value, or contributing to the learning and social spaces.

![Image of a sign that reads: The university requires engines to be shut off in this area.]

In spite of this general exclusion, it is the international students themselves who are becoming internationalized. They are learning to navigate different contexts, learn in a different language, ‘do hard things’ and are developing comparative/international perspectives on what they are learning, as
well about their life situations. They are developing networks outside of their home and connections that are moving them towards a cosmopolitan identity.

9.4.3 Internationalization as eduscape

The prevalent understanding of internationalization is that it is a process of integrating an intercultural and international dimension to all areas of the university. As we have seen from the earlier discussion in this chapter, the conscious creation of diversity, by increasing numbers and ensuring the presence of international students on the campus, is countered by the various ways in which that diversity is contained. In other words, the internationalization as presently understood, is not demonstrated.

It appears that the outcomes for internationalization ‘as planned’, as a process of integrating an intercultural and international dimension to the university, are not being realized. Yet, can we claim that internationalization is not happening? Looking at the data, it is clear that in spite of the containment of diversity, there is much going on although it is not being ‘officially’ identified as internationalization. Global flows and dimensions intersect in the university, diversity resulting from the local and global of the domestic populations colours its campuses, the economic, cultural, and political weave connections that make up the university’s learning and social relations.

I suggest that the concept of an ‘eduscape’ better expresses the complexity of internationalization in recognizing these other dimensions of internationalization that are presently invisible. For one, an eduscape can include the local and global in a more comprehensive way. The domestic diversity is thus included rather than excluded from the understanding of what ‘international’ is – a point emphasized by Brah (1996) in her discussion of diaspora space. The local, and the native is an important part of how the global is constituted. By seeing finanscapes we can see how money flows impact the university and the students. Ethnoscapes open up to the local and global movement of people. Mediascapes, technoscapes, and ideoscapes contribute to this melange of activity, recognizing the influences they have on students’
educational trajectories. The notion of an eduscape, I assert, has the conceptual complexity to theorize the process of internationalization.

Analyzing student narratives through the lens of an ‘eduscape’ reveals how the concept of ‘studying abroad’ represents a complex relationship among intersecting scapes: mediascapes (the construct of information and perceptions about studying abroad), ideoscapes (political and social ideas about the value of studying abroad), finanscapes (the value ascribed to a foreign degree, and the ways in which money flows and influences these decisions) and ethnoscapes (the role of mobile family members and friends who influence the students’ decisions to change geographic locations). While offering a fascinating opportunity to examine just how educational programs and delivery might be influenced by these “scapes” to constitute an ‘eduscape,’ it raises questions about the nature of educational programming in an international context. In educating to enhance intercultural and international skills and competences, what are we trying to accomplish? The facilitated access to our universities feeds a larger desire for acquiring intercultural and international knowledge and skills, mostly by outsiders.

Looking at internationalization as an ‘eduscape’ expands it from being simply an infusion of intercultural and international content into the learning, teaching, research and service areas of a university, to being an understanding of the multiplicity of connections and flows that begin long before the student sets foot on the campus and are operational outside of the so-called ‘learning, teaching, research and service’ areas of the university. Internationalization as ‘eduscape’ situates the university in a larger flow of internationalizing forces and elements rather than seeing it as a point where activity begins and ends. The data point to international students as having a much larger role in the internationalization process, as being already caught up in the process, and actively seeking an internationalized identity through study abroad.

9.4.4 Summary and conclusions

Internationalization of Good University is visible as numbers and statistics, references in key university documents, public relations material, the
website, and as the nameless but high prevalence of diversity on its campuses. It is not immediately apparent whether this diversity is local, or global. As the study proceeded, and the discussion of the data from the students unfolded a vital, dynamic and detailed vista appeared.

From being welcomed and valued during their first contact and communication with GU, students went from being visible to invisibility. Various frustrations and difficulties marked each aspect of their classroom and social interactions. Their learning proceeded, sometimes in expected ways, and other times along frustrating paths. Students come to expect the difficulty, the barriers and the challenges as a normal part of being foreign in a Canadian university. Being international is hard. And yet, students believe that becoming international was a worthwhile endeavour.

