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International Chinese and Canadian Students' Experiences of Internationalization at a Canadian University

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Graduate Program in Education
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy
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INTERNATIONAL CHINESE AND CANADIAN STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF
INTERNATIONALIZATION AT A CANADIAN UNIVERSITY

(Spine title: International Chinese and Canadian Students' Experiences)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

By

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Graduate Program in Education

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
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London, Ontario, Canada

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**International Chinese and Canadian Students' Experiences of
Internationalization at a Canadian University**

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Abstract

Internationalization, as a response to globalization, is one of the key drivers and shapers of the fundamental changes transforming the world of higher education. There is a need to understand internationalization within higher education from the vantage point of the domestic and international students who are currently being educated because their experiences testify to the provision of quality education. Using a Case Study approach this research explores ways that the internationalization of higher education impacts students' intercultural relations, identities, intercultural sensitivity, critical understandings, and notions of citizenship. A postcolonial perspective is used to explore how students perceive the influences of globalization. Contemporary ideological constructions of globalization are seen in historical and cultural contexts and not as naturalized and reified economic processes. Various themes were identified in international Chinese and domestic students' accounts of their experiences of internationalization at a Canadian university including: education and marketization, academic pressure and performance, language, intercultural connections and barriers, and cultural hybridity. Results indicated that students responded to internationalization in complex and contradictory ways. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) was used as a tool to demonstrate growth in students' intercultural sensitivity. The intercultural experiences students discussed in interviews were difficult to compare with the inventory results. The IDI did not, in the space of one academic year, capture the finer nuances and changes in students' intercultural growth and sensitivity. Students' intercultural sensitivity, as indicated by the IDI scores, did not necessarily progress or improve with increased intercultural contact and in some cases, it decreased.

Keywords: internationalization of higher education, international students, domestic students, student experiences, cultural identity, postcolonialism, hybridity, citizenship, intercultural learning, intercultural development inventory

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Chapter One

Introduction

As a result of globalization, profound cultural changes are affecting every facet of life around the world (Rizvi, 2000a), including the lives of students at tertiary institutions of learning. Rizvi (2000a) describes international students as the new global generation. Today an unprecedented number of international students study at Western universities and unprecedented numbers of Western academics teach abroad (Xu, 2008). Economies and societies in the twenty-first century are predicated on increasing diversity and complexity, corollaries of an ever more globally interconnected world (Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007). In the deeply interconnected world in which we live, the relations between centers of power and peripheries are being radically reconfigured, redefined and rearticulated, as clearly evidenced in the events and aftermath of 9/11 (McCarthy, 2008; Rizvi, 2004).

Many international students come to Canada, or the West, eager to integrate the international dimension into their education because they believe it will benefit them and make their futures more successful. Western higher education credentials are valued in a globalized knowledge economy and they are increasingly portrayed as the key to higher status and secure 'professional' employment (Doherty & Singh, 2005). Yet there is little research on students' understandings of how their experiences of studying across national borders is affecting their learning and transforming their lives. There is a need to understand internationalization within higher education from the vantage point of the domestic and international students who are currently being educated. This includes the ability to accommodate cross-border students in local university classrooms with a

broader understanding of student diversity and with the aims of 'Internationalization at Home' (Nilsson & Otten, 2003; Teekens, 2005). Since only 2.2% of the domestic Canadian university student population study abroad for credit (AUCC, 2007a), internationalizing Canadian campuses requires more than cross-border mobility for domestic students. Constructions of the international student, in much of the literature, involves mobility and study abroad (Turner & Robson, 2008), and the internationalization process in many universities focuses predominantly on growth in cross-border student flows (Humfrey, 1999; Robson & Turner 2007). International students in Canadian classrooms bring diversity to the classrooms and offer rich opportunities for intercultural interaction. 'Internationalization at Home', the development of intercultural learning for domestic students as well as international students, needs to be construed and imagined in ways that go beyond opportunities for study abroad or exchange programs that reach less than 3% of the student population.

In the twenty-first century, the work of education will be to stimulate the interpersonal sensibilities, cognitive abilities, and cultural sophistication of youth whose lives are engaged in local contexts yet suffused with broader transnational realities (Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007). Youth require an ability to reflect critically upon how their own local culture has influenced and positioned them before they can develop the intercultural sensitivities necessary to interact with diverse others coming from different local or global contexts. As a result of increased global interaction, the need to develop interculturally sensitive citizens who can engage in informed, ethical decision-making when confronted with problems that involve diverse perspectives, is an urgent educational priority (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Mansilla and Gardner (2007) argue

that young people need to understand dilemmas facing the planet to thrive in a globalized world. The question of how educators can facilitate critical reflection and informed ethical decision-making for their students, within their local and global contexts, is not an easy one. Students' development of critical reflection and intercultural awareness, and the shifting or changing of their identities that may occur as a result of their intercultural interactions or experiences, involves complex transformational processes which can be difficult to measure. Yet assessing the success of internationalization at Canadian universities predominately by the measure of growth in cross-border flows of students does not take into account the development of international or intercultural knowledge in graduates that universities are aiming to achieve (Knight, 2000).

Globalization and Internationalization

As the field of international education has matured, so has the recognition that it spans cultural, economic and interpersonal dimensions of global relations. Globalization has re-shaped the context in which higher education now occurs and profound global changes are integrating the world into one extensive system. Developments in information and communication technologies now involve knowledge production and exchange that defy traditional cultural and disciplinary boundaries. National institutions remain significant in the global environment but now they must become involved in global processes or face obsolescence (Rizvi, 2000b).

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. Rather it is manifesting itself differently and in new ways as the contexts of time and space change (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In this research *globalization* is described as “the cross-national flow of goods, production and technology” (Rhee & Sagaria, 2004, p. 78), and educational globalization is

construed as the cross national flow of knowledge, ideas and competencies (Rizvi, 2000a). Internationalization is a response to globalization and it is one of the key drivers and shapers of the fundamental changes transforming the world of higher education (Knight, 2008). For the purposes of this research I have adopted Knight's (2008) definition of *internationalization* because it can be applied to a broad range of contexts and it applies aptly and specifically to institutes of higher learning. Internationalization at institutional levels is defined as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education" (Knight, 2008, p. 6).

Four forms of *globalization*, including economic, political, cultural and environmental, are described by Held and McGrew (1999), Waters (1995), and Bottery (2000). Economic globalization describes the long term trend towards neo-liberal free market relations, driven by trade and imperialist ambitions. The end goal for this form of globalization is global free trade. In this form globalization is identified as an economic discourse which actively promulgates a market ideology (Yang, 2005). Political globalization is the drive to form political organizations that are above and beyond the nation state. In this form of globalization local issues are situated in relation to a global community. Cultural globalization is the most symbolic of the forms of globalization. This form of globalization addresses the influence of the media, and deterritorialized diversity. It includes the hybridization and pluralisation of cultures. Environmental globalization (Bottery, 2000) challenges the nation state in dealing with environmental crises (such as global warming). It also includes a symbolic understanding of the world's environmental unity. Regardless of the form globalization takes, it is important to discuss

globalization in ways that are open to resistance, contestation and difference. There is a need to look at globalization as an impetus for homogeneity and as a stimulus for the production of difference (Rezai-Rashti, 2004).

The term *international* conveys the sense of relationships between and among nations, cultures, or countries (Knight, 2004). Domestic Canadian and international students now have opportunities for contact with each other during their university years because internationalization is a focus of their universities and societies. The term internationalization has been used for many years but its popularity in the education sector has only soared since the early 1980's (Knight, 2008). In the early 1990's the idea was born of bringing many disparate international activities of universities under the umbrella term *internationalization* (Lemasson, 1999).

Internationalization does not operate in isolation from the forces of globalization. Internationalization of education can be understood as an expression of and response to the processes of globalization. The relationship between global context and educational goals is complex because what is seen as 'the context' is not self-evident and requires interpretation. For this reason there is little agreement on the ways in which globalization relates to educational policy and practices (Rizvi, 2007). Descriptions of global processes are highly contested, as are suggestions of how best to respond or react to them. Numerous global processes impact upon the internationalization of higher education, including conceptions of knowledge, economic exchange, cultural diversity, and the changing nature of work (Rizvi, 2004). Education also impacts on, and is implicated in, the processes of contemporary globalization (Rizvi, 2007).

There is a high level of consensus among Canadian institutions that to prepare graduates who are internationally and interculturally knowledgeable is the key rationale behind internationalization efforts (Knight, 2000). The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (2008) reports that about 95% of Canadian universities reference internationalization of teaching and research in their strategic plans, and report that Canadian universities are readily acknowledging that providing students with international and intercultural knowledge is now an integral part of their institutional agenda. Yet despite this impressive agreement, many faculty members are uncertain of what internationalization means as it relates to what happens in Canadian classrooms (Backhouse, 2005).

Although the cross flow of intercultural knowledge had been touted as one of the primary rationales for internationalization in higher education (Knight, 2000), few universities address the development of interculturally knowledgeable students as an outcome of internationalization, or specifically define the concept of intercultural knowledge or competence. This lack of specificity in defining intercultural competence is presumably caused by the difficulty in defining the specific components of this complex concept (Deardorff, 2006). Definitions of intercultural competence are criticised for being theoretically and empirically inconsistent, for not addressing the application of understanding to intergroup power relationships and social justice issues, and for not addressing the heterogeneity of cultural groups, or the individual's relationship to institutional or societal power (Landreman, 2003). Education faces new challenges in a world that is more globally connected, yet more unequal, asymmetrical and divided (Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007).

Research in higher education has traditionally veered between two approaches. In the macro approach theoretical frameworks position universities in their reflection of the configuration of socio-economic forces. In the micro approach, frameworks detach universities analytically from the macro socio-political context to study their inner workings (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005). This research is engaged with a micro approach, observing students' experiences of internationalization, and it also examines students' understandings of the macro forces that influence their intercultural learning and identity. Both micro and macro approaches are useful in attaining a more comprehensive account of students' intercultural learning and understandings.

Research Objectives and Questions

The purpose of the research is to explore international Chinese and domestic Canadian students' international and intercultural experiences at a Canadian university. Major themes explored include the impact of internationalization on international Chinese and Canadian students' intercultural relations, identities, critical understandings and awareness. The research questions are:

1. How do international Chinese and domestic Canadian students reflect upon their intercultural interactions and identities, and imagine their futures?
2. How are students' intercultural interactions and experiences related to their conceptions of citizenship, including their ideas of local and global civic responsibilities?
3. How do students learn and develop critical consciousness or an ability to reflect critically on their experiences?

4. How do international Chinese and domestic Canadian students' experiences prepare them to be internationally knowledgeable and interculturally sensitive?

In this study, domestic Canadian and international Chinese students at a large Canadian university were asked how their international or intercultural experiences were influencing and transforming their lives. The various stakeholders within higher education interpret the benefits and challenges of the internationalization of the university differently. Using a postcolonial framework, recognizing that the students are located within the position of often having the least power to affect changes in their educational environments, this research focuses on the implications of internationalization for students. In addition to being in a position of being least likely to affect policy changes to internationalization within the university, students are also some of the stakeholders who are most influenced by the changes of internationalization within the university. Thus it is crucial that students' responses to internationalization be heard. The experiences of students testify to the provision of quality international education (Gu, 2009). In their responses to internationalization, students describe what informs their intercultural learning and how their cross-cultural knowledge and experiences are influencing their learning, identities, understandings of citizenship and globalization, and future life choices.

Despite the fact that literature on the internationalization of education is growing, there are few rigorous enquiries that provide empirically grounded evidence that inform understandings of international, intercultural and global dimensions of higher education. The existing scarce supply of empirically grounded knowledge fails to give a nuanced account of how cross-border higher education is influencing the lives of individuals

(including domestic and international students) over time (Gu, 2009). This study explores the needs and intercultural experiences of both domestic Canadian and international Chinese students. It is investigating the ways in which internationalization at the university is impacting the experiences of both these groups of students, and particularly how students' international and intercultural knowledge can be enhanced. It explores how these students' intercultural experiences impact their learning and transform their lives.

My interest in intercultural learning and cultural identity is grounded in my experiences interacting across cultures in my youth, moving from a conservative Mennonite community to a more main stream culture. My experiences teaching in Canada, Japan and Korea, my experiences as a personal and intercultural counsellor, as well as my experiences as a manager of incoming and outgoing exchange programs at a Canadian university, bring me in frequent contact with students who are faced with the privileges and challenges of living between and among diverse cultures. I have a responsibility and a desire to foster and develop my own intercultural knowledge and to facilitate intercultural learning for the students with whom I work. I am disturbed by the unequal power relations witnessed between, among and within nations and societies and am committed to the pursuit of peace and fair distribution of goods, knowledge and power. Education is a means by which to pursue and facilitate greater understanding of equality, foster ethical decision- making, expose societal injustices, and critically examine what is understood to be the common good.

Theoretical Framework

Conceptions of postcolonialism and globalization.

Recent theorization of globalization frequently assumes it to be a self-evident

entity (Rizvi, 2007). This does not sufficiently allow for the task of historicizing globalization, or understanding the hegemonic role it can play by organizing a particular way of interpreting the world. There are over 5000 books in print, in various languages, on the subject of globalization, but among all these titles there is little written on the history of globalization (MacGillivray, 2006). Frequently globalization is reified and ascribed a range of universal characteristics. As a response to this, educational scholars have frequently taken the task of understanding its various forms and inferring its effects on education. A better way of theorizing the relationship between education and globalization, Rizvi argues, is to understand the salience of globalization in its historical and political contexts.

Rizvi's (2007) conceptions of postcolonialism and globalization in education is used as a framework for understanding how Canadian domestic and international Chinese students engage in intercultural learning within a Canadian university context. Students' responses to internationalization are analyzed to determine how their understandings of themselves and their identities shift or change as a result of their experiences at a Canadian university. Elements of postcolonialism that are of particular relevance to this study include the concept of the 'Other', and the fluidity, complexity and hybrid nature of identities.

A postcolonial perspective recognizes the false universalism of globalization and demonstrates how contemporary political, social, economic, and cultural practices are located within structures of power. There is a need to understand contemporary ideological constructions of globalization historically, not as naturalized and reified economic processes. Without an understanding of globalization as being historically

specific it will be impossible to recognize how it serves particular interests of powerful social forces, namely the transnational corporate and the financial elite (Rizvi, 2007). A postcolonial perspective explores the extent that the colonial is embedded in the postcolonial and is aware of contradictions. Postcolonialism challenges the ideology or metanarrative that progress is brought about by the adoption of a consumerist economic model (Hickling-Hudson, 2003).

Postcolonialism seeks to bring alternative knowledge into the power structures of the West as well as the non-West. In a broad sense it seeks to challenge the way people think and behave, with the aim of creating more just and equitable relations between different peoples (Young, 2003). Bhabha (1994) indicates that, “postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world order” (p. 245). Using a case study approach, I explore how domestic Canadian and international Chinese students perceive progress and how they adopt or challenge a metanarrative of progress that is related to a consumeristic economic model. I also explore how the Chinese ‘minority’ students perceive of themselves within the context of a Canadian education system. Contradictions inherent in their perceptions are also explored.

Postcolonialism is a general term for the “insurgent knowledges that come from the subaltern, the dispossessed” (Young, 2003, p. 20). The students in this study have varying levels of privilege. For example, some of the international Chinese students in this study may be more economically privileged than some of the Canadian students, but they lack some of the language proficiency or cultural capital or knowledge that the Canadian students possess as a result of having been educated in Canada during

elementary and secondary school. International education, in this study, is explored through the perspectives of the students; the view is from below.

In some ways using a post-colonial framework to explore these privileged students' experiences may seem to be a contradiction because in some ways these international Chinese students have chosen to identify with Western systems of meaning. Rhee and Sagaria (2004) indicate that when international students "voluntarily reconstitute their identities across national borders" engaging with Western political, economic and intellectual exchange as "consenting participants" this has the effect of neutralizing power differentials (p. 91). However, although the international students are choosing to experience the challenges of relocating for the sake of economic advantage, they still experience power differentials and language and cultural barriers at anglophone universities. This study will explore how the international Chinese students perceive they are reconstituting their identities and if and how they are experiencing power differences.

Some important foundational theorists who have been influential in my understanding of the influence of post-colonialism on the processes that affect internationalization in institutions of higher learning include Stuart Hall, Edward Said, and Paulo Friere. Hall's attention to difference, culture and identity has assisted me and researchers today to have a sharper focus on the lived realities of young people (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). Hall's (2000) critique of a notion of culture that is unitary, essentialist, and all encompassing is significant for my research as I make sense of the various lived experiences of the eight students included in this study. This understanding is particularly useful as I seek to avoid essentialist or unitary notions of Canadian or Chinese culture or identity.

Edward Said's postcolonial criticism is particularly concerned with discourse and representation in relation to the history of Western colonialism. In *Orientalism* (1978), Said sees discourse as a form of knowledge that exerts power, and Western discourse about the East as engendering the oppressor/oppressed relationship. A goal of postcolonial theory is the questioning of universal claims that cultural products can contain culturally transcendent and timeless ideas and values. When colonizing nations make universal claims, the colonized culture is seen as somehow "less than" the colonial power (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). In his essay, *the Politics of Knowledge*, Said (1991/2005) is critical of the "fantastic emphasis" placed upon a politics of national identity and sees this emphasis as the result of imperialistic experience. He says that the imperial expansion that took place across the world in the late eighteenth century accentuated the interactions between the identity of the French or English and that of the colonized native peoples.

At its core is the supremely stubborn thesis that everyone is principally and irreducibly a member of some race or category and that that race or category cannot ever be assimilated to or accepted by others – except as itself. Thus came into being such invented essences as the Oriental or Englishness, as Frenchness, Africanness, or American exceptionalism, as if each of those had a Platonic idea behind it that guaranteed it as pure and unchanging from the beginning to the end of time (Said, 1991/2005, p. 455).

Said argues that the modern world gives considerably greater attention to the construction of national identities than it was ever given in earlier historical periods "when the world was larger, more amorphous, less globalized" (Said, 1991/2005). When culture becomes

associated with the nation or state there is a differentiation of “us” from “them” which almost always brings along with it some degree of xenophobia (Said, 1993). Quoting from Fannon (1963), *The Wretched of the Earth*, Said (1991/2005) indicates that while nationalism is necessary to spur revolt against the colonizer, national consciousness must be transformed into social consciousness after the withdrawal of the colonizer has been accomplished.

Ninnes and Hellsten (2005) argue that today the notion of the discrete nation state, able to be studied and compared with other nation states, becomes less meaningful as nation states become more integrated culturally, politically, socially and economically. Yet poverty and unequal power relations can be maintained through the flow of students across borders. Today many international students are economically privileged. Many will return to their home countries after their study to become part of the intellectual, political or economic elite or they willingly engage in global capitalism. Rhee and Sagaria (2004) in their study of constructions of imperialism within the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, found that “some international students voluntarily reconstitute their identities across national borders to actively engage in, and enrich, global capitalism. Thus, they are consenting participants who subscribe to global capitalism” (p. 91).