Was it worth it, then, to be in Canada at Good University? On the one hand, there was the feeling that there is something lacking (Parth), of a sense that the image of having a full and fulfilled life hasn’t come true (Parth). As Shabnam reflected: “You can say I have all things I want like study, good program, good professor, good university and so maybe I should be happy”. So how do we and, more importantly, how do the students themselves, come to understand that, in spite of this lack of something, of not being completely happy, “[they] made a good decision to come” (Shabnam)?

The key perhaps lies in something that was common among many of the students: a strong belief that, in spite of the difficulty (where these difficulties were expressed), the loneliness and isolation in particular, and the ‘dark days,’ the experience at GU was one of personal growth, change and increasing self-knowledge. GU, for all of them, is associated with opportunities that they never had, of a chance to grow professionally intellectually and personally, and this for them is the “goodness” they refer to. The difficulty, hardship, the ‘something lacking’, the ‘level of noise’ in their lives, the ‘dark days’ are all ‘normal’ personal hardship that no one can do anything about — something to be endured and overcome. These are the paradoxes they have come to accept as being associated with good decisions.
Chapter 10:
Re-Imagining Internationalization
of Higher Education

For most students, any relationship between mission statements and what actually happens in the classroom is likely accidental.

(Bond, 2003, p. 13)

Fig. 38: re-imagining
10.1 Returning to the question/s

The questions that I set out to explore in this study arose from my concerns about internationalization of higher education and its practices. I chose to investigate the issues through the stories of international students because their voices and experiences were absent in the research. I brought to this research a certain enthusiasm for advocacy around issues that mattered to international students. The outcomes of this study, I hoped, would influence practice, and assist me in advocating for institutional change that would address the needs of international students.

I started out by mapping past and current knowledge that was available to me through my prior investigations, scholarship on the subject, and my experience as an instructor and interested participant in international activities at the university. I provided some background about internationalization from the literature, and then laid out a detailed conceptual framework that provided the basis for analysis of the study that followed. To understand the context of internationalization of higher education, I explored theories and ideas connected to globalization. Postcolonial theory and anti-racist education addressed issues of power and relations of difference that would play out in the institution, among students, staff and faculty. Theories of identity, in particular, cultural, racial and national identity, hybridity, diasporan and cosmopolitan identities were reviewed in the next chapter, to provide a lens to understand the experiences and perceptions of students who were the focus of the study. This wide, integrated framework is complex and provides complicated nodes of intersection, and I made the case that such complexity is needed to both theorize and interpret the complex process of internationalization.

The next part of the dissertation (Part III) documented the study. First, I provided an explication of the methodology of this qualitative study, based on interviews, both individual and group. Next, I presented the data in themes that reflected students decisions about leaving home, selecting Canada and Good University, settling in and first semesters, learning, social lives, and their views on being an international student. I then interpreted the data using the framework that was theorized in Part II, organizing the discussion under four
broad themes: getting an education in Canada, learning, social lives and identities, and internationalization.

As I reflect on the contributions this dissertation might make, I return to the questions I posed for myself at the beginning of this study. Will the stories, anecdotes, opinions and view of the students who participated in this study make any difference to how we understand the process of internationalization? Will the university (and other universities) be able to use the knowledge and understanding generated by them to consider how internationalization can become a more participatory, mutual experience for all participants? Does this study provide insights into how the notion of an academic rationale might be re-imagined? In what ways will this study inform the design of learning environments and shape pedagogy at the university? How useful is it to re-Imagine internationalization of the university as an eduscape? It is possible to shift the approach to internationalization from a competitive model to a social transformation model? It is to these and other broad questions that I now return, as I provide some thoughts on implications for theory and practice and future research, and concluding reflections.

10.2 Becoming international: Implications for the university

This study was not meant to be a program evaluation or an assessment of university services and programs related to internationalization of the university. In the course of their interviews, however, students provided valuable insight into aspects of university programming and student services that the university would do well to pay attention to. The implications that I present here relate to recruiting, finances, and student services for international students.

If Canadian universities are participating in internationalization through a market model, they should be serious about following the business model more carefully, not only in matters of marketing and promotion, but also in ensuring ‘customer satisfaction.’ As noted in the discussion in Chapter 9, the recommendations of family and friends, some of these being students enrolled at GU already, rank high in the factors that influenced students’ choice of university. Given that “happy customers” improve the word-of-mouth
reputation, recruiting efforts may be better served by ensuring the satisfaction and retention of current international students who appear to be a key influence in recommending GU to new students. This would be in keeping with the goal of maintaining the overall prestige, status and reputation of the university in international rankings.

In the matter of using paid agents to recruit students for specific programs, the recommendations made by the M.Ed cohort recommends that agencies and/or agents do not represent the university well. As their motivation is personal profit they do not necessarily make a good match for either the students or the university. Universities must pay attention to what checks and balances need to be in place to maintain accuracy of information distributed to prospective students, the integrity of the selection procedures, and the effectiveness of transition and orientation processes.

One of the negative consequences of international student recruitment is the issue of 'brain-drain' from 'developing' countries. By recruiting the 'best and brightest', GU and Canada are participating in the continued depletion of resources (human resources in this instance) from other countries. How will the institution and the nation mitigate the damage of this phenomenon, especially with declining support for development aid in the higher education sector? This issue is gaining further prominence as Canada prepares a campaign to attract international students to continue working in Canada, and even immigrate here to off-set predicted short falls in professional cadres (Bond et al., 2007).

This study, as did others cited earlier, found that money and finances were a source of stress and great concern to all international students, and undergraduate students in particular. Those students who can afford to study here feel heavily burdened by the financial pressures. If the ideal of social transformation that appeared to be a priority at the time of Knight's (1999) stakeholder study is still alive, what commitments are GU and other universities willing to make in order to create more accessible and equitable international study?
As recommended by some of the undergraduate students, research on the economics of internationalization is overdue. By this, I mean studies that analyze the finanscapes of internationalization: the flows of money, what influences those flows, how the university absorbs and uses differential fees from international undergraduate students, and the connections between internationalization and the sustainability of the university. Students, especially the graduate students in the international cohort, would welcome greater transparency about differential fees, and explanations from the institution about reasons for differential fees. This approach would help to build trust between the institution and their ‘clients’, the students.

Overall, there were good reviews of the international staff who facilitated paper work and the admission process for both undergraduate and graduate students. Staff were reported as being friendly, warm, and very helpful. There was a gap in communication, however, after their arrival and during the settling in period. This is when students needed contact the most, and was part of the reason students ‘disappeared’ or became ‘invisible’. There must be a follow-up mechanism in place where the students are assured of meaningful connection with the university. In the case of graduate students, the department is the most logical place; the undergraduate students prove to be a bigger challenge as some do not have a ‘home’ department until well into their senior years. Applied Sciences is an exception and could provide a good model for other faculties. Another student recommendation was that there be a better coordination of services, and better distribution of information so that students are aware of what is available and how to access service.

In terms of language support the LCT Seminar was useful for some graduate students and not so much for others. What all students appreciated about it was its socializing role. This insight led me to reflect on the absence of such socializing events or activities in the university, and the lack of English language support for all students. In relation to the latter, many students expressed a wish for language support that was oriented towards the acquisition of the particular language requirements of the students’ disciplines. Again, the Engineering department offered a course in communications that was geared
specifically to the language and communication needs of Engineering. As for socializing (and locating) practices, the university must address the prevailing environment of unfriendly relations between domestic and international students, and the lack of inclusion, consideration of and thoughtfulness about the needs of international students. The lack of such supports is a serious lapse on the part of the university.

Except for some clear cases, the benefits of studying overseas appear to be accruing to individuals rather than to the professional communities of home countries. As discussed in Chapter 2, 'brain-drain' becomes problematic for developing and newly industrializing countries in particular, as they may be in the process of building capacities of their own educational and professional cadres (Dei, 1992; Altbach, 1991). By participating in this bid to attract the 'best and the brightest' from other countries, to what extent are Canadian institutions implicated in the brain drain problem, and what are their responsibilities in addressing it? Are they creating further neo-colonial dependencies? Educating international students establishes a global elite of professionals trained and educated in Western English-speaking countries. This raises the question of whether it serves to reproduce the hegemony of industrialized countries, in what Mok (2007) argues is a tendency to recolonize by promoting western or North American ideas and knowledges.