This study observes where the participants position themselves within the circuits of globalization or world power. How much emphasis do they place on national or ethnic identity, and how do they position themselves in relation to positions of power? Do they see their identity as pure and unchanging or do they recognize the ways in which interacting across culture influences their world view? I also observe if students’ lived experiences of “internationalization”, within their university contexts, include concepts of

power, equity, and social and critical consciousness. Education is an increasingly contested domain as the processes of global destructuring and restructuring continue to empower and disempower a range of education stakeholders. These changes have produced uncertainty at the micro level, in the everyday practices of systems, institutions, academics and learners (Ninnes & Hellsten, 2005). This study is particularly interested in the uncertainties and practices of internationalization as they impact on its learners; the practices of internationalization will be observed through the lenses or perspectives of the eight selected students and me as the researcher.

Intercultural education is described, by some, as an educational movement that emphasizes social justice, equity, and the understanding of diversity in democratic societies. At its best, it is engaged and participatory, providing conceptual tools for understanding and responsive interaction (Lasonen, 2005). Interculturalism is based on principles of equity and respect at the national and institutional levels (Jiang, 2006). Landreman, Rasmussen, King and Jiang (2007) used concepts from critical theory to create a model for the development of critical consciousness. They note that researchers interested in college or university students' attitudes and behaviours regarding intercultural issues have begun to explore how students from dominant group identities develop positive attitudes towards diversity and learn to interrupt oppression. The authors link concepts of intercultural understanding with social justice and use Paulo Freire's (1970) term *conscientizacao*, translated from Spanish to mean "critical consciousness", to describe the process of developing knowledge for social justice leading to action.

Freire (1973) believed that human beings live "in" the world and "with" the world and therefore could be active participants in making history. By raising critical

consciousness (“conscientization”) and encouraging critical reflection, one could engage with others in the unending process of emancipation (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). For Freire (1973) a critically conscious person is aware of: (a) the historical, political and social implication of a situation (the context); (b) her or his own social location in the context; (c) the intersectionality of multiple identities (e.g., race, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation and gender); and (d) the inherent tensions that exist between a vision of social justice and current societal conditions. If people became critical, progress could be made toward dismantling systems of oppression (Landreman, Rasmussen, King, & Jiang, 2007).

Critical thinking and internationalization within a university context.

All students benefit from understanding how they are positioned in society and critically countering these positions when they are unfair and socially unjust. To do this, they need to become conscious of their positioning relative to others and to think critically about their locations in their local and global environments (Allen & Rossatto, 2009). Rizvi (2000) applies principles of critical thinking or critical consciousness in his application of internationalization to the university curriculum and student learning.

Since we are confronting a fast-changing knowledge economy, students need to develop questioning skills so that they are able to identify the sources of knowledge, assess claims of its validity and legitimacy, examine its local relevance and significance, determine its uses and applications and speculate about how it might be challenged and refuted. The ability to think reflectively and critically about knowledge creation and use requires a form of global imagination;

the capacity to determine how knowledge is globally linked, no matter how locally specific its uses (pp. 4-5).

Rizvi (2000) emphasizes students' needs to critically examine the information they receive and learn how to apply it to both their local context and to a more international or global context. Students need to expand their thinking beyond prevailing views of multiculturalism that emphasize the need to respect other cultures but often do not adequately address the political complexities of difference. Multiculturalism, says Rizvi (2005d) can celebrate "empty universalisms" that inhibit the examination of broader social relations. This can, in turn, produce silences that disengage students from their global imagination, and the ability to apply their knowledge in a creative and useful manner. Oppression and power differences that exist within intercultural relationships need to be acknowledged so all students can remain engaged in productive learning. Students bring their past experiences, which have formed their identities, to their learning environments. The better students understand the local and global contexts which form their identities, the better able they are to critically engage with their learning and with others.

Conceptualizations of cultural identity.

Cultural identities are not static or nation-bound. They are created in deterritorialized spaces and characterize cosmopolitan futures (Rizvi, 2005a). We all speak from a particular place, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being constrained by that position (Hall, 1996). Cultural identity is not a fixed essence that lies outside history and culture. Nor is it a fixed origin that is final or absolute in nature, and to which one can return. Cultural identities are "always construed through

memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture” (Hall, 1990, p. 226).

Rizvi (2005c) indicates that communities are increasingly defining their identities against the forces of globalization, and that under global conditions cultural distinctiveness increasingly risks being eroded by homogenized mass culture. Never before in human history have issues of intercultural relations been as important in political and cultural debates as they are today. University students, along with staff and faculty, benefit from developing forms of self-reflexivity about how identities are historically constituted but socially dynamic, and how university practices reflect particular relations to power (Rizvi, 2005c).

The concept of ‘culture’ cannot be used theoretically the way it used to be (Doherty & Singh, 2005), that is, as an independent, inert, ‘given’ variable. It is through ongoing struggle that cultures are constituted. Contact zones, such as a university site where different cultures come together, are sites of cultural struggle where the “making and remaking of identities” takes place (Clifford, 1997, p. 7). “A crucial tactic in these cultural struggles is the attempt by dominant groups to sanitize places of the historical legacy of unequal power relations. Acts of purification or sanitization in contact zones, that is, attempts to construct pristine accounts of Western learning styles and pedagogy violently deny and repress the history of Western-Asian cultural entanglement” (Doherty & Singh, 2005, p. 55). As international students in Australia constitute 21% of the total student enrollment of Australian universities, Doherty and Singh argue that in simulating

Western pedagogy in curriculum, teachers invoke a past that is increasingly illusory and elusive.

Few of the values espoused in international education are exclusively internationalist in ethos or universally held and thus the term international may be misleading. As well, the implicit equation of nationality with culture can be problematic. Frequently many cultures exist within a nation and it is possible to experience “culture shock” within the same nation, such as when visiting a different family, workplace or church, ostensibly in the same culture (James, 2005). Student conceptualizations of identity and the acceptance/acknowledgement or resistance to the development of hybrid identities are explored in this research.

Hybrid identities.

All culture is hybrid (in Homi Bhabha’s complex sense of that word) and encumbered, or entangled and overlapping with what used to be regarded as extraneous elements (Said, 1993).

Hybridity, Bhabha indicates, comes from the understanding of the genealogy of difference and the idea of translation (Bhabha, 1990). The social articulation of difference “is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 3). Cultural translation is both representation and reproduction and it denies the essentialism of a prior given original culture. All forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. Hybridity is, for Bhabha, a ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge. “This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom”

(Bhabha, 1990, p. 211). What is understood as the 'national population' is constructed from a range of varying interests, cultural histories, postcolonial lineages, and sexual orientations. Because the whole nature of the public sphere is changing, Bhabha indicates in his interview with Rutherford, "We really do need the notion of a politics which is based on unequal, uneven, multiple and *potentially antagonistic*, political identities" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 208). It is very difficult he says, even impossible and counterproductive, to try to fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily coexist. The assumption that at some level all forms of cultural diversity may be understood on the basis of a particular universal concept such as 'human being', 'class', or 'race', "can be both dangerous and very limiting in trying to understand the ways in which cultural practices construct their own systems of meaning and social organization"(p. 209). Bhabha introduces cultural translation, suggesting that all forms of culture are in some way related to each other because of the signifying nature of culture or its symbolic activity.

Hybridity is a risky notion because it is not a unitary concept or single idea but rather an association of ideas, concepts and themes that can reinforce and contradict each other at the same time (Kraidy, 2005). It is therefore imperative, says Kraidy, that each person or situation be situated in the specific context where the conditions that shape hybridity can be addressed (Kraidy, 2005). The international Chinese students in this research are situated in a specific context. They are living their lives at the borders or in the in-between places, and thus are situated in a place where hybrid identities are often readily formed. "A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which *something begins its presencing*" (Martin

Heidegger, “Building, dwelling, thinking”, as cited in Bhabha, 1994, p. 1). The international Chinese students have geographically crossed their national border for the first time and are living as ‘minority’ students in Western context. They have stepped outside of the boundaries of the familiar in their lives and have a fresh opportunity to create and envision themselves within a new context. Postcolonial theorists recognize that people on the peripheries are not passive recipients of ideas but are also active players. Local actors seek out dominant ideas but they also resist them and blend outside ideas with local practices (Anderson-Levitt, 2008). In studying in Canada, and living in a different society, the international Chinese students are learning to be present in a new way; they are crossing a boundary and “beginning their presencing.”

There is a crucial need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and instead to focus on moments that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. “These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.” (Bhabha, 1994, p.2). It is, indicates Bhabha, in the emergence of the interstices, “in the overlap and the displacement of domains of difference” (p. 2), that experiences of nationness or cultural value are negotiated.

Cultures are not well-bounded wholes but are complex and flexible. They do not stay stable but change with time. The way history can be radically reconfigured and re-narrated is well described in the following quote:

The cultural porosity precipitated by the movement of people, economic and symbolic capital, and the proliferation, amplification, and circulation of images

across the globe has deeply unsettled ethnic enclaves, even the dominant Eurocentric preserves. This is the moment in which we live – a historic moment of radical reconfiguration and re-narration of the relations between centres of power and their peripheries (McCarthy, Crichlow, Dimitriadis, & Dolby, 2005, p. xvi).

Contemporary forms of mobility also bring transnational cultures; social networks that are not wholly based in any single territory. Here there is an opportunity to become cosmopolitan (Hannerez, 1990; Rizvi, 2005a).

The global movement of people raises complex issues about identity for those who go abroad and for those who remain behind (Rizvi, 2000a). Identities are never completed, never finished; identity is always in the process of formation (Hall, 1991). This is especially relevant for students who are moving across cultures. Students have some awareness of the culture of the other even before they study abroad. The notion that identity can be told as two histories, one here and one over there, never having any contact with the other is no longer tenable in an increasingly globalized world (Hall, 1991). Diasporic communities have always existed but the flow of students in search of an international education is new and distinctive. Many of these students are privileged elites for whom international education has a pivotal role in the formation of their identities. These privileged students will likely occupy powerful positions when they return home and will have considerable influence on policy and politics. Many of these students will learn how to be comfortable in more than one cultural site and will look at the world as dynamic and multicultural. Through contact with people who are socially and historically categorized as “Other,” collective cultural identities are made and re-

made. “The Otherness of the international student is socially constructed in relation to the category of Western student” (Doherty & Singh, p. 53). Students develop a range of “cosmopolitan sensibilities” and recognize multiple defining points (Rizvi, 2005b).

The representation of difference cannot be read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits “set in the fixed tablet of tradition” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 3). The social articulation of difference “is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 3). The lives of those “in the minority” are influenced by the power of tradition, yet they are “reinscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness” that attend upon their lives. The borderline engagements of cultural difference, whether they are consensual or conflictual, confound definitions of tradition and modernity, realign customary boundaries and challenge normative expectations of development and progress (Bhabha, 1994). Given the complexities of the lives of students, engaged at the borderline of cultural difference, dwelling at the “in-between” spaces, how are we to understand the development of intercultural knowledge and intercultural learning? How do students negotiate their own identities so they can navigate through their world and align themselves with both their global and the local communities? International students dwell at the borderline of cultural difference, negotiating and redefining their historical or traditional past with their present experiences. Do the interactions domestic Canadian students engage in with international students also take them to the borderline of cultural difference; do these interactions take them to the interstices, to “the overlap and displacement of domains of difference”? (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2)

Summary

In this study I observe the ways in which students are critically aware of their international and intercultural contexts, including their privileges, as well as the inequalities and tensions that are inherent in their lives as students of higher learning. Using a postcolonial framework that challenges the ideology that progress necessarily results from globalization and the adoption of a consumerist economic model, I critically reflect on the paradoxes inherent within students' experiences of internationalization at their university. In the interviews and reflections of the eight participants in my study I observe how the students think reflectively or critically, and how their critical consciousness, or in Rizvi's (2000a) terms, global imagination, is developed through their intercultural interactions and experiences. As students think reflectively, critically and imaginatively about their local and global environments, as they negotiate the "in-between spaces", how do their identities remain constant, or shift, change and become more hybrid? Consistencies and contradictions in identity that occur in response to internationalization or intercultural experiences are explored.

Chapter Two

Overview of International Education in Canada and China

Internationalization of Higher Education in Canada

The following information provides a context of the environment in which this study takes place. The numbers of international students studying in Canada is increasing. These students are considered to be Canada's future commercial, research and diplomatic partners (AUCC, 2005). In 2006 there were approximately 70 000 full time and 13 000 part time international visa students studying in Canada. There were 196 227 international students residing in Canada as of December 1, 2009 (CIC, 2010). China had the largest number of international students studying in Canada. There were 42 154 Chinese international students studying in Canada in 2008¹ (CIC, 2009). Visa student enrolment in Canada has fluctuated over the last 30 years but has almost tripled in the last decade. Visa students represent almost 20% of full-time students at the graduate level and approximately 7% of full-time undergraduate students (AUCC, 2007c). The most popular fields of study for international students are: business, management and public administration, social and behavioural sciences and law, and architecture, engineering and related technologies (AUCC, 2005).

There are more international students studying in Canada than there are domestic students studying outside of Canada. The number of full-time Canadian students studying abroad for credit represents about 2.2% of the domestic university student population (AUCC, 2007a). According to UNESCO's Global Education Digest 2006, the top five international destinations for Canadians studying at the post-secondary level in the 2003-

¹ The next largest source country for international students studying in Canada was Korea with 27 440 students followed by the United States with 11 317 students (CIC, 2009).

04 year were the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, France and Germany. These five countries accounted for 37 000 of the 39 000 Canadian students studying abroad (AUCC, 2007a).

The world-wide demand for international education remains high and continues to grow. The Global Student Mobility 2025 Report predicts that the demand for international education will increase from 1.8 million international students in 2000 to 7.2 million international students in 2025 (Knight, 2005). The financial incentives for international education are also high. International students contribute more than 6.5 billion a year to Canada's economy (Birchard, 2009).

International students are also immigrating to Canada after graduation. Many regions of the world are experiencing massive population movements because of globalization. Approximately 185 million people worldwide live outside their countries of birth (He, Phillion, Chan, & Xu, 2008). Statistics Canada reports that at the turn of the 21st century, two in five Canadians aged 15 years or older were either immigrants themselves or were the children of immigrants. Immigration is increasingly seen as a main driver of population growth. The growth in Canada's population between 1996 and 2001 attributed to recent immigrants who arrived during the period was 87%. Net migration could be the sole source of population growth in Canada in the next few decades (Michalowski & Tran, 2008). In China inclusion in the global economy has led to one of the largest migratory chains in human history. Over 150 million Chinese are now migrants. Many Chinese are migrating from rural to urban areas within China but others are migrating to other nations (Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007). Although international students are not necessarily intending to immigrate to Canada, immigration

policies such as the three year post graduate work permit and the Provincial Nominee Program make it easier for international university graduates to find work and immigrate to Canada (CIC, 2008).

With the current fiscal crisis, some are arguing that Canadian universities could benefit financially if they boost efforts to recruit international students (Trakman, 2009). Trakman believes that the global financial crisis has trammelled the university sector and exposed universities as “businesses” that sell education and research at a loss and expect to make up the difference from government support, charity or endowments. Canadian universities, he argues, are better positioned than universities in many other countries to take advantage of the international export in postsecondary education because they offer a high quality of education at affordable prices. In 2010, Ontario’s premier Dalton McGuinty announced that he hoped to gain economic recovery in Ontario by turning education into an export industry and by boosting enrolment of international students by 50% over five years. The five year plan began with funding for 20 000 new postsecondary spaces in 2010, many going to international students (Church, 2010).

In addition to the world fiscal crisis, another factor that may have an impact on Canadian higher education is the Bologna process. The Bologna process is an intergovernmental initiative with the goal of creating a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010. The aim of the EHAE is to promote a European system of higher learning worldwide. It is based on cooperation between ministries, higher education institutes, students and staff from 46 participating countries and international organizations (European Higher Education Area, 2009). It is clear that the Bologna process will have far reaching effects on European higher education, but it is not clear

what the impact will be on Canadian higher education (Charbonneau, 2009). It is possible that the Bologna process, an effort to harmonize higher education systems in European higher education by 2010, may complicate student mobility between Europe and Canada, and may affect Canadian universities efforts to recruit international students. However, this remains unknown. Some organizations, including the Canadian Council on Learning, believe that Bologna offers an opportunity to reform the Canadian higher education sector. Others, including Kafer, associate vice-president, international, at the University of British Columbia and a Bologna expert, see the decentralized nature of the Canadian system as one of its defining features and value the innovation that has resulted from higher education being a provincial matter (Charbonneau, 2009).

Internationalization in a Canadian University Context

An internationalized curriculum, in addition to potentially benefiting international students because it is more inclusive, can offer opportunities for domestic students to develop global perspectives in their home country. In the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada's (AUCC) 2006 internationalization survey, respondents almost unanimously indicated that bringing an international dimension to the curriculum and teaching/learning process was an institutional strategic priority (AUCC, 2009). Canadian and international students are demanding greater internationalization of the curriculum (AUCC, 2009). Although the value of internationalization is recognized by students and administrators, faculty and staff at Canadian universities, integrating an international dimension into the curriculum has been a challenging endeavour. Many Canadian universities have an international reference in their strategic plan but few have a comprehensive or systematic approach to integrating an international dimension to the

learning and teaching that occurs in the classroom. Another challenge is the decentralized approach to internationalization efforts, with many internationalization activities in more than one unit (AUCC, 2009).

A vital component of internationalization of the curriculum is offering programs with an international focus. Canadian universities have an increasing number of internationally oriented programs. Using data from the Directory of Canadian Universities, AUCC (2007b) found that 61 Canadian universities offered a total of 356 programs with an international focus in 2006. The four most prevalent fields of international study were: international relations, European studies, international business and international development. In addition 47 institutions offered a total of 355 programs devoted to the study of modern foreign languages and literature. Enrolment in internationally oriented degree programs has increased in the last five years. Internationally oriented programs are growing despite the fact that only 5% of universities reportedly require undergraduates to take one or more courses with an international focus (AUCC, 2007b).

Universities are using other strategies to integrate an international dimension into all areas of the curriculum. The most frequently cited strategies include involving international scholars and visiting experts and encouraging domestic students to have work/study abroad or service learning experiences. AUCC (2007b) identified that Canadian faculty members are more engaged in internationalizing the curriculum than they were in the year 2000. Nearly 60% of AUCC respondents indicated that their institutions now had workshops to help faculty members internationalize the teaching/learning process and curriculum. Universities also mentioned utilizing the

international experience and knowledge of students and integrating student mobility into academic requirements as important strategies used to integrate an international dimension into the curriculum (AUCC, 2007b).