My own conclusion is that the university has become complacent in its practice and participation in internationalization, conveniently blinded perhaps by the rhetoric of extant research and celebratory writing about the topic. There must be stronger connections developed between the university and international students themselves so that internationalization itself can become more relational and embedded in inclusive, mutually satisfying practices.

10.3 Teaching in an internationalized university: Re-imagining curriculum and pedagogy

Globalization has created a new set of conditions on the campus, as discussed in this dissertation, and one that the learning-teaching at the university
needs to address, if learners are to be taught effectively, and supported to be successful. As Bhabha argues, "[A] new situation may demand... that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them" (Rutherford, 1990, p. 216).

The data from this study points to the need for complexity of approach, which is often avoided by practitioners and scholars in the internationalization field. This is no easy task, and requires attention to each discipline, a responsibility that is not attended to. While one can argue that tensions and inbetween spaces are a reality for most students as they struggle to find a relevance in the curriculum-as-plan, living in the interstices is a recognizable condition for international students enrolled in our universities.

As educators who find ourselves in the space between, in the ‘inter’ of the international, our task could be to first understand and acknowledge the tensionality of difference, and attend to those tensions as part of the curriculum-as-lived. As Pinar (writing about Aoki) observes, “This ‘third space’ within which we can dwell both incorporates and leads us to the world outside” (Pinar, 2005, p.5). There are parallels here with the ‘world’ and its local-global (within and outside) implications, and third space from which we negotiate the world. Hence, the role in curriculum in this regard is to provide an opportunity for the emergence of ‘something new’ if curriculum is about facilitating agency. This study has illustrated how the students are constantly negotiating these worlds, both imagined and real, between the materiality of their being in a ‘foreign place’ that professes to welcome diversity and the experience of having to contain and conform. Their survival, and success relates to whether and how they are able to live these tensions.

My discussion of possibilities for curriculum in Chapter 3 turned up some patterns of convergence, such as conceiving of the various connections and relationships in the internationalization process as an eduscape, and curriculum as third space, considered as both part of the condition of, and expressive of globalization. Miller makes an important contribution when she argues that “those now-unavoidable flows and mobilities point to a necessary conceptualization of a worldwide curriculum studies field as always in the making” (Miller, 2006, p. 34). Seeing more patterns of convergence here with
Aoki’s themes of ‘becoming’ I suggest that internationalizing curriculum itself is a task that is “always in the making”.

I am searching for a notion of curriculum that disrupts the simplistic conceptualization of internationalization of curriculum as a bridge between a worldwide curriculum studies field and internationalized curriculum. To practitioners in the university who are already pressured by external demands to ‘produce’, curriculum-as-plan appears to be much more attractive than a conversation that is defined by complexity, and a curriculum task that is always ‘becoming’. To this end, I am inclined to see the current definitions for internationalizing the curriculum as part of the problem. Definitions themselves provide barriers to shut down the creative aspect of curriculum, and hence recommend as a first step that we do away with definitions for internationalization of curriculum. We can understand the condition and our task through the idea of complicated conversation, and by being present in its unfolding. Gough (1999) believes that any advances to be made in the complexity of the condition and the task is “more likely to emerge from a state of disequilibrium rather than stability” (p. 82). I am also hopeful that internationalization carries within it, metaphorically and etymologically, the possibility for ‘inter’, if only we seek it.

10.4 Internationalization as ‘eduscape’: Hope for ‘becoming’

My theorizing of an eduscape for internationalization was an attempt to transcend the containment imposed by simplistic and superficial theorizing (or the lack of it) that marks Canadian literature on internationalization of higher education. The avoidance of acknowledging globalization and its influences led me to consider frameworks from that field to understand the context of internationalization and the resulting exploration has led me to see the complexity of internationalization. I believe the eduscape provides a strong basis from which to theorize the many dimensions of internationalization.

I suggest that current definitions for internationalization and international education may be part of the problem. They promote an add-on approach to internationalization, indicating that intercultural and international dimensions in
the curriculum, or service areas, or programming will ensure that the goals of internationalization will be met. Culture, in this approach, tends to be considered as bounded, objectified, and 'belonging' to fixed identities and ethnicities. The various manuals on internationalizing curriculum (discussed in Chapter 2) are a good example of how curriculum becomes product rather than process. Definitions are convenient as they provide legitimation for the rationales used by institutions who are engaged in internationalization. There has been no evidence of it serving practice, and in fact, has rather promoted confusion in the field.

The notion of internationalization as eduscape provides the complexity needed to theorize internationalization. It has provided this study with a useful framework to understand all of the dimensions of internationalization. I have grave doubts about its acceptance by practitioners on account of its heavy theoretical orientation and even, jargon. What it can offer, though, are ideas for how the concept can be used to create an awareness of the reality of the lived life of students. Internationalization of higher education is not an impersonal clinical set of procedures and policies but a dynamic process that engages the complex social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of globalization, and its impact on higher education. As this study illustrates, when operating without ethical bases and adequately theorized principles and practices, internationalization can lead to exclusion and harming of students. Recognizing the multiple dimensions of internationalization can lead educators and policy makers to avoid the harmful impact of the economic dimensions and move towards humane and ethical practices of internationalization.

10.5 Learning about research

How successful were my efforts, how much was it praxis-oriented, and was I satisfied with the results?

In terms of impact on policy makers and administrators, as I have not had the opportunity to present the results of the completed study I have no sense of whether and how it will be received. The participants in the study are enthusiastic about the study, and are hopeful that it will have an impact at some level in the university.
Reflecting back on Lather’s (1986a) concept of research as praxis, I believe I was able to facilitate between us a sense of mutuality and reciprocity in the research process. In terms of participatory methods, data analysis and interpretation in this case, the results were mixed. Having graduate students in Education was an experiment that was quite successful in terms of participant reflexivity. She felt listened to, and somewhat reassured that her views and opinions meant enough to a researcher to be included in such research. The task of consistent interpretation, however, could not be completed as I had envisioned for a variety of reasons, the main one being time constraints of the participants. With the undergraduate students, it was particularly difficult to explain the purposes and methods of qualitative research, and how the research proceeded. I realized that unless the research itself was developed around a participatory role for all participants, for example, action research, it would be very difficult to implement the kinds of mutuality and reciprocity that would mark this as a truly participatory method.

What this study was able to accomplish in some measure was Lather’s notion of empowerment. Reminding ourselves of Gubrium and Holstein’s argument that “interview participants are always already ‘empowered’ to engage artfully in a vast range of discursive practices” (p. 29), I prefer to think of empowerment as an awareness on the part of the researcher on power relations between researcher and researched. As well, the researcher has a responsibility to create the conditions or an environment that would promote among the participants, a greater reflexivity and a deeper understanding of their condition. I believe that the invitation to participate, as well as the environment of friendly conversation provided the conditions under which participants were able to reflect on their situation.

I was surprised by the extent to which participants enjoyed our conversations, and even reported being changed by the act of talking about the issues. I wondered how this practice of focussed conversations as well as sharing one another’s stories could be enacted on a wider basis, and whether the speaking of one’s perspective, as well as hearing another’s could have positive impacts outside of the function they played in the research task. I would say that
participants and researcher have emerged with greater self-awareness, self-understanding, and knowledge of the conditions that would advance the cause of international student well-being. This was an unexpected result of the research, and one that advanced this study towards Lather’s notion of research as praxis.

More significantly, this study has confirmed for me that research carries with it a responsibility to advocate for change. Students participated in this study from their wish to contribute to our understanding of the issues. My responsibility as an educator and researcher is to ensure that their contributions matter. I will conclude this dissertation by reflecting on how I see this responsibility.