Canada is not alone in its challenges and rewards of internationalization. Institutions of higher learning around the world are incorporating ways of internationalizing university curricula. Internationalizing curricula is a complex process and it is as much about how teaching is done, and who is taught, as it is about what is taught (Leask, 2001). Traditionally there has been a focus on the content rather than the process of internationalization. In an attempt to change this focus the University of South Australia sought to internationalize courses in a student centered manner that focused on outcomes rather than inputs and valued the contribution of international students in the process of internationalizing the curriculum (Leask, 2001). An ongoing challenge for faculty members, as identified by Canadian faculty members, is insufficient recognition, particularly in the forms of tenure and promotion, for efforts to internationalize the curriculum (AUCC, 2009).

The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada's (AUCC, 2007b) comprehensive survey of internationalization at Canadian universities revealed that internationalization has in many respects become part of the mainstream of universities' organization and overall strategies (Tunney & White, 2008). Many Canadian universities' strategic plans on internationalization include strategies to enhance students' experiences of internationalization. Since AUCC began conducting surveys in internationalization in 1991, the primary overall rationale for the internationalization of Canadian universities has been to prepare graduates who are internationally knowledgeable. In 2006, over 90%

of respondents indicated that this was a top rationale for strengthening internationalization at an institution of higher learning. Other top reasons cited for integrating an international dimension into an institution of higher education included building strategic alliances and partnerships with other key institutions abroad, promoting innovation in curriculum and diversity in programs and responding to need in Canada's labour market (Tunney & White, 2008). The previous AUCC Report on internationalization, *Progress and Promise: The 2000 AUCC Report on Internationalization at Canadian Universities*, also indicated that universities' key rationale behind internationalization efforts was "to prepare graduates who are internationally knowledgeable and interculturally competent" (Knight, 2000).

To determine how Canadian universities were preparing graduates to be internationally knowledgeable, several universities' strategic plans for internationalization were studied. It was found that Canadian universities emphasize the importance of student learning and engagement with internationalization in their strategic plans for internationalization. The University of Western Ontario's Strategic Plan for Internationalization 2009-2010 recognizes that within the university,

internationalization has generally come to mean, that: 1) research and advanced training is undertaken in collaboration with colleagues in other countries in pursuit of both new knowledge and/or with the goal of improving the social and economic well-being of citizens in countries less affluent than our own; 2) teaching in all disciplines is undertaken in a global context, in an environment welcoming of students, postdoctoral fellows and trainees from other countries who enrich the learning experience; 3) the student experience is enhanced through

provision of structured opportunities to travel, study, and conduct research abroad, thus contributing to students' understanding of their own and other cultures, as well as their ability to compete in the global marketplace. It should be noted that these objectives are frequently complementary (2009 a, p. 1).

It is interesting to note that the draft form of The University of Western Ontario's Strategic Plan for Internationalization, dated March 4, 2009, indicates:

3) the student experience is enhanced through provision of structured opportunities to travel, study, and the conduct of research abroad, thus contributing to students' understanding and empathy for other cultures, as well as their ability to compete in the global marketplace. It should be noted that these objectives are frequently complementary (2009 b, p. 1).

This is in contrast from the final version as presented above. The phrase "contributing to students' understanding and empathy for other cultures" has been changed to "contributing to students' understanding of their own and other cultures," in the final version of the strategic plan. This change is significant for it recognizes that students' understanding of other cultures is related to their understanding of their own culture. It may also recognize that empathy, considered by some to be an intercultural skill, is difficult to teach or measure.

York University, in Toronto, Ontario indicates in their mission statement that: Internationalization is a multi-faceted process involving the movement and interaction of people and ideas. Internationalization is not only about crossing national borders. It also recognizes and builds upon the complex interactions

between the local and the global, as well as York University's strengths of interdisciplinarity, multiculturalism, innovation, and commitment to social justice (York International, 2008).

York University does not use the terms "intercultural skills" or "international knowledge" in their mission statement. Some of the endeavours York University emphasizes in its mission statement include: (a) the international movement and experiences of students; (b) the development of new internationally-relevant curriculum; (c) the integration of "the international" into current curriculum; the role of languages; internationally-oriented co-curricular activities. York International (York University, 2008) indicates that its goal is "to weave the international into the fabric of the university" (p. 1).

Queen's University, in their strategic plan for internationalization (2006), indicated that their goal was to deepen international engagement. In their strategic plan Queen's University states that they will respond to a more global environment "by ensuring that every student attending Queen's University will develop an enhanced appreciation of the international facets of their studies and the necessity to be mindful of international contexts whatever their field of study" (p. 1). Their educational program, they indicate, will expose students to a rich variety of perspectives and opinions, through their interactions with students from a wide range of international backgrounds, both on campus and abroad. The Queen's University strategic plan states that both international students and returning study-abroad students will contribute to the internationalization of their classrooms. International opportunities and student exchanges "will ensure that our students are capable of functioning effectively in an international context." (p. 1). The

plan seems to indicate that students who are, or have contact with, international students or returning study abroad students are *ensured* intercultural capabilities such as “functioning effectively in an international context.”

The Internationalizing the University of British Columbia (UBC) strategic plan (2008) is specific in its outcome measures for student experiences of internationalization. They indicate an operational goal to have 20% of UBC students participating in an international program by 2020. To do this they indicate that they will provide opportunities that include: engaging students in conversation about international issues; experiences that foster global citizenship skills; UBC’s Go Global’s pre-departure sessions; locked in currency exchange rates for university fees; a database of foreign-based alumni willing to serve as mentors to students interested in pursuing international careers. UBC’s strategic plan for internationalization, as it relates to student experiences, was more specific and applied than a number of other universities’ strategic plans that focused primarily on student mobility.

Various universities within Canada are seeking ways to integrate intercultural learning and experience into courses that receive academic recognition. For example, the University of Prince Edward Island developed its previous English 101 course into a new course on current global issues that is mandatory for all first year students (AUCC, 2009). The University of Alberta has a Global Citizenship Curriculum Development initiative that uses conventional strategies, such as interviews and focus groups to engage students. As well, they offer deliberate dialogues to engage faculties and communities in a series of deliberations about the nature of global citizenship and the knowledge and skills necessary for undergraduates to become global citizens (University of Alberta, 2009).

Queen's University (2009) offers a cross-faculty teaching forum with practical approaches for internationalizing the curriculum. The University of Waterloo undertook a project called *Engaging Students as Learning Resources* (Ho, Bulman-Fleming, & Mitchell, 2003) and found that students with international or intercultural experiences could readily enrich university classrooms by being engaged as a learning resource in the classroom. Another way to recognize international or intercultural learning is to include this learning on students' transcripts. Institutional recognition for international learning can enhance students' employability (AUCC, 2009).

Overview of Education in China in Context

This study explores Canadian and international Chinese students' responses to internationalization. The students' responses can best be understood within their historical, social and political contexts. All of the international students included in this study are Chinese and have grown up in the Chinese education system. China's education system, like all education systems, has been affected by its historical and political past. China's civilization has been influenced by the outside world and other world civilizations have been influenced by China.

In ancient times, merchants carried products from Asia to Europe and brought knowledge about Asia to the outside world (Hawkins & Su, 2003). Yet the West did not have much knowledge about the East by direct contact until Marco Polo's travels in the 13th Century CE. Even without direct contact, China influenced the material and intellectual culture of the West to a remarkable degree. The Romans of the ancient world received silk from the Far East, which reached the West across the infamous Silk Road. The "Wisdom of the East" was shrouded in mystery and in the 17th century Western

writers of philosophy and politics wrote enviously of what they imagined of the far off land (Swann, 2001). This relates to Said's (1993) concept of the "Other". Although the "Other" can be glorified as exotic and mysterious, when culture becomes associated with the nation or state there is a differentiation of "us" from "them" and, consequently, the possibility of some degree of xenophobia (Said, 1993).

When the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 CE) began its rule in China the country was powerful and several consecutive emperors did not think China needed to engage in economic or cultural exchange with other countries. The imperial government adopted a closed door policy for China (Li, 2001). This closed door policy changed from the beginning of the Opium Wars in 1840 to 1880. The beginnings of gunfire in the Opium War of 1840 "shattered the illusion that the ancient Chinese feudal empire was invincible." (Wang, 2001, p. 296).

The 19th century brought the European colonial takeover of much of Asia. Most of Asia was under European control by World War I. After World War II, between 1945 and 1975, colonialism ended and most of the countries of Asia became independent. (Hawkins & Su, 2003). In 1949, the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China, the country was again closed to the West but open to the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. With the exception of the ten years of the Great Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976, foreign cultural influences from various foreign countries were widespread in China from the mid-19th century until the 1980s. Often these foreign influences were imported to China and imitated without regard for China's unique contributions to knowledge (Li, 2001). Li argues that now China needs to follow a new route that is different from "mere coping or harking back to the past" (p. 292).

From 1965 to 1990 the economy of East Asia grew faster than all other regions in the world. This has been especially true in South China, in Guangdong province. This fast paced economic growth has significantly and positively affected the development of education in China and East Asia. Some fear that given the fast pace of social and economic change in Asia in the past quarter of century, that the new affluence may erode traditional conceptions of moderation and virtue, what has been called “Asian values” (Cummings, Totto, & Hawkins, 2001). Values education is a prominent part of education in most Asian nations and Confucian values hold important implications for education (Leung, 1998).

Higher learning institutions in China date back to the Western Zhou Dynasty which lasted from 1112 BCE to 771 BCE. From this early period until the 19th century Chinese higher education received little foreign influence outside China. Western philosophy and liberal education has only become familiar in Chinese higher education in the last century (Wang & Li, 2001). After the Cultural Revolution it became possible for Chinese universities to bring an integrative framework, which included knowledge from outside China, into the curriculum. This integration included elements of China’s own cultural traditions along with elements Chinese scholars selected from a range of Western influences (Hayhoe, 2001).

Tertiary education in China has expanded dramatically in the last decade. Students from mainland China who go outside their country to study far outnumber students studying abroad from any other country. Chinese students will continue to dominate the international student market for decades to come (Maslen, 2007). Today more than 350 000 mainland Chinese students are pursuing the study of degrees at

overseas universities and within 20 years this number is expected to increase to 645 000. It is reported that a lack of university spaces in China causes students to go abroad. Other reasons include opportunities for skilled migration and perceptions of improved career prospects. China, because of its vast population and its growing economy is considered a most significant country for Western countries wishing to tap into the education export market. IDP Education, Australia's main student recruiting agency, reports that China expanded its domestic tertiary education places from about six million in 1999 to more than 18 million in 2004 but applications for university places continue to outnumber supply (Maslen, 2007). Currently the largest number of international students studying in Canada are from China (CIC, 2009) and consequently the experiences of international Chinese students in Canada, and domestic students' responses to them, is particularly relevant.

Summary

The worldwide demand for international education remains high and continues to grow. The numbers of international students studying in Canada have markedly increased in the past decade and especially in the past few years. Chinese students are the most represented national group studying in Canada. There are many more Chinese students studying in Canada than there are Canadian students studying in China (the numbers of Canadian students studying in China are minimal in comparison). Only a small percentage of Canadian students study outside of Canada for course credit. One of the ways internationalization impacts domestic students who are not studying abroad is through the internationalization of the curriculum and through course offerings with a global, language, or cultural focus. Canadian universities across the nation recognize the

importance of internationalization and this is reflected in their strategic plans. Particular mention is given in this chapter to the strategic plans of Queen's University, The University of British Columbia, The University of Western Ontario, and York University.

Education in China has been impacted by China's relationship with the wider world. Historically China had had, at different times, a closed and open door policy with its neighbours and with the Western world. Currently foreign cultural and educational influences are widespread in China. China's economy and educational policies and programs are changing and expanding rapidly and dramatically. Chinese students will continue to supply a high demand for higher education, within and outside China, for years to come.

Chapter Three

Students' Experiences of Internationalization

Introduction

This literature review includes research related to students' experiences of internationalization in higher education, as well as areas of study that have an impact on students' experiences of internationalization. Research on students' experiences of intercultural learning as well as research on cultural identity will be emphasized. The research on cultural identity is also linked with citizenship education and global citizenship. The review begins with literature about students studying in Canada, including a discussion of the new international students, international and domestic students' experiences interacting within a university setting, Chinese students and their achievement, and students' intercultural learning and development of intercultural competence. Also detailed in this section is research on students' use of critical thinking and reflection as a means of enhancing learning. Research on the development of intercultural sensitivity related to the Intercultural Development Inventory is then discussed. Research that specifically explores student experiences of the internationalization of higher education is limited and I have included the studies I found in the literature review. Despite the centrality of students to the process of internationalization, emphasis on the student is often missing from the writings of scholars theorizing higher education in the context of globalization (Asmar, 2005). This study is significant because of the centrality and detailed observation given to the student experience of internationalization. Students' experiences of internationalization affect

their perceptions of themselves, their place in education and in the world of work; the review concludes with literature on cultural identity.

Students Studying in Canada

International students have been described as the new global generation (Rizvi, 2000a). The flow of students during the 1990s was predominately from the developing world to the developed world, creating a one-way flow that created discussions about power relations and Western intellectual colonialism and imperialism (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Rhee & Sagaria, 2004; Turner & Robson, 2008). The new international student is more likely to come from a place of economic privilege. A more inclusive definition of ‘the international student’ is emerging; one that emphasizes the reciprocal development of global skills and intercultural competencies (Turner & Robson, 2008). International students are future ambassadors for their university as well as for the country in which they are studying. The quality of international students’ learning experiences has implications for higher education classrooms, the reputation of the university where they are studying and the students’ future careers. Connections and relationships formed during students’ years of study will have both tangible and intangible benefits for cultural, economic, and political relations between countries across the world (Ryan, 2005).

International and domestic students’ interactions.

Most research on international students has focused attention on international students’ adaptation to host societies (Ward, 2001). There is less research in higher education on the impact of international students on domestic students’ learning experiences or on the relationship between campus experiences and the educational

outcomes of international students. A research study that included both domestic and international students was done by Grayson (2008). Grayson researched the academic and social experiences of international and domestic students at four Canadian universities including McGill University, The University of British Columbia, Dalhousie University and York University. The study found that international students are as involved in campus activities as domestic students but they do not perceive that they have the same academic supports as domestic students. It is often argued by universities and governments that international students expose Canadian students to different cultures. Yet Grayson's (2008) study found that only 11% of domestic students had friends who were international students, suggesting that only a few domestic students benefit from direct associations with international students. It is improbable that large numbers of domestic students will develop friendships with international students unless efforts are exerted by universities to encourage domestic and international student interactions. Research has shown that the presence of international students is in itself insufficient to promote intercultural interactions (Ward, 2001). Grayson (2008) argues that further studies that test the credibility of the assumptions that the presence of international students in Canadian universities has benefits for the economies of students' countries of origins and the international and Canadian students themselves are sorely needed (Grayson, 2008).

Situations need to be structured to foster domestic and international student interaction (Ward, 2001). One of the ways that universities frequently facilitate domestic and international student interaction is through peer mentoring or tutoring programs. Using mentors or tutors in the extracurricular education of university students is

widespread in universities across the world (Lassegard, 2008). Institutionalized peer tutoring began as an experiment in the 1970s and is currently an accepted part of North American college and university education (Bruffee, 1995). Westwood, at the University of British Columbia, and Barker, from the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, compared academic achievement and social adaptation among international students who participated in a peer pairing program with those who did not participate. A significant relationship was found between Peer Program involvement and higher year end academic averages. As well there was a significant relationship between the amount of social interaction with host nationals and sojourner adjustment (Westwood & Barker, 1990). Since most research suggests that international students have relatively few opportunities to interact with domestic students (Ward, 2001), peer pairing becomes highly relevant within the education context. There is an understanding in peer tutoring pairs that the relationship is beneficial for those being tutored and for the tutors themselves (Lassegard, 2008). However, in his research Lassegard (2008) found that tutees tended to focus more on the interpersonal relationship while tutors were more concerned about their tutoring ability, suggesting a difference in the purposes of both groups in entering the relationship. It may also suggest a power differential in the relationship.

Often the tutoring pairs at North American universities include tutors who are international as well as domestic, thus challenging the assumption that a host national is best able to assist an international student in their knowledge of or adaptation to a host culture university environment. Some of the International Peer Tutors also identify with

Canada, the host country in which they have lived for several years, or they are second or third generation Canadians who identify with two or more countries.

Chinese students and achievement.

Chinese Americans' high levels of educational achievement have earned them attention as a "model minority" and as a group to be emulated by other minority groups that are underachieving and underrepresented (Pearce, 2006). "The model minority stereotype is the notion that Asian Americans achieve universal and unparalleled academic and occupational success" (Museus & Kiang, 2009, p. 6).

Museus (2009) indicates that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) are seldom the subjects of higher education research because these populations are frequently not considered underrepresented racial minorities because some researchers have determined that they are not educationally disadvantaged. It is argued that the exclusion of AAPIs from scholarly inquiry in postsecondary education is due in part of the pervasive influence of the model minority myth (Museus, 2009). The myth, often viewed as harmless, has had negative ramifications when it is used by opponents of equal opportunity policies and programs to support the notion of meritocracy. It can also have negative individual consequences, for example when Asian Americans experience pressure to conform to the stereotype (Chou & Feagin, 2008).

A study, by Pearce (2006), found that the ability of both White and Chinese American students to adjust to school transitions and remain focused for high achievement and attainment was influenced by social structural as well as cultural factors. Pearce argues that the social structural changes in society that foster educational, economic and social parity cannot in themselves bring about social equality; cultural

changes must also be realized. Pearce found that when social structural factors such as gender, family composition, socioeconomic status, and parent education levels were controlled, the impact of cultural factors such as parental expectations and involvement became clear. Social structure had a significant impact on the achievement and attainment of White and Chinese students. Social structural factors produced the same benefits and limitations for both groups of students. Cultural factors also had a significant impact on student achievement and it was found that Chinese American students were better able to weather transitions as a result of parental involvement in the educational experience, and high parental levels of involvement that were clearly articulated (Pearce, 2006).

Students' experiences in the university classroom.

Students' experiences of learning in the university classroom are increasingly complex and diverse. There are inconsistencies, challenges and dilemmas faced in the classroom because of dramatic changes in the academy. One of these changes is the increasing flow of students across national boundaries. McAlpine (2006) advocates for a focus on learning in the classroom, rather than teaching, and for further exploration of the notion that it is the "student experience as a totality that influences learning" (p. 123).

International students face enormous challenges including becoming proficient in the language of instruction, learning culturally different research methodologies and understanding a new set of complex cultural dynamics in their living situations and university workplaces. In a study investigating the challenges of teaching international graduate students, 70% of professors felt that their students did not have adequate skills to write effectively at a graduate level (Xu, 2008). Xu (2008), who was herself a graduate

student studying in Canada, remarks that the challenges international students face are great and they require mentoring, time and patience. Success in higher education, in a world-wide academic context, requires that teachers and students share a dynamic, respectful and rewarding relationship (Xu, 2008).