10.6 Concluding thoughts: Practice and praxis

At the end of this particular journey, I am left with questions about practice and praxis. How have the stories of the international students created new understanding about internationalization of the university? What difference has this study made to my understanding of practice? Will the naming of ‘the world’ of internationalization at GU lead to an understanding of how to act upon that world to create positive change (Freire, 1970/2000)? What contributions will this study make towards that goal?

Looking at world-wide trends in internationalization of higher education referred to in Chapter 2, the market for international study is strong, and the demand for it, growing. The promise of huge revenues for institutions in receiving countries has led to increases in the ‘products’ on offer, a diversity of consumer choices, competition, and the wooing of customers. Internationalization of higher education is here to stay. And, in spite of great hardship, students are saying, some hesitantly, that it is worth the effort and the suffering. They end up with a valuable credential that will help them get better paid work; their working knowledge of the English language will position them to be internationally employable, as will their facility in intercultural competencies. If students are stoic about their challenges, willing to put up with
'hard' conditions for the promise of a valued credential, does that justify inaction on the part of the university?

Certainly, the track record on institutional response to student issues is not promising. In spite of national surveys documenting students' difficulties, their isolation, problems in learning, financial hardship and social issues, the same issues resurface in subsequent studies. In this regard, my study is not adding very much more information about the challenges and difficulties faced by international students than we already know. What this study does offer is a deeper analysis of the context, relationships and identities of students so that it opens up ideas and possibilities for better practice.

Re-imagining internationalization must include first, an interrogation of the market/competitive model of internationalization, which means naming the ways in which economic globalization infuses the processes and practices of internationalization. The students' experiences illustrated the many connections between globalization and the internationalization of the university so that their experience is linked to systemic and structural issues rather than being seen as individual difficulty. A recognition of the economic dimensions allows for resistance to and undermining of those impacts. Transformative action must begin with an education of university administrators, policy makers and educators of the issues that permeate internationalization, and most especially the lived experience of the international students who are invited to our campuses. Difficult questions about real accountability, that is, accountability for and to the international students themselves, must be raised. What is the university's commitment to inform their practice through research, and how will this research inform and transform internationalization? I am arguing that educators in this field must include advocacy on the issues to become part of their practice. Developing an understanding of internationalization through a comprehensive analysis of the process will support educators and scholars alike to discern and implement ethical practices. The desire for ethical practice comes out of a wish to avoid harm and promote well-being. In making a case for sound and deeper analysis and critique, I am suggesting that we are better able to equip
ourselves to identify those approaches that reflect the values of higher education rather than the market.

The road is long, and there is much work ahead.

Fig. 39: “inhabiting it differently”
References


Andres, L., Lukac, B. & Pidgeon, M. (2005). *What do first year international and domestic students have to say about their experiences at UBC?* Vancouver: Department of Educational Studies, UBC.


Knight, J. (1999). \textit{A time of turbulence and transformation for internationalization}. Ottawa: CBIE.


Appendices
Appendix 1: Interview Questions

These questions are illustrative of the type of open-ended group and individual interviews that were conducted with international students enrolled at "Good University."

- When did you come to Canada? (How long have you been here?) From where?
- Why did you choose to study overseas? (Why did you leave home? Why Canada?)
- How did you select "Good University"?
- What helped you to make your decision? Are there any documents or printed material (or website information) that helped you to make that decision?
- What department and program are you enrolled in?
- What courses are you taking at this time?
- Can you tell me something about your first days/semester at GU? Do you remember what it was like?
- How are your studies going?
- Are you enjoying any particular courses? Why? Can you give some examples of how this course is helping you make progress in your studies?
- Can you give some examples, from your experience, of good teaching? Why would you call this good teaching? What about bad teaching? Why was this a negative experience for you?
- What are you finding difficult in your study life? (course work, living here, language etc.) Can you give some examples of how this is preventing you from making progress in your studies?
- Tell me about your social life.
- Where do you live? In residence on campus, or off campus? Can you describe what that's like?
- Given all the challenges, did you think you made a good decision to come here? Why, or Why not?
Staff Questions