Curriculum, as enacted in instruction, includes implicit as well as explicit aspects, a so-called hidden as well as manifest curriculum. Before 1990 the subjective experience of students engaging in situations of deliberately provided instruction was not a topic that had received much emphasis in educational research (Erickson et al., 2008). Yet, as indicated by intercultural communication researchers, Janet Bennett and Riika Salonen (2007), “We will never understand racism, class, social justice, international development, or the person sitting next to us without quietly listening to the stories of those who experience the world in different ways” (p. 46). Since 1990 there has been a substantial increase in research that focuses on the student experience of schooling in elementary and secondary schools (Thiessen & Cook-Sather, 2007). International student experience of higher education has not received significant focused attention in research. More research that focuses attention on the perceived needs and experiences of international students in higher education is needed (Tidwell & Hanassab, 2007).

The increased numbers of international students in the classroom presents opportunities for faculty members to re-assess how they teach, and also to re-evaluate the roles and functions of the university as an institution. International students, with their diverse paradigms and life experiences, provide an opportunity to question who the university is serving and to what end (Ryan & Carroll, 2005). Ryan and Carroll (2005) indicate that some faculty members see international students as a commercially driven

unwelcome change to their working environments, adding to the pressures of their already busy schedules, while others embrace international students as bearers of alternative knowledge and perspectives. It is argued that international students can help home students become global learners, increasing their intercultural knowledge and understanding (Ryan & Carroll, 2005). Research shows that bringing an international dimension to the curriculum can seem particularly daunting at smaller universities where funding and resources may be limited. Smaller universities, like larger ones, can benefit from the university's greatest resources – its students. Students can help faculty integrate global or intercultural dimensions into course content and delivery (Xenos, 2008). Sheryl Bond, professor of Education at Queen's University, indicates that faculty can integrate student knowledge into their classrooms by asking students what languages they speak, if they have lived abroad, and what they know of the topic at hand as it relates to other cultures. Smaller classroom sizes can be an asset for internationalization at smaller institutions because it enables professors to know their students personally more easily (Xenos, 2008).

In Australia, in a qualitative study exploring international students' transition experience to their first year in university, Prescott and Hellsten (2005) found that “the social and cultural enactment of teaching and learning in international contexts demonstrate a double edge challenge for the student body” (p. 87). International (primarily Asian) students, studying in Australia, were confronted with subtle and covertly enforced social and cultural contexts that made their transitions challenging. Their critical examination of current social and cultural practices around teaching

international students in Australia revealed a continued need for the evaluation and review of subtleties inherent in cultural interaction.

In another Australian case study, that explored student perceptions of the internationalization of the curriculum, within one school of the University of South Australia, Absalom and Vadura (2006) found that “students bring an integrating, complex view of internationalization to their study which clashes with the disintegrating, more simplistic view transmitted by the task-based orientation of the curriculum” (p. 332). One of their respondents illustrates this complexity of understanding:

To develop an international perspective one needs to interact with other cultures. But in this interaction one needs not only to complete assignments etc. but also simply to listen with an open mind. The hardest part about developing an international perspective is letting go of the belief that “your way is the only way.”.....It takes all types of people to keep the world spinning and the more we understand of differing cultures the clearer things seem to be (p. 332).

Intercultural learning in the classroom occurred when international and domestic students had the opportunity to listen to the stories and perspectives of class peers who were different from them.

An Australian study that presented the findings of the course experiences of international and local Muslim students found significant inter-group differences suggesting that students from local communities may require more attention than western universities, who have been preoccupied with diasporic students’ characteristics and needs, have been prepared to give them (Asmar, 2005). Asmar asked if international

Muslim students feel more or less positive about their academic experiences than local Muslim students. It was found that a higher proportion of local students were more critical of their course experiences than were the international students. Overall, local students expressed significantly more negative views than did international students. Asmar's findings support the argument that "rather than treating difference as a deficit, universities could do more to 'internationalize' all their students in educating them for a globally connected and culturally diverse world" (Asmar, 2005, p. 291). The group of practicing Muslim students at the Australian university reported a complex set of experiences and perceptions. For example, most of the Muslim students (international or local) did not experience discrimination as a major issue, yet there was a feeling that they did not fully belong. Although the findings of this study cannot be generalized beyond the sample, they prompt a questioning of "the view that cultural difference is a 'problem' located largely among international students" (Asmar, 2005, p. 305).

Integrating the local and global in student learning.

International competition and technological change associated with the workplace requires students to have high levels of cognitive and communication skills. In addition, a modern vision of flatter organizational structures brings a demand for high participation, strong teams and life-long learning to stay competitive. The knowledge economy, because of its changing nature, involves an intricate global-local relationship. The nature of knowledge use and innovation requires simultaneous engagement with local factors and global processes. In cultural terms, the local is now re-shaped globally, and the global does not have meaning without local references (Rizvi, 2000b).

Many are critical of the strong emphasis given to employability or the vocationalization of education (Cantor & Courant, 2003; McCarthy, 2008; Miyoshi, 1998). The goal to maximize returns on investment is evident in many students' course selections which often focus on areas likely to maximize future returns (Cantor & Courant, 2003). This investment in the enterprise ethic has led to an eroding of support for the humanities and humanistic social sciences, courses that provide preparation for democratic citizenship and critical thinking (McCarthy, 2008). The need to develop critical thinking is crucial in all areas of study. What is needed in the internationalization of education is a curriculum approach "that seeks to provide students with skills of inquiry and analysis rather than a set of facts about globalization" (Rizvi, 2000b, p. 4).

Intercultural opportunity and learning.

Unless students are provided with skills of inquiry and analysis, they will have difficulty communicating effectively across cultures. The intricate global-local relationships that are part of the knowledge economy have brought about a redefinition of the kinds of educational programs and opportunities Canadian universities need to offer their graduates so they can become internationally and interculturally knowledgeable (Bond, 2009). Intercultural learning does not occur simply from having intercultural experiences or being in the vicinity of events when they occur. Learning emerges from the capacity to construe events and then re-construe them in transformative ways (Bennett & Salonen, 2007). It is known that bringing different cultural groups in contact with each other, when learners are developmentally unprepared to handle them, can generate more problems than advancement in intercultural communication or understanding (Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). If learners are not

developmentally ready for intercultural learning, even a well constructed curriculum, committed to social justice principles, can fail to produce constructive communication between cultural groups. For example, one can study the sociological consequences of racism and be ineffective in communicating with a neighbour from another race or culture. “Cultural knowledge does not equal intercultural competence. And being global citizens – seeing ourselves as member of a world community, as well as participants in our local contexts, knowing that we share the future with others -- requires powerful forms of intercultural competence” (Bennett & Salonen, 2007, p. 46).

It has been long held by social psychology that one of the major ways of reducing intergroup prejudice is through contact between groups under optimal conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Allport (1954, as cited in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000) held that intergroup prejudice would only be reduced if the following conditions were met: (a) equal status between groups, (b) common goals, (c) no competition between groups, and (d) authority sanction for the contact. It can also be argued that intercultural learning and the furtherance of intercultural relations fare best under the same conditions. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) in a meta-analysis of studies researched the question of whether intergroup contact reduced prejudice. They defined intergroup contact as “actual face-to-face interaction between members of clearly distinguishable and defined groups” (p. 95). In their data they utilized 203 individual studies and had results from 90 000 participants from 25 nations. They found that, overall, face-to-face interaction between members of distinguishable groups is related, in important ways, to reduced prejudice. A major mediator in the size of contact-prejudice effects involved whether participants were from a majority group or a stigmatized minority group.

Majority participants revealed much larger mean effects than did minority participants. They concluded that the perspectives of both groups, and especially the lower-status groups, need to be carefully considered when creating an optimally structured contact situation. As well they concluded that contact in work and organizational settings had far stronger effects than contact typical in travel and tourism settings. This has implications for higher learning institutions. “Social-structural changes in our institutions are necessary to provide opportunities for optimal intergroup contact on a scale sweeping enough to make a societal difference. Such changes are typically resisted by powerful majorities.” (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, p. 111). Here it is observed that changes that occur on an individual level (face to face prejudice and reduction of racism) also require systemic social-structural changes to make a societal difference.

Canadian educational institutions have an important role to play in educating graduates to be globally aware. In a study researching Canadian post-secondary students and the study abroad experience, Bond (2009) researched students’ interest in “global-mindedness.”² Global-mindedness is defined as:

a mindset and a way of seeing oneself in relation to others, where beliefs and knowledge are both more complex and contradictory than what the student is likely to have previously experienced, characterized by interest in global issues and cultures (p. 34).

Bond assessed global-mindedness by asking students how interested they were in world issues, events and cultural issues. She found that 88% of student participants reported that they were interested or very interested in being globally minded. Students were then

² Bond’s study participants included nearly 2 500 people from eight colleges and universities across Canada (Alberta, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec).

asked if graduating students who were globally knowledgeable and culturally aware was a priority of their Canadian college or university. Approximately half of the students (51%) reported that they “didn’t know” or “didn’t agree” that their college or university was committed to educating graduates who were globally minded. When asked if their college or university was committed to study abroad nearly half of all the students indicated that they found little evidence of institutional support for study abroad within academic culture, policies or programs and that if such a commitment to study abroad existed, they were not aware of it (Bond, 2009). Bond concludes and recommends that:

an institution-wide policy on internationalizing learning within the post-secondary context is needed to replace the conventional, ad hoc approach that has characterized much of what colleges and universities have offered within the ambit of internationalization-at-home, and global mobility-based programs such as study abroad (p. 61).

Students’ Development of Intercultural Sensitivity

Intercultural sensitivity is a concept related to intercultural understanding. Sustainable and transformative international engagement is highly dependent on the values, commitment and personal skills of individuals within higher education communities. As noted earlier, “a more inclusive definition of ‘the international student’ is emerging, which emphasizes the reciprocal development of intercultural competencies and global skills” (Turner & Robson, 2008, p. 54). This shift toward intercultural learning impacts all students; it has implications for overseas students as well as indigenous and domestic students (Turner & Robson). Presumably, someone who has intercultural understanding or sensitivity is also interculturally competent, although this depends on

how each of the terms is defined. Scholars have debated the definition of intercultural competence for the past 30 years and a clear definition has not been agreed upon (Gudykunst, 1994; Pedersen, 1994; Yum, 1994). Deardorff's study (2006) is the first to document consensus among top U.S. intercultural scholars (including one Canadian and one British member) on what constitutes intercultural competence and how best to measure the construct. The top-rated intercultural competence definition from intercultural scholars was "the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 247). Intercultural scholars and higher education administrators preferred definitions that were broader in nature and did not define intercultural competence in relation to specific components.

In a study that examined whether participation in an international baccalaureate diploma program enhances the goal of international understanding, Hinrichs (2003) asked students to create their own definitions for international understanding. There is no definition of international understanding that is universally accepted in the literature, but Hinrichs' (2003) compiled the views of a number of authors who have posited similar descriptions. Some of the descriptions include:

1. Recognizing and appreciating ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and diverse values and beliefs;
2. Understanding contemporary and historical global issues, their causes and their effects;
3. Understanding how domestic policies affect the world; and
4. Respecting democracy and basic human rights. (Hinrichs, 2003, pp. 338- 339)

These descriptions provide ideal goals for intercultural learning. Are they realistic, attainable or measurable, and do Canadian domestic students and international Chinese students perceive that they develop or learn intercultural understanding within their university contexts?

Enhancing students' intercultural learning through critical thinking and reflection.

Several educators have explored the enhancement of intercultural learning through the use of critical thinking and reflection. Commenting on Finnish higher education, Lasonen (2005) describes a national strategy including a proposed target of attracting 10 000 to 15000 foreign students to Finland for degree studies in 2010. She indicates that student and teacher exchanges have demonstrated that these contexts require more intercultural understanding and skills including problem solving and conflict resolution. Lasonen (2005) explores teaching critical pedagogy as a road to intercultural learning.

Transnational students are using the internationalization of higher education to enhance the opportunities available to them in their futures. They are using their experiences in higher education to “extend and deepen their capacity for thinking and acting globally, nationally and locally in order to enhance the viability of their life trajectories” (Singh, 2005, p. 9). Through examining the global/national and local connectedness of particular students, Singh indicates, we can learn how students may “offer important media through which to learn about and develop the attributes required for dealing with the imperatives, uncertainties and complexities inherent in the structures and (il)logic of contemporary transitions in globalization” (p. 9). Based on analysis of

interviews with students from the People's Republic of China, enrolled in the final year of their undergraduate degree, Singh found that students did not offer a homogenous narrative on the internationalization of higher education. Each student had highly variable accounts of how they were using their education to elaborate their identities as transnational citizens and learners. Singh (2005) concludes that although universities around the world are being de-structured in a response to neo-liberal globalism, it is important to work critically with compromised education policies and pedagogies in order to remake them as useful. Learning from the experiences of transnational students, educators can “deliberately create pedagogies for enabling transnational learning communities” (p. 34).

Enhancing students' intercultural learning and sensitivity through the use of the intercultural development inventory.

The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) was constructed from the theoretical framework of Bennett's (1986, 1993) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS). The DMIS posited a framework for conceptualizing dimensions of intercultural sensitivity. In the DMIS there is a progression of worldview “orientations toward cultural difference” that indicate the potential for increasingly sophisticated intercultural experiences. The three ethnocentric orientations (Denial, Defense, Minimization) are followed by three ethnorelative orientations (Acceptance, Adaptation, Integration) where one's culture is experienced in the context of other cultures (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2009; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003) is a cross-culturally valid and reliable measure of

intercultural sensitivity (Hammer, 2009). I participated in a three day seminar and was trained as an IDI administrator in Portland, Oregon, led by IDI developers Milton Bennett and Mitch Hammer, in September 2006. There are now 1 200 qualified IDI administrators from over 30 countries (Hammer, 2009). The IDI generates an individual or group profile of respondent's overall position on the intercultural development continuum. The continuum identifies orientations to cultural differences that range from monocultural perspectives to more intercultural mindsets. An intercultural mindset is indicated by a capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behaviour to a cultural context while maintaining one's own identity and values (Hammer, 2009).

Various studies have used the IDI as an education tool to measure intercultural learning (Bourjolly et al., 2005; DeJaeghere & Zhang, 2008; Greenholtz, 2000; Johnson and Battalio, 2008; Mahon, 2006; Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova & DeJaeghere, 2003; Westrick, 2004). Johnson and Battalio (2008), from the University of Wisconsin, used the IDI at pre-departure and return with a group of pre-service teachers participating in a six week study abroad program in Scotland. They found that 70% of participants remained at the same level of intercultural sensitivity after the program and 30% moved to a more culturally sensitive view of cultures. In other research, mental health workers who participated in an intensive training program on intercultural sensitivity, using Bennett's DMIS, found over a 10 month training period, that the development of intercultural sensitivity was a non-linear process. Participants in the study made intermittent reversions to earlier levels and moved forward in spurts (Bourjolly et al., 2005).

Awareness that issues of power, dominance, discrimination, and oppression play a critical part in intercultural interaction is increasingly found in intercultural sensitivity

and training literature, yet these issues remain on the periphery (Fowler, 2006). Because the students who participated in this study meet the definition of the “New International Student” (Turner & Robson, 2008) and are part of the elite in their society, the use of the IDI, with its focus on intercultural sensitivity, is a more appropriate instrument than it would be if it was used with a less advantaged or empowered population. A criticism of the IDI is its apparent failure to account for interactions that are influenced by power, control and dominance within the individual’s or group’s various contexts.

Cultural Identity

Understandings of citizenship.

Students’ experiences impact on how they perceive their cultural identity and their responsibilities to their fellow national and global citizens. Human beings grow up within and are profoundly shaped by their community and define their identities in terms of their experiences within their communities (Parekh, 2003). Citizenship provides a sense of identity, including rights, political participation, and adherence to societal values and expectations (Abdi, 2003). Yet citizenship is more than a set of political rights or responsibilities that is regulated by the state. It is also grounded in the experiences and meanings articulated, acted upon and negotiated by individuals and social groups, including those who may be marginalized in some contexts (Abdi, Shizha & Bwalya, 2006).

Citizenship or global citizenship is frequently linked to, or encompassed within, the study of the internationalization of higher education, or the internationalization of curricula in the literature (Killick, 2007). Citizenship refers to the relationship between individuals and the state, and citizenship education is the preparation of individuals to

participate actively and responsibly in a democracy (Hebert & Sears, 2002). Castles (2004) indicates that being a citizen is central to individuals' identity and status in the contemporary world. Global citizenship extends beyond national boundaries. Abdi (2003) says that the possibility of having people see themselves as viable stakeholders in a political enterprise, including positive moral and material response, is a necessary and important objective of citizenship education. Nussbaum remarks that people who have developed the imaginative capacity to project their citizenship beyond the nation project their humanity along the same trajectory and see themselves as more than a citizen of a local region, and see all human beings as bound to others by ties of concern (Blades & Richardson, 2006). Noddings (2005) argues that the promotion of global citizenship has never been more urgent. Global citizenship, according to Noddings, involves a set of cultural attitudes towards economic and social justice, social and cultural diversity, environmental protection and peace education. Her framework for educating for global citizenship includes ethical values for community-building and mutual respect, social responsibility, appreciation for diversity and social justice. Rizvi (2008) argues that a problem with Noddings approach, and others like it, is that it is stated in a highly generalized and abstract manner, which makes it difficult to infer implications for specific practices of curricular and pedagogic reform. Also, the framework for global citizenship is difficult to apply, at a practical level, because it faces highly entrenched traditions of educational policies and practices that are nationally or locally defined (Rizvi, 2008). Some prefer the concept of citizenship education to global citizenship because it first situates people in their localities and the responsibility to act globally

frequently grows from an understanding of one's local realities and the interconnectedness of the local and global.

The ethnic minority population is growing at significantly greater rates than the majority population in many Western nations. Banks (2001) argues that effective teachers in the new century assist students in developing a balance of cultural, global and national identifications so they can become reflective citizens in pluralistic nation-states. Students who understand how knowledge is constructed can in turn become knowledge producers and participate in civic action to create a more humane nation and world (Banks, 2001). Cultural, national and global experiences and identifications are dynamically interrelated and interactive. If citizens' cultural attachments are unexamined and non-reflective, this can prevent the development of a cohesive nation. Similarly, blind nationalism can prevent students from developing reflective and positive global identifications (Banks, 2001).

In Canada, meanings and values associated with cultural diversity and citizenship have changed over time and educational programs and policies reflect these changes. Canada's acceptance of diversity is one of the country's foundational myths (Joshee, 2004). By adopting multiculturalism as part of its collective identity, a distinctive Canadian identity was developed (Esses & Gardner, 1996). The first 70 years of Canada's existence (1867-1940) has been characterized by "assimilationist nation building." The mission of public education at that time was to instil patriotism in Canadian youth. In the early 1950s the Canadian government policies began to refer to integration, rather than assimilation as the Canadian ideal. In the 1960s and 1970s there was an increased interest in issues of identity. Canadians showed growing interest in how

they understood themselves and their history. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted in 1982 and educators now use this document as the basis of discussions about Canadian citizenship (Joshee, 2004). The charter facilitated social justice and democratic citizenship in Canada (Ungerleider, 1992). The late 1980s and the 1990s brought the rise of the politics of neoliberalism in Canada and schooling became increasingly linked to training for economic productivity (Dei & Karumanchery, 2001). During times of neoliberalism an activist citizenship emphasis was supplanted by an economic agenda (Osborne, 2001). As a result, in Canada, in the mid-1990s, attention to citizenship education faded (Joshee, 2004).

Since the late 1990s there has been a resurgence of interest in citizenship education and policy makers, researchers and educators are exploring the meaning of active citizenship (South House Exchange, 2001; Wall, Moll, & Froese-Germain, 2000). The South House Exchange (2001) survey findings suggest that education for peace, human rights, democracy, international understanding, and tolerance continue to be important elements of education programs in Canada. The report describes many new initiatives in all these areas despite pressures for a stronger focus on what is commonly called “the basics” including literacy, numeracy, and communication and occupational skills. Yet this emphasis on education for peace and democracy may not be evenly distributed in its actual implementation in schools. Previous studies have shown that education policy frequently has uneven implementation at a local level. For example, Rezai-Rashti (2003), researching educational policy reform and its impact on equity work in Ontario, found that policy implementation at local sites was a complex and uneven issue that required further investigation within individual institutions to ascertain its

effects. Similarly, although the concepts of citizenship may be espoused by various institutions of higher learning, the implementation and teaching of these concepts vary across disciplines and institutions.

Being a citizen of the world, if this means creating a world state, Parekh (2003) argues, is neither practical nor desirable as this world state is bound to be bureaucratic, oppressive and culturally bland. However, conditions of life of fellow human beings should be a matter of deep moral and political concern, and therefore, Parekh (2003) prefers the use of the term globally oriented citizen. Parekh's (2003) globally oriented citizen has three important components. This citizen (a) examines the policies of their country ensuring that, within the limits of its resources it is promoting the interests of humankind at large; and (b) takes an active interest in the affairs of other countries because human welfare is a matter of moral concern and because human well-being elsewhere and works cooperatively with others to achieve this. Parekh's (2003) conceptualization of globally oriented citizenship is of interest because this research explores how closely international Chinese and Canadians students perceive themselves to be situated in their cultures of origin and how closely they identify with a more global, multiple or porous identity.

One of the challenges of global citizenship is the fair application of immigration regulations across national boundaries. Roman (2004), at the University of British Columbia, situates dominant discourses of "global citizenship" used in North American universities, in the post-September-11 context of restrictive immigration policies, Cold War memories and anti-terrorist measures. Roman argues that post-September-11 changes to Canada's immigration and refugee legislation write evocative fears about

“terrorists” and “invading immigrants” on the national body politic. “Highly skilled global citizens” are given rights and socio-legal mobility that are not available to other prospective immigrants. Roman (2004) asks the important question of whether “global citizenship” provides an opportunity to claim democratic praxis for all or if it is a well-meaning but naïve equation of transnational mobility or “belonging” that includes some and excludes others. One of the places democratic praxis can be situated is in the university classroom.

Cosmopolitan identities.

Students who cross national boundaries learn to live with varied cultural expectations. They become familiar with the culture in which they are studying as well as their culture of origin, potentially embracing cosmopolitan identities. Cosmopolitanism can be understood by the catchword phrase occurring in the literature meaning ‘feeling at home in the world’ (Brennan, 1997; Gunesch, 2004). Some present cosmopolitanism as a model that can transcend or complement internationalism in theory or practice (Gunesch, 2004; Ree, 1998). Gunesch (2004) presents a model of personal cosmopolitan cultural identity that straddles the global and local encompassing questions of cultural mastery, metaculturality, and home and nation-state attachments. The literature distinguishes between cosmopolitanism and localism. Both forms can be considered a form of ‘world culture’ which is created through the increasing interconnectedness of local cultures, and the development of cultures without an anchorage in any one territory. Both locals and cosmopolitans have common interests in the survival of cultural identity. They are biased towards different extremes, but depend on each other as an ecosystem in which the cosmopolitan is interested in the survival of diverse cultural identities

(Hannerez, 1996). Hannerez (1996) argues that the cosmopolitan cannot come into contact with diversity unless locals have kept their own cultures. For the cosmopolitan, local competence is not a way of becoming local but rather of simulating local knowledge. There is a state of readiness or cultural competence in building skills to navigate more or less expertly with a particular system of meanings (Hannerez, 1990). In contemporary nation-states, diasporas no longer constitute minority groups within an alien culture but are increasingly groups with experience in global cultural production, having political and economic connections that place them well to take advantage of the new era.

Student experiences and cultural identity.

Rizvi (2005b) investigated how East Indian and international Chinese students' identities and cultural affiliations were transformed by their experiences in Australia. He found that many of the students were more concerned with their positioning within the global labour market than they were with building a moral sense of global solidarity. Universities engaged in educating students with morally cosmopolitan identities need to provide forms of education that promote students' learning about themselves in relation to others "so that mobility and cultural exchange do not contribute to economic exploitation of others but open up instead genuine possibilities of cosmopolitan solidarity" (Rizvi, 2005b, p. 15).

In another qualitative study, using case study methodology, Chapman and Pyvis (2006) explored students' experiences of offshore programmes delivered in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia by Australian universities. Offshore students considered international education to be part of a long term trajectory of identity formation. These

offshore students also sought identity as members of the educational community through pursuing local ways of belonging.

The international student situation has been theorized as hybridised student diasporas (Rizvi, 2000a). However, some academics assume that domestic (or local) students are a relatively monolingual and monocultural group with little in common with international students. Dichotomising in this way is increasingly limited and limiting at a time when immigration and diasporic movements are transforming local communities into global communities (Asmar, 2005). Some have argued (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000), that the local and global are no longer two separate fronts, and that universities are being called upon to accommodate all cultures within them.

One study found that overseas students studying in the United Kingdom were especially affected by their transition to life in the United Kingdom in their first months of study there. Luzio-Lockett (1998) found that students attempted to accommodate to the frames of reference of the host culture by squeezing their identity into pre-established conventions. One student indicated that, “on a personal level I felt I couldn’t make sense of myself and my self-esteem was shattered.” Another student said that because of her linguistic challenges she had difficulty holding a positive self-concept while abroad, even though she felt comfortable with her identity in her home culture. A male student confided that he felt he was reinventing himself over and over again in a new environment and he felt stifled by his host environment (p. 209). This study appears to indicate that students with less exposure to other cultures prior to their period of study abroad, and those who are in the early months of transition, appear to have more challenges maintaining a positive and accepting self-identity.

In a series of studies that investigated the challenges that Chinese students faced in their adaptation to a British higher education environment, Gu (2009) concluded that it is important to adopt a holistic and developmental lens to view and interpret Chinese students' experiences studying in the UK. Students' identity changes, at the deepest level, were related to their perceptions of self. Gu found that the Chinese students process of identity change was interwoven with their growth in maturity. For individual students studying abroad was a personal journey which took a variety of forms and had a variety of outcomes. The essential qualities that learners required to achieve personal and intercultural growth, in Gu's study, transcended the boundaries of cultural models. Her findings suggested that it was the interaction of learners with their particular living and study environments, over time, which facilitated identity change.

Summary

As noted above, globalization is profoundly affecting the lives of students of higher education in Canada and around the world. It is impacting their learning, their intercultural relationships, their identities and their futures. Canadian universities agree, as evidenced in their strategic plans and institutional agendas, that it is a top priority to provide all students, domestic and international, with international knowledge and intercultural skills (AUCC, 2008). The need to develop interculturally and internationally knowledgeable citizens is an urgent educational priority (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). Yet outcome measures to assess the progress of international understanding and knowledge are lacking and are difficult to measure. This qualitative research will provide an in-depth exploration of how international Chinese and domestic students perceive the development of their intercultural learning, and how their experiences at a Canadian

university have affected their international knowledge, their understandings of citizenship, the formation of their identities, and their futures.

The successes, challenges and paradoxes of international education and intercultural learning, as they are experienced by domestic Canadian and international Chinese students, will be observed in this study. Do these students value intercultural or international understanding, social justice and citizenship or are they more interested in maintaining the status quo and their positioning within the global economy. The lived experiences and stories of the students will be observed to better understand if intercultural or international understanding is a utopian ideal or rationale used by institutions to condone current internationalization practices or if students perceive that they are being prepared to lead equitably and responsibly in the 21st century. We have much to learn from students' experiences of internationalization at their university.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Introduction

Quantitative and qualitative research methods are both useful for research aimed at making changes in the education system and, more specifically, understanding learning within the context of higher education, where my research is situated. A mixed methods approach is useful for this study because of the complexity and exploratory nature of the research question: “How do students experience internationalization within a university context?” Some philosophers distinguish between quantitative and qualitative research on the basis of different philosophical beliefs (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), yet regardless if a researcher favours qualitative or quantitative research, “there is a strong and essential common ground between the two” (Yin, 2003, p. 15). For the purpose of this study, a quantitative instrument, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) is included (see Appendix A), together with the qualitative case study component of the research. The study is structured in this way to determine whether the IDI instrument supports the qualitative findings, collected via interviews, observations, and reflective writings, about the experiences of the students.

Using a case study approach this study provides an in-depth analysis of how students, domestic and international, experience international, intercultural or global dimensions in their learning in the classroom, through extracurricular activities and support services at the university, through media, in their interpersonal relationships, in their lives in university residence and in their broader communities. This research asks the question: Does the intercultural interaction of university students meet universities’

key objective to prepare graduates who are internationally and interculturally knowledgeable?" (Knight, 2000). To answer this question students' perceptions of their increases in intercultural knowledge are observed and analyzed. The IDI is a tool to assess change in intercultural sensitivity. It is used to gauge students' perceptions of their intercultural learning and to determine if this measurement tool collaborates with the qualitative findings.

Mixed Methods Research

History of mixed methods research. Researchers have used mixed methods throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century. Prior to the incompatibility thesis, that stated it was inappropriate to mix qualitative and quantitative methods, mixed method researchers did not think they were doing anything that was out of the ordinary (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define stages or "moments" in the history of qualitative research and these "moments" impacted the development of, or emergence of, mixed methods research (Teddlie & Tashakkoi, 2003). The five "moments" for qualitative research, as defined by Denzin and Lincoln are: the traditional (1900-1950), the Golden Age or the modernist (1970-1986), the crisis of representation (1986-1990), and postmodern or present moments (1990-present). The emergence of "mixed" or "multimethod" research designs began in the modernist period (1970-1986). When positivism was discredited as a philosophy of science, after World War II, postpositivism gained credibility. Mixed methodologists hold many of the beliefs of postpositivism. For example, it is recognized that research is influenced by the values and theories espoused by the researcher and that the nature of reality is constructed (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

Purpose of using a mixed methods design. A mixed methods design was used to examine how international Chinese and domestic students' frame their understandings of their intercultural experiences. Qualitative methods such as interviews, observation, and reflection journals were employed. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) was used as a quantitative measure in order to measure change in intercultural sensitivity. By using a mixed methods design a richer and fuller picture of the complex variables that contribute to students' responses to internationalization at the university will be described. This mixed methods approach adds breadth and scope to the complex question, "How do students develop intercultural understandings within a university context?" A strength of the study is its ability to examine overlapping and contradictory findings through the qualitative and quantitative results. In addition, this study assessed students over the course of a full year of study in a variety of contexts and through the use of a variety of data collection methods. Implementing these methods resulted in a large amount of data and a challenge of the study was integrating the data in a manner that permitted the qualitative and quantitative findings to be meaningfully compared.

The triangulation design. The mixed methods method of analysis that is best suited for this research is the triangulation design: convergence model. The triangulation design is the most common and well-known approach to mixing methods (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). The term "triangulation", which involves combining data sources with the purpose of studying the same social phenomenon, was introduced by Denzin (1978, as cited in Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). This design's purpose is "to obtain different but complementary data on the same topic" (Morse, 1991, p. 122, as cited in Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). This design allows the researcher to

compare and contrast qualitative findings with quantitative statistical results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The convergence model is the traditional model of a mixed method triangulation design (Creswell, 1999). Using this model the researcher separately collects and analyzes qualitative and quantitative data on the same phenomenon. Different results are then converged by comparing and contrasting different results during the interpretation phase (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). “Researchers use this model when they want to compare results or to validate, confirm, or corroborate quantitative results with qualitative findings. The purpose of this model is to end up with valid and well-substantiated conclusions about a single phenomenon.” (p. 65).

Qualitative component of research design: Case study.

Qualitative research helps a researcher to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomenon within a natural setting (Merriam, 1998). The distinctive need for case studies comes from a desire to understand complex social phenomena (Yin, 2003). In a case study the researcher enters a scene with an interest in learning how the participants in a study function in their ordinary lives and the researcher willingly places aside presumptions. Qualitative case study researchers work to understand how research participants perceive their experiences. The researcher tries to preserve multiple realities, accepting different and even contradictory views of what is happening (Stake, 1995). Case studies are a preferred research strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon situated within a real life context (Yin, 2003). Yin suggests that “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). He also

indicates that the case study method is used when you deliberately want to cover contextual conditions. In my research I am interested in the lived experiences of international and domestic undergraduate students and I explore students' intercultural learning in a variety of contexts, both inside and outside of the classroom, conducting several interviews with each student and observing the students in a variety of contexts.

Generalizability. As a social action or phenomenon becomes understood, it becomes clear that there is even more to understand. The pursuit of science seems to place the highest value on the generalizability factor and the pursuit of professional work seems to most value the particular, but both are needed. Case studies are most often studies of particularization more than generalization. The power of the case study is the attention it can focus on the local situation rather than how it represents other cases in general (Stake, 2006). Yet, social scientists seeking generalization do attend to both the particular and the general. The particular case study can give an explanation in a conceptual sense. When it is the purpose of the case study to go beyond the case it is called an instrumental case study (Stake, 2006), where the researcher's goal is usually to better understand how and why a phenomenon operates as it does. Explanation is a primary goal in the instrumental case study (Johnson & Christensen, 2008). The findings are not necessarily generalizable to students studying at other universities, but they can contribute to a conceptual understanding of how students learning is enhanced or constricted in an intercultural setting.

Learning through Experiences

In a cross cultural context, the pedagogy of experiential learning has been implemented in study abroad programs (Teranishi, 2007) and through immersion field

trips (Jakubowski, 2003). The students in this study participated in a variety of immersion field trips during their stay at the university. The purpose of the trips to Canadian cities and locales, including Canada's capital, was to learn more about Canada and Canada's peoples and culture.

Experiential learning, where students connect personal and intellectual knowledge, is becoming more prevalent in higher education (Teranashi, 2007). Experiential education can be defined as "a philosophy and methodology in which educators purposely engage with learners in direct experience and focused reflection in order to increase knowledge, develop skills, and clarify values (Association of Experiential Education, 2004, as cited in Breunig, 2005). Studies have found that experiential learning has assisted students in developing their identities, connectedness to community, understandings of diversity, and abilities to critically examine assumptions about self and society (Breunig, 2005; Jakubowski, 2003; King, 2004; Teranishi, 2007). Educational theories of experiential education and critical pedagogy intersect in their aim of developing a more socially just world (Breunig, 2005). "Critically responsive" pedagogy invites involvement and can be realized through the utilization of a theoretical framework that incorporates experience, critical thinking, reflection and action (Jakubowski, 2003). The notion of participation in education is not new. Dewey (1963, as cited in Jakubowski, 2003), writing about "progressive education," noted that active learning was essential of the individuals to develop as citizens.

Challenge of Representing the Other

In case study research, the researcher carefully observes the "case" and tries to represent it and be true to his/her understandings and perceptions of the case as best as

s/he can. This is not without challenges. Madison (2005) suggests that “with all the good intentions, excellent craftsmanship, and even with the reliability and eloquence of a particular story, representing Others is always going to be a complicated and contentious undertaking. Asking for and attending to another’s story in an interview context is challenging and requires an acute awareness of what interviews are and how they can be best conducted to elicit a narrative from the other. “If we take seriously the idea that people make sense of experience and communicate meaning through narration, *then in-depth interviews should become occasions in which we ask for life stories.*” (Chase, 1995, p. 2).

Research Design

Selection of cases. The first criterion in the selection of case studies should be to maximize what the researcher can learn, while taking into consideration time and access to fieldwork considerations (Merriam, 1998). If possible, the researcher should choose cases that are easy to access and hospitable to the inquiry. Purposeful sampling techniques used in qualitative research studies include typical, unique, maximum variation, convenience, snowball, chain and network sampling (Merriam, 1998). In this research a typical sample, which reflected the average student affected by internationalization at the institute of higher learning, was selected. In this regard, “when a typical site sampling strategy is used the site is specifically selected because it is not in any major way atypical, extreme, deviant, or intensely unusual” (Patton, 1990, p. 173). Chinese students were selected for the study because they are one of the most typical nationalities represented in the international student populations at Canadian universities. These students were selected from a university with which the Canadian university

studied had an established partnership agreement. The Canadian students were selected from a group of International Peer Guides at the university. These students had demonstrated an interest in internationalization at the university by their involvement in the International Peer Guide program. Although a Canadian student interested in actively pursuing ties with international students may not be typical of all the students at the university, it was valuable to have access to the experiences of domestic students who were engaged with internationalization endeavours at the university. Four out of a total of 22 International Peer Mentors volunteered and were subsequently selected for the domestic student participation component of the study and four out of 24 Chinese students from the selected partner university were chosen for the international student component of the study. Two male and two female students were selected from each of the two groups to balance for gender differences. All of the students had been pre-selected into their groups. The Chinese students were interviewed at the partner university prior to coming to Canada. Prior to this study, I interviewed and selected students to be International Peer Mentors. All of the students from these two groups were invited to participate in the study (n=46). Students self identified an interest in participating in the study and I selected the first four students (who met the criteria), from each of the before mentioned groups, who contacted me to indicate their interest in participating in the study.

Participants.

Students from a partner university in north east China came to Canada for their third and fourth years of study (they were in their third year of study at the time of this research). At the university in which this study takes place, a total of 20-25 students are

enrolled from this partner institution in China each year. The international Chinese students in this research are young, in their early twenties, and are from a place of economic privilege within their Chinese society. They complete two years of study at a Canadian university, and, prior to coming to Canada they became familiarized with many aspects of Western culture. Many of the students' parents own large businesses in China or are employed in upper management or government positions. The students have attended some of the best schools and universities in China, have been taught by Western professors, speak English well, have access to Western commercial goods, and are exposed to Western media and information about international business. The Chinese students in this study are enrolled in a well-respected finance and economics university in China. They come from privileged families and they have been prepared, since birth to follow and maintain their families' positions of privilege within Chinese society. They have also received extensive preparation in the English language and in Western culture before they came to study in Canada. Their English level and academic ability was assessed by the Canadian university they entered (where the study takes place) prior to their arrival in Canada. These international students have been prepared and selected by their society and a Western university to succeed in Western society and apply their knowledge in a global business context, whether that application, after graduation, is in China, Canada or elsewhere. It could be argued that the Chinese students have more in common socially and economically with their peers at Western universities than they do with the less privileged members of China.