- When and why did you start working with International Students?
- What attracted you about the field?
- What are the aspects of this work that you find satisfying? Why?
- What is your position, and how often do you come in contact with international students?
- From your experience, and from talking to them, what sorts of issues are key concerns for students?
- What in your understanding are their needs?
- Are you aware of any research or reports made on retention?
- Why in your opinion do students drop out, or not return?
- What in your understanding are the important needs that these reports and research identify?
- Do you ask students about what might make their lives and studies easier or more successful?
- Do you have any observations about students that you would like to share?
- Do you have any recommendations or comments to make about learning/teaching issues for international students? About student services?
Appendix 2: Interview schedule

### Undergraduates — 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Group interview</th>
<th>Individual interview</th>
<th>Follow-up interview (group)</th>
<th>Follow-up meeting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamsul</td>
<td>Group 1 (2hrs)</td>
<td>Yes (1 hr)</td>
<td>Yes (30 mts)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>Yes (1 hr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>Group 2 (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td>Yes (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td>Yes (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td>Yes (30 mts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherry</td>
<td>Group 3 (2 hrs)</td>
<td>Yes (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1 hr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroki</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>Yes (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1 hr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Onion</td>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td>Yes (1.5 hrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (30 mts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay</td>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td>Yes (2 hrs)</td>
<td></td>
<td>by email</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefty Blue</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by email</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sushant</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krystal</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1 hr)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Graduate Students — 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Group interview</th>
<th>Individual interview</th>
<th>Follow-up — group</th>
<th>Follow-up meeting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Shabnam</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parth</td>
<td>Group 4</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upul</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rojin</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunfu</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonali</td>
<td>Group 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(email)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Group 5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi</td>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda</td>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle</td>
<td>Group 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes (email)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>(email)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowei</td>
<td>(joined undergrads Chris &amp; Long)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Group 7</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pris</td>
<td>Group 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jota</td>
<td>Group 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>email</td>
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</table>
## Appendix 3: Participants — an overview (Undergraduate students)

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Program emphasis</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Prior Canadian experience</th>
<th>English proficiency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamsul</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>None. Opportunities for Co-op placement</td>
<td>One year in Eastern university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>None. Opportunities for Co-op placement</td>
<td>4 years of B.C. high school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business &amp; Economics</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business &amp; Economics</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>9 mths in Language program</td>
<td>Non-native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherry</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Interactive Arts &amp; trns to Linguistics</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>4 years of B.C. high school</td>
<td>Non-native speaker - somewhat fluent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiroki</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>None - Direct to GU</td>
<td>Non-native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Onion</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2 yrs residency</td>
<td>Non-native speaker — Not fluent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Computing Science / Comm.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>3 mths in Tech College</td>
<td>Fluent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lefty Blue</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Fine Arts/Theatre</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>None - Direct to GU from IB in Norway</td>
<td>Fluent — Native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sushant</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1 yr in University College</td>
<td>Fluent—Bilingual. Spoken in home country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krystal</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2 semesters in ESL program — Canadian university; prep time at pre-university, Toronto</td>
<td>Non-native speaker.</td>
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## Participants — an overview (Graduate students)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Program emphasis</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Prior Canadian experience</th>
<th>English proficiency on arrival</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shabnam</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Math</td>
<td>RA and scholarship</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Low/Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Computing Science</td>
<td>Scholarship, TA and RA</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Fair/Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parth</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Scholarship, RA and TA</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upul</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>Scholarship, RA</td>
<td>2 yrs - MSc in Eastern Canada</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rojin</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None /TA</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Low/Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunfu</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>RA/TA</td>
<td>Masters program in Eastern Canada</td>
<td>Fair/Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonali</td>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Fluent/Good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None /TA</td>
<td>None/US resident</td>
<td>Native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None /TA</td>
<td>Masters program in Western Canada</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None /TM</td>
<td>None – U.K. university</td>
<td>Native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dana</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>None – US University</td>
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<td>Bowei</td>
<td>China</td>
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<td>1 yr in Eastern Canadian university</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>China</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>None</td>
<td>Fair</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pris</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>None</td>
<td>Fair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jota</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Fair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carlos</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Good</td>
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