The domestic students in this study committed to the role of peer mentor to the incoming international students. They committed to spending 1-2 hours per week with

their peers for the duration of the academic school year. This may involve the Canadian student answering questions about differences in culture, providing information about life in Canada or the Canadian university setting, assisting international peers in meeting other domestic students or accompanying them at domestic and international student events. Some of the student interactions occur over email, face-to-face one-on-one meetings, and during group activities. International Peer Guides were trained, by the researcher, to refer peers for professional help if the peers had challenges that surpassed their abilities to assist. All third-year international Chinese students (n=24) from the partner university and all international peer mentors (n=22) were invited to participate in the study. The eight students who participated in the interviews were selected from these two groups of students based on a set of criteria.

There were eight students who participated in the case study component of this study. Four of them were international Chinese students and four of them were domestic Canadian students who were participating in the International Peer Mentor Program at their university. Two of the international Chinese students are male and two are female. All four international Chinese students are all studying business or economics at the Canadian host university.

The four Canadian domestic students who participated in the study have diverse backgrounds. Two of the Canadian students are male, are studying Management and Organizational Studies, and share classes with the Chinese students who are part of this study. Two of the Canadian students are female, and are both enrolled in courses in humanities and social sciences. These two female participants do not have any classes with the Chinese students. All four Canadian students identified interest in getting to

know international students and in increasing their intercultural awareness. This interest is demonstrated by their volunteer participation as an International Peer Mentor. Within their Canadian society, the Canadian students do not have a position of economic privilege that is similar to the Chinese students' position of privilege within their Chinese society.

Framework and objectives.

Epistemologically and conceptually this research is conducted using a critical paradigm. As indicated in the introduction, the research, and its explorations of how globalization impacts upon and is informed and transformed by education, is observed through a postcolonial lens. By using an in-depth case study approach for the research, which took place over the course of an academic year, the ways in which a particular group of students experience internationalization within a university setting, and how they become aware of and reflect critically on their intercultural experiences is carefully observed. Working from a postcolonial lens, it is recognized that knowledge is subjective and that the researcher's values frame the inquiry. Adopting a critical epistemological stance, the ways in which understandings of intercultural learning are framed by the questions asked, is reflected upon. Intercultural knowledge and understanding are complex concepts with various variables. As such, it is difficult to fully measure or evaluate intercultural learning using a quantitative tool. This research brings a critical understanding to the practice of how quantitative measures, such as the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) can inform intercultural learning.

As was also indicated in the introduction, the objectives of the research are to explore and observe:

- a) How international Chinese and domestic Canadian students reflect upon their intercultural interactions and identities, and imagine their futures;
- b) How students' intercultural interactions and experiences are related to their conceptions of citizenship, including their ideas of local and global civic responsibilities;
- c) How students learn to develop critical consciousness or an ability to reflect critically on their experiences;
- d) How international Chinese and domestic Canadian students' experiences prepare them to be internationally knowledgeable and interculturally sensitive.

Procedure.

The study took place over the course of an academic year, from September to April. Four international Chinese students, who transferred to a Canadian university during their third year of study, were interviewed by the researcher once at the beginning and once at the end of their first year of study at a Canadian university. The four Canadian students were also interviewed once at the beginning and once at the end of their year of study at the same Canadian university. All interviews were conducted by the researcher and were approximately 60-90 minutes in length. All eight students were participants in the university's International Peer Mentor program. In addition to the interviews, the researcher observed all students at various events and activities throughout the school year. The student participants also provided reflections of their experiences at the university during the school year.

Students filled out the IDI instrument at the beginning and end of the school year. While the qualitative component of the research addressed how students engaged in

intercultural learning in a variety of contexts, the quantitative component addressed the question of whether or not change occurred in students' intercultural sensitivity, as defined by the Intercultural Development Inventory, from the beginning to the end of the academic year.

The study also explored how students' understandings and perceptions of their identities changed over time as a result of their intercultural experiences. Students were observed at various times throughout the school year (from September 2007 to April 2008). Assessments included the use of interviews, student reflection journals, observations at International Program events and the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), a measure of intercultural sensitivity and development. Data was analyzed for similarities and differences in intercultural sensitivity and understanding, identity formation, and future goals and plans among international Chinese and Canadian participants. Social and power-relationship interactions between domestic peer guides and international peers were also explored. International Chinese and domestic students were asked to comment on how their intercultural learning developed within classrooms and within the wider Canadian university context.

The data was collected at various times throughout the academic year. These times are referred to as stages.

Stage 1: September - October 2007.

- 1) Information about the research was sent to the students involved in the peer mentor program, as well as all the students from the Chinese partner university. The students were invited to participate in the research. They were informed that their participation was voluntary and every effort would be made to keep their identity anonymous. A

third party at the Canadian university collected the students' consent forms and administered the Intercultural Development Inventory to the students who were willing to participate in the study. The third party invited all participants to meet in a classroom at a designated time to sign consents and complete the IDI. The third party assigned each student a number and the inventories were identified by their numbers and not by student names. The IDI (50 items) was administered to the international Chinese students and the Canadian Peer Guides who consented to participate in the IDI portion of the study (n=46).

- 2) Four international Chinese students (2 male and 2 female) and four domestic Peer Guides (2 male and 2 female) were invited to participate in interviews and journal reflection writing. All the international Chinese students and the Canadian Peer Guides who were invited to participate in this research were advised that the first 8 students who met the criteria (male/female, Chinese/domestic) who contacted the researcher expressing an interest to participate would be accepted.
- 3) Interviews were conducted with the 8 students who consented to participate in the case study component of the study. The interview questions are found in Appendix B.

Stage 2: September 2007 - April 2008.

- 1) Support was offered to all international students and domestic students. All international Chinese students had the opportunity to be matched with a domestic/international Peer Guide.
- 2) The eight participants who consented to participate in the study were observed at various activities planned for international students throughout the school year.

- 3) These eight students submitted reflection journals about their intercultural experiences. The students were asked to reflect upon their experiences interacting with peers involved in the Peer Guide Program, their experiences in the classroom, and any interactions that they experienced as intercultural. The reflection journals were completed midyear in December 2007.

Stage 3: March - May 2008.

- 1) Closing interviews were conducted with the four international Chinese students and the four domestic peer guides who were participated in the case study.

Analysis of data.

International Chinese and Canadian students were observed at planned events and excursions throughout the academic year. The participating Chinese and domestic students recorded their intercultural experiences in a journal. Journal entries were assessed for themes relating to intercultural understanding and learning, ability to reflect critically, and identity development. Miles and Huberman's (1994) sequence of steps for qualitative data analysis were followed. They include:

- a) Giving codes to field notes drawn from observations, journal entries and interviews.
- b) Noting personal reflections or comments in the margins.
- c) Sorting and sifting through the material to identify similar phases, relationships between variables, patterns, themes, distinct differences between subgroups (Chinese exchange and domestic students and male and female), and common sequences.

- d) Identifying these patterns and processes, commonalities and differences and taking them to subsequent data collection phases.
- e) Elaborating a small set of generalizations related to consistencies discerned in the data base.
- f) Examining generalities in light of formalized knowledge in cultural identity and intercultural constructs and theories.

All interview transcripts were analyzed and compared.

Observation and Reflection Journals

Student interactions were observed at various events, activities and excursions throughout the year. The researcher was also available, during that time, to discuss any concerns about studies or cultural adjustment or activities of daily life. Planned events included: an excursion to see Cirque Du Soleil, an autumn Moon-cake festival, an excursion to a Farmer's Market, a Halloween party, a theatre performance, a winter end of the year/gift-exchange party, a Cultural Festival, a Maple Sugar Bush excursion, a week- long excursion to Quebec City, Montreal, and Ottawa, and an end of the year party.

Intercultural Development Inventory

The quantitative component of this study, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), includes responses to 50 questions associated with the development of intercultural sensitivity or understanding. The IDI is based upon the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), and is a tool that has been used to understand the development of cross-cultural sensitivity (Altshuler, Sussman, & Kachur, 2003; Klak & Martin, 2003). Intercultural development, as indicated by the IDI, as been shown to be

significantly related to moral judgement (Endicott, Bock, & Narvaez, 2003). The first three stages of the model are ethnocentric, meaning that one's own culture is perceived as central to reality. The second three stages of the model are ethnorelative, meaning that one experiences one's own culture in the context of other cultures (Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

The intercultural development continuum progresses from less complex perceptions or experiences (more monocultural perspectives) to more complex experiences of cultural diversity that represent a more intercultural mindset (Hammer, 2009; see Figure 1).

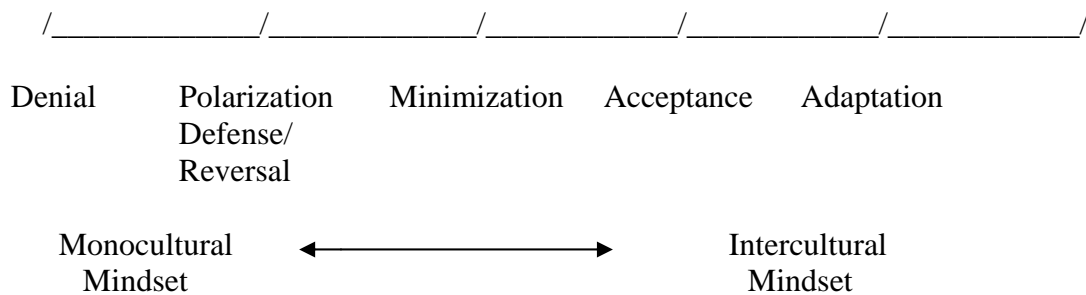


Figure 1. Intercultural development continuum (Hammer, 2009).

Hammer (2009) suggests that “the capability of shifting cultural perspective and adapting behaviour to cultural context represents an intercultural mindset. In contrast, perceiving cultural differences from one's own cultural perspective is indicative of a more monocultural mindset.” (p. 2005). Denial is the earliest developmental state and is most reflective of dominant culture individuals who have limited experiences with those from different cultural backgrounds. An orientation of denial maintains a stance of disinterest or avoidance of cultural diversity. An individual is more likely to move from denial to a polarization orientation of defense if they need to have more contact and more interaction

with those from diverse cultures. This can create conditions for the emergence of a judgemental orientation that is grounded in a sense of “us” and “them”. A variation within this polarization is reversal where the cultural practices of another cultural group is viewed as superior to one’s own. Minimization is a state where an individual recognizes cultural differences but focuses more on unifying frameworks that can be understood largely from one’s own cultural perspective. By identifying differences through a commonality lens, underlying differences can be masked. In an acceptance orientation, individuals begin to explore cultural differences more deeply and recognize that cultural patterns need to be understood from the other culture’s perspective. Individuals can experience their cultural patterns of behaviour and perceptions as one of a number of different but complex perceptions and behavioural patterns. Acceptance generally reflects a desire to learn about cultural differences. The issue for resolution to progress from acceptance to adaptation concerns value or ethical relativity. Hammer (2009) indicates that

the primary task for further development is to reconcile the “relativistic” stance that aids understanding of cultural differences without giving up one’s own cultural values and principles. Movement through acceptance therefore involves deepening one’s perceptions of other cultures, demonstrating a willingness to understand different (and even abhorrent) cultural practices from that other cultural perspective, and an increased capacity to weigh one’s own cultural values alongside the values from the other cultural perspective in such a way as to make ethical judgements in which cultural differences are fully taken into consideration. These judgements are made, however, not by employing completely culturally

relativistic criteria (i.e., what is judged good in another culture should remain so), but rather employing Reflective consideration of one's cultural values and those of the other group that ultimately address the existential question, "What kind of world do we want to live in?" (p. 209).

During the adaptation stage an individual is able to shift perspective to another culture and adapt behaviour in accordance with cultural context. "Adaptation is characterized by an increased repertoire of cultural frameworks and behaviours available to reconcile unity and diversity goals and a sense that one's living in a multicultural world demands intercultural competence (performance in adaptation)" (Hammer, 2009, p. 209). By engaging in cognitive frame shifting and behaviour code shifting, the individual experiences the world in ways that approximate the experience of the "other".

Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) indicate that the IDI is a widely used tool, is reliable and valid, and is applicable for use in assessment and training in international competencies with a student population. It has been called the premier cross-culturally valid and reliable measure of intercultural competence, and has IDI administrators in 30 countries and has been translated into 12 languages (Hammer, 2009). The IDI is comprised of 50 items (See Appendix A). It was initially developed from the interviews of 40 men and women representative of a wide range of ages, experiences, and cultures. Hammer et al. (2003) propose that the IDI scales can be employed to empirically examine whether higher total IDI scores (higher scores indicate greater ethnorelativism) predict: (a) less cultural stress among sojourners, (b) more satisfaction with living in a foreign culture, (c) decreased conflict and violence toward those from another culture, and (d) decreased levels of prejudice and discrimination towards culturally different

others. Additionally, it is claimed that the measurement is useful for purposes of assessing program needs, contributing to personnel selection, evaluating programs, and guiding individual and group development of intercultural competence (Hammer et al. 2003).

Summary

Discovering how students participate and engage in intercultural learning and how this critical learning and reflection affects their identity and engagement with themselves, others, and their nation and globe is a complex question. Administrators and faculty of institutions of higher learning who voice interest in preparing graduates who are internationally and interculturally knowledgeable (Knight, 2000), benefit from understanding how students perceive critical thinking and how this translates across cultures. The complexities of students' intercultural and critical learning is captured through the eight case studies presented in this research, through the use of qualitative measures (i.e., including interviews, observations and reflection journals). A quantitative component, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), is used as an adjunct to the qualitative measures to assess change, throughout the year, in the development of intercultural sensitivity and understanding. The IDI's ability to provide meaningful information about the development of intercultural sensitivity is also critically observed.

Chapter Five

Data Analysis: Case Study and Identified Themes

Introduction

This chapter will introduce each of the students who participated in the case study research. Four international Chinese students, two male and two female from the 24 students in their first year of study at the Canadian university, and four domestic students, two male and two female, from the 20 students in the International Peer Guide Program volunteered and were accepted to participate in the case study research.

Participants

International students.

Ling.

Ling, a 21 year old female, is an international Chinese student who has just transferred to Southern Ontario from a university of finance and economics in North-East China. She has come to Canada to continue her studies, along with a cohort of 24 classmates from her Chinese university. This is her first time living outside of China. She transferred to a business and economics program in Canada in her third year of university study. She possesses a vivacious and energetic spirit and is keen to share her experiences about her life at university in Canada.

At the beginning of the school year Ling spoke of how happy she was to be studying in Canada and of how privileged she felt to have this opportunity. Ling was interviewed for this research study after she had been in Canada for one month. At that time she said that she “feels lucky” and that it was “unbelievable” that she was really living in Canada. Everything is “brand-new” she exclaims.

Ling expresses a change from her prior feelings of dependence on Chinese friends to a feeling of independence in her new life in Canada, indicating with pride, “Now I can do almost everything on my own.” Although, after one month in Canada, she feels less dependent on her Chinese friends, she expresses how important it is to her to remain in close relation with her Chinese cohort/class while living in Canada. Ling frequently frames her experiences in the positive, while acknowledging that some of her experiences are challenging.

Ling strongly identifies with her Chinese national origins and family. She describes her father as a Chinese doctor who is quite traditional and says she is influenced by him. She believes that her essence will retain what she identifies with, which is her national Chinese culture, regardless of her international education and other life experiences. She indicates, “After I decided to go abroad to Canada to study, I became more open. But my core mind, in my heart, my spirit is Chinese. So there may be some changes in my actions, but my mind will stay the same... I like Chinese literature, and Chinese music, and I love our culture.”

Ling has now graduated from the Canadian university and is enrolled in a Masters graduate program in Economics in British Columbia, Canada.

Tao.

Tao, a 22 year old male student, was a third year male student from the same partner university in North East China. His home town is in the South East of China. Tao found it challenging to become accustomed to living in Canada and indicated that it was far more difficult than he anticipated to “get used to life here.” He describes his loneliness and says, “When night falls most places sink in horrible dark.” He is

accustomed to living in a Chinese city of seven million people instead of in a Canadian city with a population of several hundred thousand people. He has difficulty relating to and enjoying Canadian students' leisure activities and said during the initial interview, "Chinese prefer more quiet and rational activities than Canadians."

Tao is frequently serious and conscientious in his responses, and although he can be defensive in some of his comments and expressions, he is committed in his desire to understand and make sense of cultural differences. Of the four Chinese students who participated in the case studies, Tao expressed the greatest concern about English language comprehension. "Language is the main problem for me as an international student. I try to talk to Chinese friends in English to improve my ability and so other Canadians can join in." Although he feels lonely he is making attempts to connect with his Chinese and Canadian peers.

Tao is frustrated by his experiences with Canadian students' knowledge of China. He said,

Most people here know only a little about the current China and have serious misconstructions about China. Most of them only know Chinese food, Shanghai, Hong Kong, cheap labor, booming processing industry and communism. Some people ask me if Chinese have no human rights and freedoms, and if most Chinese companies steal technology from Western countries.

Because Tao had studied a fair bit about North American society prior to coming to Canada, and because he was exposed to North American culture via the media while in China, he was surprised that Canadians were not equally aware of Chinese culture. He also felt judged by his Canadian peers and felt they were critical of his national culture.

Tao has now graduated from the Canadian university and is enrolled in a Masters program in Economics in British Columbia, Canada.

Hui.

Hui, a 21 year old female was also from the partner university in North East China, and was in her third year of undergraduate studies at the time of this study. She has a shy and ready smile and is enthusiastic about participating in the study and talking about her experiences. She has lived most of her life away from her family and lived in boarding schools while in China becoming educated and preparing for her future. So the experience of living and studying with her peers is familiar to her and she does not have a need to adjust to being away from her family and friends because she is with her class cohort and friendship group from China and she was not accustomed to spending significant amounts of her time with family while she was in China. She described her university in Canada as “another home across the ocean”. However, she initially found it difficult to adjust to the many changes she was experiencing at university in Canada. During the initial interview she commented, “Every day was full of surprise at the beginning. Initially I didn’t like new things and couldn’t accept difference. I feared venturing out.” After a month in Canada, Hui indicated that she feels she is “assimilating to a new life style.”

Hui speaks openly about the difficulties in becoming friends with Canadian students. She also speaks of shared commonalities with other international students. The organized Peer Guide Program, at the Canadian university which she attends, offers an important means for Hui to connect with a Canadian peer. She spoke about this when she said,

Most of our class is Chinese and we have a preference to take the same class. So it is very hard for us to make friends with foreigners. So I try to connect with my peer guide. She is very good and kind. I study together with her in the library. I'm trying to find chances like this to interact more. I want to be accepted by the local culture. I don't want to be an outsider.

Hui has a strong desire to be accepted by those in her "home across the ocean."

Hui has now graduated from her Canadian university and is enrolled in a graduate program in Economics in Uppsala, Sweden.

Peng.

Peng, a 22 year old male student who was in his third year of undergraduate study at the time of this study, is also from the partner university in North East Asia. He grew up in South China in Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province, and moved to North East China to go to university. Peng is comfortable with the English language and is ready and able to discuss political and cultural matters. Like Tao, he is surprised by Canadian students' lack of familiarity with Chinese culture. Peng indicated, "The average North American person is not so familiar with Chinese culture. They don't understand what we do and what we have done."

He feels close to his Chinese cohort of 24 students who are also studying at the Canadian partner university and feels they have a bond and sense of community that is lacking among the Canadian students. "The way we make friends in China is different. People in Canada who take the same course think they are classmates – but in China we have something that is more stable, something like community." Of the four Chinese students in this study, Peng appears the most confident in his ability to relate to other

Canadians. “If you have the same interests as others in Canada they are eager to tell you their stories.” He perceives Canadian students as willing to engage with him if he can find a common interest.

Peng indicated that his move from Southern to Northern China gave him prior experience in cultural adjustment. “I can adjust to change because I have already had experience adjusting to different cultures. There are many differences between Northern and Southern China (Guangzhou) and I had already adjusted to those changes.” He also finds that Canadian culture is already somewhat familiar to him because he was introduced to it while in China. “Western culture is so popular in China. I started to get to know North American culture since I was in primary school. You know we have the TV channel that always presents some drama from North America like Prison Break.....” Peng’s prior experience with cultural difference and his familiarity with Western culture assisted him to feel more readily at ease studying at a Canadian university.

Peng has now graduated from his Canadian university and is enrolled in a graduate program in Financial Mathematics in Southern Ontario.

Canadian students.

Marilyn.

Marilyn, a 20 year old female Canadian student, was in her third year at the university at the time of this study. Her subject major is history and she has career goals of studying International Relations and becoming a Diplomat. She is familiar with European culture as her family is also Belgian and she has extended family who live in France. When Marilyn was in high school she had an exchange student from Thailand live with her family; she identifies this as a positive experience and one that increased her

interest in international relations. Marilyn describes herself as an outgoing, easygoing and fun loving person. She said, “As long as I am around people I generally love to do anything.”

Marilyn wanted to join the Peer Guide Program and become involved with international students because of her interest in international relations. Because she could not travel abroad at this time she thought the next best option was to be involved in the international community at her university. She also felt she could relate to the international students because she had previously suffered from homesickness. She spoke positively about her intercultural interactions from the beginning of her time as an International Peer Guide, indicating, “I think I will benefit from the experience just as much as the international students, if not more, as I will learn about their culture and make new friends.” Marilyn has lived most of her life with her family in the country and she closely identifies with rural life and culture. She perceives her rural experiences as being quite different from the experiences of other Canadians who grew up in the city.

Marilyn transferred to a program of study in International Relations in her senior undergraduate years. She currently has one course to complete before her undergraduate graduation. She is currently working at a job while she completes her course and plans to save money so she can, “begin her worldly travel.”

Geraldo.

Geraldo, a male 22 year old Canadian student was in his fourth year of a Management and Organizational Studies Program with a specialization in Global Commerce at the time of this study. His career goal at that time was to work for an international firm that would allow him to develop and grow his business skills. He was

very active with international students and had been an International Student Peer Guide from 2005 until 2008. His cultural background is mixed. His father was the first in his family to come to Canada from Spain; his mother's family has been in Canada for two or three generations and has German, English, Irish and Welsh heritage. He is interested in sports such as soccer, ultimate frisbee and volleyball. As well he is involved in Off-campus Student Council, the Spanish and Latin Students' Association (SALSA Club) and the Association Internationale des Etudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales/International Association of Students in Economics and Business Management (AISEC club).

Geraldo's interest in becoming involved with international programs at the university developed after his first international study experience in China. Of that experience he says,

So after I went to China, I became more interested and I wanted to help out the Chinese and the Korean students when they came here – or whoever else – to help them integrate as a student. Because I experienced the same thing over there so I wanted to do the same for them over here.

He also wishes to reciprocate some of the kindness he experienced when he was a student in China. "If I was to go over there they would be more caring than let's say a Canadian would be to them over here."

Geraldo has now graduated from his undergraduate program and is teaching English in Korea.

Terri-Lynne.

Terri-Lynne, a 20 year old female Canadian student, was in her second year at

university studying English literature and Religious Studies at the time of this study. She was an International Peer Guide and Coordinator so she had numerous interactions with various international students. She initially joined the International Peer Guide Program because she thought it sounded like fun and she thought it would be a way to get involved with and meet people from other countries. Her interests include soccer, music, cooking and travelling.

Terri-Lynne is the youngest child in a large family and a number of her siblings had international experiences. For example her sister taught English in Taiwan and Terri-Lynne visited her while she was there. She also had a boyfriend who is from the Philippines and she spent two months with him in the Philippines. She does not identify with any particular culture within her family of origin, except to indicate that her strongest link would be Italian but that only one eighth of her was Italian. She said, “I didn’t grow up in one specific culture. We don’t have traditional holidays we celebrate like we do our Catholic holidays. Yeah, we don’t seem to have a strong culture.” Terri-Lynne’s family is devout in their Catholic religious practices, but Terri-Lynne does not identify her religious culture as being a part of her identity. She says that she did not think she had any culture growing up in Canada. “But later,” she said, “I came to realize that in Canada we have our own kind of culture of multiculturalism.”

Terri-Lynne is now completing her final year of undergraduate study with a major specialization in Religious Studies and a minor in English Studies. Her future goals include travelling and teaching English. After travelling she would like to attend graduate school or a Faculty of Education to become a teacher.

Zacharias.

At the time of this study, Zacharias was a 20 year old male Canadian student in his third year of study in Economics. He was interested in languages and studied French in elementary school and secondary school, and Spanish in secondary school. His interests include hockey, soccer and golf. As well, he is a member of the university's Economics club. He wanted to join the International Peer Guide program because he enjoyed experiencing different cultures and wanted to help international students build a strong English vocabulary and aid them in the Economics classes they were enrolled in together. He also indicated that he is impressed with the Chinese students' work ethic and he wanted to learn from them about how to be more disciplined in his work habits.

Zacharias was born in Canada. His father is first generation Ukrainian and his mother is originally from Britain. Zacharias identifies himself as both Ukrainian and Canadian although he does not speak Ukrainian so he has some difficulty relating to other Ukrainian youth. About his culture he says,

I'd like to say that I am strongly Ukrainian because I don't want to be just Canadian. It's not that I don't want to be Canadian but I want to be something else too. I want to know different cultures. Because if you are culturally diverse in business you can do well and you can make steps and you can make progress.

Zacharias was actively involved with his international peers and frequently went out with them and took them to his family's home on special occasions like Canadian Thanksgiving. He is family oriented and speaks fondly of his three sisters, parents and extended family. It is very important to him to be successful in his career and have his family be proud of him.

Zacharias has now graduated with his degree in honour economics. After graduation he went to Europe, worked, and studied to write his GMAT test. He continues to speak favourably about his participation with international programs at the university.

Development of Themes Related to Research Objectives

The interviews and journal reflections of the case study participants were analyzed and themes related to the research objectives were identified. As indicated in the earlier chapters, the objectives of the research are to observe:

- a) How international Chinese and domestic Canadian students reflect upon their intercultural interactions and identities, and imagine their futures;
- b) How students' intercultural interactions and experiences are related to their conceptions of citizenship, including their ideas of local and global civic responsibilities;
- c) How students learn to develop critical consciousness or an ability to reflect critically on their experiences;
- d) How international Chinese and domestic Canadian students' experiences prepare them to be internationally knowledgeable and interculturally sensitive.

The interviews and reflection journals were analyzed with these objectives in mind. The following four themes were found:

- 1) Education and marketization
- 2) Academic pressure and performance
- 3) Language intercultural connections and barriers
- 4) Hybrid and local/global identities

Themes Identified in Interviews and Reflections

Education and marketization.

The first interviews with the international Chinese students were completed in early October 2007 after the students had been at the Canadian university for one month. The final interview with each of these students was completed prior to exams at the end of the academic year. The first theme identified was education and marketization. International students have been described as “the new global generation” (Rizvi, 2000a); there is much to learn from how they perceive, understand and situate themselves in the world. For example, do they adopt or challenge a metanarrative of progress that is related to a consumeristic economic model (Hickling-Hudson, 2003)?

The international Chinese students in this study, although economically privileged, are in their role as students, disadvantaged, because they lack decision making abilities with international education policies and practices. Also being Chinese at a university that is predominately White, and at which domestic Canadian students are living in their home culture, places them at a disadvantage. Yet the international Chinese students had familiarity with Western culture before they arrived in Canada. The Canadian students are less familiar with Chinese culture than the international Chinese students are with Western culture. The international Chinese students indicated that they were especially influenced by American culture, as it was depicted to them through the media. American TV shows such as *Friends* were popular.

The four international Chinese students who participated in this case study come from an economically privileged position within their national society and they identify this privilege. They have chosen to study in Canada and meet the description of “the new

international student” identified by Turner & Robson (2008) which emphasizes the reciprocal development of intercultural knowledge and skills. These four students have each studied English from an early age. They benefited from attending elite schools in China.

The international Chinese students indicate that there are many similarities in their experiences with education at their Chinese university and their partner Canadian university. Tao indicates that the classroom in Xinjin (next to Hong Kong), where he is from, is quite open, modern, and well equipped. He says, “We have a very big library, and big classrooms, and good instructors. The classes are almost the same (as the ones in Canada).” Tao indicates that his school had more native English instructors than other schools in China. His elementary school had five instructors for 4 000 students. When he, like the other students in this study, was preparing to come to university in Canada a number of their courses were taught in English by foreign faculty members. Ling relates,

When we were in China, when we were in the School of International Business (SIB), teachers teach much more like the ways you teach students here. But I don’t know whether other students (in China) who are not in SIB are taking the same education. So the education here is similar to what I have taken in China.

Although the four Chinese students identify many similarities between their education in China and their education in Canada, they also recognize that a foreign degree is highly esteemed in China. Ling says,

In China most people believe in education in foreign countries more than the education in China. So if I get a foreign university’s degree diploma they will think that I am better than some other students who studied in China. Also study

abroad helps me to improve my English. So some foreign companies may decide to hire me first.

As stated in the introduction, “In a globalized knowledge economy, Western higher education credentials are increasingly portrayed as the key or path to higher status, and secure ‘professional’ employment” (Doherty & Singh, 2005, p. 57). The desire to be marketable in the global economy has a marked influence on the Chinese students in this study. Peng says that the value given to having a place of prominence in the global market is particularly strong where he is from in Guangzhou, South East China. “In South China we focus more on money. Making money is our purpose in life, and that will make for more efficiency in our study and working I think.” Peng associates democracy with capitalism. He confides that, despite the differences between North and South China, “I think that at the present time all of China would prefer more democracy you know. Because China’s economy is booming and everyone wants to do business and make some money. That’s the key point.”

Economics and future career prospects featured prominently in the Chinese students’ decisions to study in Canada. Similarly Rizvi’s (2005b) investigation of East Indian and international Chinese students’ experiences in Australia found that international students from China came to Australian universities with a “global cosmopolitan imaginary” (p. 7) already developed. They had enjoyed considerable class privilege in China and this affected their engagement with global economy and culture.

Many of the students in Rizvi’s study were more concerned with their positioning within the global labour market than they were with building a moral sense of global solidarity. Rizvi concludes (2005b) that, if universities

are to be serious about preparing their students for the new world, then they need to teach them not only how to build effective professional careers within the global economy, but also how to lead productive moral lives, in which global interdependence is not simply a slogan but a way of helping students expand their moral universe in cosmopolitan terms (pp. 14-15).

Like the international Chinese students in Rizvi's study, the international Chinese students in this research demonstrate an understanding of how contemporary political, social, economic, and cultural practices are located within structures of power (Rizvi, 2007). The students are, however, accepting of current economic practices and structures and have not demonstrated a wish to intervene by bringing alternative knowledge to current power structures, in order to create more just and equitable relations (Young, 2003).

All four Chinese students are strongly connected to China yet they are also beginning to see that they can have influence in the world beyond China. Peng says,

I think I'm changing. You know, I want to have more power to do some fantastic things in China, and it should be on behalf of the whole of China. Now I have come to Canada and there is another change I want. How do I say it? I want to seek more from foreign countries. So I guess I want to be part of an international region, and not just Canada.

All four international Chinese students in this study are studying economics and business so it is not surprising that they are aware of the central role that the economy has in national and international development. The need for political power is also recognized. Peng says,

In South China, as you know, we focus on the economy but if you want a good economy you also need political power. But the main political leaders are from North China. They suppress the people from South China. So we sometimes get upset about that. In fact we want to gain some political power to develop our economy but we cannot do that.

Peng has an awareness of how his individual opportunities are enhanced and limited by social and national systems. To understand the salience of globalization it needs to be seen from historical and political contexts. From a postcolonial perspective the false universalism of globalization is recognized and contemporary political, social, economic, and cultural practices are found to be located within structures of power (Rizvi, 2007).

The need to procure wealth was of particular importance to the male students (both Chinese and Canadian) in the case studies. They appear to adopt what Hickling-Hudson (2003) identifies as a metanarrative of progress that is related to a consumeristic economic model. The two Canadian males in the case study, Zacharias and Geraldo, indicate that their interactions with and learning from the international Chinese students can enable their growth and position them for business success in a global economy. They are interested in forming intercultural relationships with the international Chinese students because they believe this will position them more favourably in the global economy. When asked about his interest in joining the International Peer Guide program Zacharias responds,

Being in economics and business myself, I am interested in knowing how the international students work. If I were to go to one of their companies, I'd like to know how they work. That's why I really want to interact with the international

students – to become culturally diverse but also to become diverse within the workplace. I want to separate myself from someone else. If I have an understanding of how someone works harder, or if someone is working harder than me, then I need to work harder too, right?

Zacharias' interest in interacting with international students is commercially driven. For Zacharias, the "other" is constructed in economic terms. He explicitly states, "I want to know different cultures. Because if you are culturally diverse in business you can do well and you can make steps and you can make progress. You can get in and out of some places." Cantor and Courant (2003) note that many students select their university courses based on their opinion of what will maximize returns on investment or which areas are likely to maximize future economic returns. It is this enterprise ethic mindset, exemplified in some of Zacharias' comments, that has led to an eroding of support for the humanities and humanistic social sciences, courses that can provide preparation for democratic citizenship and critical thinking (McCarthy, 2008).

Academic pressure and performance.

The international Chinese and Canadian participants in this case study related many stories about their experiences of cultural difference. One of the more prominent themes, identified by both the international Chinese and Canadian students was the pressure the international Chinese students experienced to succeed academically and professionally. The international Chinese students found the Canadian students' way of living quite relaxed and carefree compared to their own.

Tao spent some time at his peer guide's home (his peer guide was Zacharias) and indicated that Zacharias and his family's lifestyle was

totally different than the lifestyles in my country. For example, he has a big house with several sisters and he has a slow and easy lifestyle. They just enjoy their life. In China, especially in my city, it is very crowded. It is a modern city, metropolitan, and it makes us very intense....we need to know a lot of advanced knowledge to be competitive.

Ling also talked about the pressures Chinese students experience and believed that international Chinese students and Canadian students allocate time differently because the international Chinese students have a need to succeed academically. She says, "Most Chinese students spend most of their time studying but other students may have more time to party or dance or something else." Ling indicates that this is because "in China not everyone can go to university. You have to reach a certain line. The students have higher pressure." However, Ling also says, "In China it is much easier to graduate than it is in Western countries. In China we have only a few people who can enter the university and most of them can graduate." Ling speaks of the pressure that international Chinese students feel about reaching a "certain line" in their academic success. The international Chinese students in this study feel as though they are under greater pressure to succeed academically than their Canadian peers.

The international Chinese students felt pressure to succeed in the global workplace. Some of the Canadian participants were also aware of this pressure. Terri-Lynne, for example, shared her understanding of why there are few international Chinese students in her English literature and religious studies courses. She said,

I think that the Chinese students are coming here to get a good education so that they can have a good job after. Whereas some Canadian students, like me, study

what I like to learn about. It's like, what do I enjoy, not what or how will it benefit me sometime. I guess we are more laid back in that area because there are more jobs in Canada. So they have to think, what am I going to get out of this, because it is so competitive in their country. I think that is why you do not see many international Chinese students in English literature and religious programs and different art programs.

At the time of this study there were few international Chinese students in the humanities and liberal arts programs at this Canadian university. Peng suggests that the converse is also true: "My program is economics and there are few Canadians in my class who are majoring in economics or calculus. There are only two or three Canadian people in my calculus class, and just a few in economics." Because many Canadian and international Chinese students do not share the same classes, it is more difficult for them to have opportunities to relate interculturally within a classroom context.

The international Chinese students are aware of their need to choose courses that have pragmatic value for them. Tao describes this need:

Most Cantonese are interested in trade or commerce. Very few of them become artists or politicians. From the beginning of my life I want first to be pragmatic.

Later on, when I have time and lots of money I can do other stuff related to being a politician or maybe related to being an artist.

For Tao, pursuing personal interests or artistic endeavours is associated with already having attained a high level of financial privilege.

The Canadian students in this study perceived the international Chinese students as coming from a more competitive environment than their own. Some of the Canadian

students experienced the international Chinese students' study habits and desire to succeed as attributes they wished to emulate. For example, Terri-Lynne, relating her experiences with the international Chinese students says, "I learned that they have a much bigger drive to try harder (in their studies)." Zacharias also comments on the Chinese students' dedication to their study and how he sees this as an example. "I learn from how hard they work. They are really focused. They spend a lot of their time inside the library –which is really good." Zacharias relates to the Chinese students' work ethic and mentions his family's values, specifically his father's who came to Canada from the Ukraine:

My father is a hard working man. He's a really hard working man. He wants me to do more than he's done. He wants me to have a bigger house. He wants me to have a bigger family. He wants me to do everything to another level. Before he passes away he wants me and my whole family to just feel secure. Secure with money.

Through being successful in his studies in business and economics, Zacharias hopes to advance his status and make his family proud. He believes that his international Chinese peers, with their focus on their studies, are able to help him to see how to apply himself academically. He says he does not learn the same dedication from his Canadian peers. He says,

A lot of my friends from Canada are in their first and second year of study and education is given to them. It's there and they can take it if they want to. For the Chinese students, they need to work that much harder and they want it more than

us, for sure. I feel like they want it. They need to have it more than us. Some of my Canadian peers are here and they don't have particular goals.

Zacharias' experiences and perceptions of his Chinese peers fit with the minority myth model; that is the notion that Chinese North Americans' high levels of educational achievement have earned them attention as a "model minority" and as a group to be emulated by other minority groups that are underachieving and underrepresented (Pearce, 2006). Chinese North Americans are believed to be a model for others because of the notion that they "achieve universal and unparalleled academic and occupational success" (Museus & Kiang, 2009, p. 6). In Zacharias' experience with many of the Chinese students in his classes, the stereotype of Chinese students as hard-working and high achieving rang true. The 24 international Chinese students from the Chinese partner university were socially and economically privileged students who worked hard and achieved their goals. All 24 Chinese students in the cohort graduated and were accepted for graduate school in economics, math, or business. In many ways they exemplified the minority myth stereotype. Yet the minority myth model needs to be examined controlling for social structural factors such as gender, family composition, socioeconomic status, and parent education levels (Pearce, 2006). The Chinese students in this study may exemplify high achievement because they come from privileged backgrounds and not necessarily because they are international Chinese students. In his study, Pearce (2006) found that social structure had a significant impact on the achievement and attainment of White and Chinese American students. One of the major factors that had an impact on achievement was parental support and expectations.

The international Chinese students in this study did not include many comments about parental expectations. Ling mentioned that her father had a strong influence on her decision to come to Canada, and Hui said that she had lived with her grandparents and in boarding schools so she did not have a lot of interaction with her parents. Peng did not mention his parents or parental expectations in his interviews or reflections. Tao however, did speak about parental pressure to succeed. In China Tao felt a lot of pressure to succeed. "In China," he said, "People can be really hard with each other so our parents have too much wish or hope on us. So that is the reason I have to work hard to not make my parents disappointed." When asked if he felt that his parents were proud of him he said,

Not exactly. Because when I was a kid my parents thought I should be a clever kid. But I turned out to be a dumb kid. I think so..... When I got like 90% in my English, they think I should get 95 because my friends got 95.

Tao did not feel he succeeded in his attempts to please his parents, which resulted in his feeling that he was "a dumb kid."

The international Chinese students spent much of their time studying. The Canadian peer guides complained that they found it difficult to be able to interact with the international Chinese students because the Chinese students did not have much time to socialize and spent much of their time in the library studying. The international Chinese students' need to succeed was deeply internalized and affected their actions and the ways they perceived the world.

Language, intercultural connections and barriers.

The international Chinese participants communicated comfortably with their peers

and the researcher in English. All participants state that they are affected to some degree by language issues, but two of the four international Chinese students say that they functioned well in English on a daily basis. For example, Hui thinks that her Chinese partner university prepared her well for study in Canada because she had professors who lectured in English. She recalls having a difficult time with lectures in English when she was in China:

I still remember the first class I was taught in Economics at my Chinese university. It was taught by a French man. It was my first English academic class. I couldn't understand what he was talking about because of his accent and because I was not very good at English.

Hui does say, however, that having prior English instruction at her Chinese university prior to coming to Canada helped her significantly when she came to Canada.

Tao describes the most difficulty with interacting in English. He confides that, "Language is the main problem for me as an international student. Canadians speak really fast and with Canadian English, which we don't get used to since we learned old Britain English and American English in high school." Tao also speaks of his experiences of discrimination because of his language difficulties and accent. He says,

Some people will not talk to you or turn their face away as soon as they hear your accent. However, some Asian immigrants who can speak good English [are not treated in a discriminating way]. I guess most Canadians are unwilling to accept people who have accents. This way of treating people is very unacceptable in my country. In China, educated people show great interest and respect to the people who come from other countries no matter where you come from. Most educated

Chinese will treat foreigners very well as soon as they know they are morally good people. However, half of Canadians show only basic respect to us, such as an ordinary greeting, and only a few of them are willing to make friends with us. Ling also mentioned that she does not always feel her English skills are adequate when she is communicating. She spoke English confidently in the interviews, and she spoke English more than her International Chinese peers because she spoke daily with her Korean boyfriend. But she was very aware of her inadequacies in the language. “You know,” she confided, referring to her conversations with her Korean boyfriend, “Our English is just broken English so sometimes we just make our own language. I make so many mistakes.” Given Ling’s many years of preparation in English and her year of study in Canada, it seemed to come as a surprise to her that it was still challenging to communicate in English. The four international Chinese students had similar English language preparation prior to coming to Canada, but they had differing experiences with interacting in English after coming to Canada.

Although adjustment to the English language was not mentioned during the interviews or in the journal reflections as a significant challenge by Hui or Peng, these students do feel that Western popular culture and Canadian customs are less familiar to them and that it is sometimes challenging to relate to domestic students for this reason. Ling comments that it is difficult for her to get accustomed to eye contact: “In China when we communicate with others we are not used to seeing each other’s eyes. So I feel a little nervous, or a little shy.” Tao found that he did not enjoy the same activities as his Canadian peers. He reports,

Most Canadian students like going out at night, and most of them choose bars as the places to have fun. In China only a small fraction of people often go to the bar and people don't consume a lot of alcohol. Chinese people prefer quiet and rational activities at night, such as poker games, movies, computer games and chatting with friends.

Hui says that the most difficult time for her was when she first arrived in Canada because everything was new: "Every day was full of surprise at that time, and I felt it was hard to adapt myself to these surprises. I always thought about why I couldn't accept the differences and why I couldn't like the new things here."

The Canadian peer guides and the international Chinese students were interested in forming friendship relationships with each other. Although the Canadian students in this study are White, members of the host culture and in the "peer guide" role with their Chinese peers, they did not think that they were in a more powerful position in their relations with international Chinese peers. Terri-Lynne and Geraldo both indicated that they exerted more effort and interest in maintaining their relationships with their Chinese peers than was reciprocated to them. "As for an equal relationship," says Terri-Lynne,

I often find that I'm putting out more than I get back, but I'm not upset about this. I feel like I'm helping them, but then I'm kind of helping myself in a way because I'm learning about the other cultures. But I find that I'm investing more time than they are. But I don't mind.

Geraldo has a similar experience with his Chinese peers:

I think peer guides do help out the peers a lot but it does depend on their relationship with their peers. But sometimes the Chinese peers are busy and they

don't really want to get involved with the peer guide program. Sometimes the peer guide and international peer relationships can be reciprocal but I don't think they are very much because the peer guides are investing more.

The Chinese peers frequently wish to spend any available time they have studying in the library and they are not as interested in socializing because they are primarily focused on their studies. Yet Geraldo finds his relationships with his peers meaningful. He says,

When I first began as a peer guide I was young and naïve. Some of my peers were several years older than me, and I thought that I would be their teacher and helper when in fact they have helped me and taught me.

The peer guide – peer relationship does connote the idea of a power difference as the guide is expected to share knowledge with the peer. But in the relationship Geraldo is describing, he feels as much a peer and learner as a guide, even though he is living in the host culture.

All of the domestic Canadian students indicate that they have learned a lot from the international Chinese students and most of the international Chinese students indicate that they feel they are treated in a respectful manner by the domestic Canadian students. The domestic Canadian students' limited knowledge of China seems to influence their interactions with the international Chinese peers and this may be one possible reason that the international Chinese students do not show stronger interest in interacting more frequently with the Canadian peer guides. The students find that it is more difficult to interact across cultures if common knowledge is not shared. Marilyn acknowledges that her international peers know more about Canada than she knows about China. She says,

It surprises me how little I know, like I mean I don't really know much about China. I know a basic knowledge of their political structure. But when it comes to how they socially interact, or what values they have, like I don't know anything, and it actually kind of baffles me. You'd think I would have learned more in our curriculum. I feel like it all comes back to the thinking that North America is at the top of the world, and not very much else matters. I don't like that interpretation.

The international Chinese and the Canadian students who participated in this study are in agreement with the understanding that the international Chinese students are more informed about Canada or the West than the Canadian students are knowledgeable about China.

In their intercultural relationships all of the Canadian students in the case study indicated that they thought they were investing more into their relationships with their Chinese peers than their peers were investing with them. In this way the Canadian students did not feel the relationships were reciprocal. All of the Canadians indicated that although they acted as a guide of Canadian culture, they learned as much about Chinese culture from their peers and they did not think their peer guide –peer relationship represented a power imbalance. The Chinese peers also did not think there was an imbalance of power in their relationships with their Canadian peer guides and they voiced appreciation for their relationships with their peer guides. They were especially grateful for the relationships with the peer guides because they said they found the peer guides more open to interacting with them than they found other Canadian peers. In general, the

Chinese students found it difficult to form relationships with Canadian students who were outside the Peer Guide Program.

Although the Chinese students did not mention a power discrepancy in their personal relationships with their Canadian peer guides, the international Chinese students, by needing to understand more about Canadian culture than the Canadian students understood about Chinese culture, experienced a greater responsibility to bridge the gap between cultures. The interactions and relationships between the international Chinese students and the Canadian students were complex; although no overt power difference were mentioned by the students, subtle power differences like the Canadian students' lack of knowledge about China were present and impacted intercultural relationships. Peng speaks of the challenge of adjusting to popular Western culture:

I still don't know much about the music and the popular fashions here. If you ask me about the popular singers or rock bands in Canada I don't know much about them. But I know one of them is called Avril Lavigne. Because she is very popular so I know her. But besides her I don't know anything. I know nothing about them. But I know more about the Canadian government and ideas and that sort of thing.

In his reflection Peng confides, "Honestly speaking, an obstacle in communication does exist because I have no common background with the Canadians. I usually have no reflection to their jokes, dramas or rock singers." This suggests that even without the pressing challenge of adjusting to the English language, the Chinese students experience cultural differences between their Canadian peers' culture and their own; differences that

impact how easily they are able to interact across cultures and form intercultural peer relationships.

In their responses to difference, and in their understandings of difference, the international Chinese and the Canadian students do, in various ways, see each other as “Other”, or as different from themselves. Yet the international Chinese and Canadian students also share commonalities. As noted by Doherty and Singh (2005), “the Otherness of the international student is socially constructed in relation to the category of Western student” (p.53). In this research the Canadian students and the international Chinese students were able to see both differences and similarities between themselves. The international Chinese students living in Canada continued to have their identity grounded in their Chinese language and customs and they also described the Canadian students as “other” than themselves. The international Chinese students did not give indicate that they desired to become more like the Canadian students.

The Canadian students also spoke about the barriers in communication they experienced when interacting with their Chinese peers. Geraldo found that international Chinese students’ tendency to stay in groups inhibited Canadian students’ interactions with them. He says,

With the Chinese peers, it’s kind of like, you kind of interact with them and then you start to see the differences. For example, a lot of the Chinese tend to stick together and they form clusters... I would say that a lot of Canadians are more individualistic, and Chinese are more collectivist. You can see that through their interactions and stuff.

When asked how some of his Canadian peers interacted with international Chinese students in the classroom Geraldo said that he found some of them to be less patient and understanding than the international peer guides. He says,

Many Canadian students understand that the international students' English is not 100% proficient. So I see that. But I see that there are some Canadian students who aren't as willing to wait for them and hear them out. But then again, those people tend to be very ignorant and arrogant. There are always those types of people around.

It is significant to note that Geraldo finds that Canadian students find it much easier to interact with international Chinese peers inside the classroom than outside of it. When asked if there was a continuation of interactions between Canadian and Chinese students from inside the classroom to outside of the classroom, into a social setting, Geraldo replies,

No definitely not. I think a lot of time, now this may be different elsewhere, the business students are from this city or area, so they tend to have their own friends, or developed them early on. Unless the Canadian students know the international students for a while, I don't think they will hang out. There is no flow over into social lives. I think maybe 1%. There isn't much interaction after class. I think it is two different cultures clashing. Like I might do something but I'm an exception right.

Geraldo also explains that the Canadian and international Chinese students have different social interests and that the international Chinese students tend to associate together and speak together in Mandarin or Cantonese. He says, "So there are several different reasons

why Canadian and international Chinese students might not interact outside the classroom. And it's unfortunate but it's how we are right now." In Grayson's (2008) study of international and domestic students at Canadian universities he found that only 11% of domestic students had friends who were international students, suggesting that only a few domestic students benefit from direct associations with international students. Even though Geraldo indicates that between 70-80% of the students in his classes are international students, he does not perceive many of the domestic students in the classrooms forming social relationships with their international peers. Situations need to be structured to foster domestic and international student interaction (Ward, 2001).

Canadian students who have had opportunity to study or travel abroad often show increased interest in interacting with those who are culturally diverse. Geraldo's interest in becoming a peer guide and interacting with international students grew out of his experience as an exchange student in China. He explains,

When I went to China I learned about the Chinese culture and how it is different from North American culture. So I became more interested in interacting with the international Chinese students and wanted to help them out when they came over here – or whoever else – to help them integrate as a student. Because I experienced the same thing on exchange over there so I wanted to do the same for them over here.

Geraldo says that he thinks his Canadian peers do not have the same interest that he has in intercultural relationships because they lack intercultural knowledge and understanding.

I think the majority of Caucasian students don't know anything about the Asian culture and I find that that's going to be a downfall for them.... I believe that they don't really see that it's a different culture and it's completely different from our culture. They just think it's another place over there and they don't have to worry about it or touch it.

Geraldo is an advocate of interaction between Canadian and international Chinese students and suggests that it would be helpful to have students interacting more in a classroom setting:

Maybe even a class that has to do with international issues, maybe not politics but something that actually gets each student thinking that they are not the only person on the planet. Like I think that that would probably be the best option because I'd say, a large percentage of students don't see that. They only see themselves living in their Canadian city and maybe going to work in Toronto and that's it. They don't really see how internationalization affects us. Maybe we need a class that has to do with cultures.

The international Chinese students found that significant intercultural learning occurred through interacting with their Canadian peer guides. Tao learned about Canadian culture from his peer guide Zacharias. He explained, "Seeing Zacharias' kind of lifestyle, to relax, inspired me to maybe change my lifestyle a little bit. This more relaxed lifestyle is helpful to me to develop my academic knowledge." Tao expressed a lot of appreciation for his peer guide:

My peer guide invited me and some of my friends to their thanksgiving and Christmas dinner. They are all friendly and outgoing people. Zacharias' parents

who are from the Ukraine, are humorous and open-minded. We talked a lot at the table.

Tao says his learning about intercultural interactions came primarily through observing other students. He described his experiences in this way:

At the university I learn mostly from the details of how everybody acts – because I am attentive to them. For example in class, in China, when an instructor asks you a question you want to answer the question not too loud. You want to just make sure the instructor understands you and not bother other students. But in Canada people speak aloud to answer the question the professors asks or to pose a question. And they want to make sure other students understand.... And I suggest to my Chinese classmates to do as Canadians do.

Tao learns by observing the lifestyles and customs of the Canadian students. The experiences he describes were made available to him through the classroom and through the international programs the university offered.

Intercultural learning also occurred through participation in planned international activities. Tao said,

I had good times in Toronto, St. Jacobs, Niagara Falls and Stratford. These are very nice places to visit. St. Jacobs and Stratford gave me a lot of good memories since I loved the natural scenes there and the peaceful lifestyles that the local people take.

The Canadian students also speak favourably about their experiences with the international programs and activities at the university. Terri-Lynne, when asked about her intercultural learning experiences at the university, replies,

Mostly from my experience as a peer guide and my job as an International Coordinator, just because, in my field of study there are mostly female Caucasian people. I don't see a lot of different cultures represented in my classes and we don't learn much about other cultures. We learn some, like for example in my world religions class we learn about other religions. Our literature is mostly European. So I don't learn a lot about culture in class. But with the international coordinator job and being a peer guide I've met lots of people from other places. Most of the international peers are from Asia but some are from other countries. So that's where I've met most of the people.

Marilyn believes that participating in the peer guide program at the university led her to have some of her most meaningful intercultural experiences. She says,

I'd say that being in the peer guide program was one of the most meaningful experiences. For example when we went to Toronto and we went to China town....It was just amazing to see how the Chinese students interact with each other in that kind of setting. I loved it. It was so good. They soak it all in and it is just interesting to see their culture and how they react to things in our culture just from their experiences in their own culture.... You learn a lot from them. As much as they think that they're probably learning from me, I'm learning more from them.

Although Marilyn did not have many international students in her International Relations classes, she did share an experience of an interaction with some German students in one of her political science classes. She explains,

It was interesting to hear the German students' perspective of some of the political events we were discussing because their interpretations were very different from ours. I can learn as much as I want about the facts of different democracies through my class, but when you can hear the first hand experiences of how people have grown up in a system and how it has shaped them, as opposed to how the Canadian system has shaped me, I find that's how I relate the most and that's where I learn the most. It's first hand experiences that I definitely learn the most from. Just the facts are not necessarily going to influence my life and the way I look at things. They will to an extent, but not nearly as much as my attention to an international student's experience would have affected me. That's probably the way I learn the most.

Marilyn's experience of learning coincides with Bennett and Salonen's (2007) comment that, "We will never understand racism, class, social justice, international development, or the person sitting next to us without quietly listening to the stories of those who experience the world in different ways." (p.46). Marilyn identifies that some of her greatest learning occurs through listening to the stories and experiences of others who see the world differently than she does.

Unlike Terri-Lynne and Marilyn, Geraldo is taking business courses so he has many international Chinese students in his classes. He reports, "Probably my classes are about 70-80% international students. But I found I don't see other international students in social science classes. International students are not interested in that I guess. They're not drawn to that." Geraldo found that there was opportunity to interact across cultures in his classes. He says,

There is a lot of interaction. A lot of times the professor might pick your group and you will have a couple international students in it. You have to deal with the barriers that come and I guess it's good for you because it's a real life situation. He also speaks positively about his professors' cross cultural interactions in the classroom when he says, "The professors are pretty good with it, like understanding what's going on in the world today and what not. It will be for the Canadian and international students' benefit." Geraldo believes that sometimes it is easier to connect across cultures inside the classroom than outside of it because they are working towards a common goal and have been given the same problem or information. He says,

In the class you are focusing on one topic so everyone kind of gives their two cents for that topic and it's easier to connect on that level because temporarily you are on the same level and you don't have any other differences or what not.

Zacharias is also studying business and has a large number of international students, including Chinese students in his classes. He says that he talks to some of the international students in his classes:

A lot of them are shy, but depending on who the teacher is at the time, they feel free to ask some questions. When the international students ask the questions, a lot of the times I am able to help them out. But a lot of the other times they are able to help me out too. So I learn about intercultural understanding through the classroom interactions for sure.

Zacharias notes that the willingness of the international students to speak in class depends on "who the teacher is at the time," indicating that the international students are more comfortable with some teachers than they are with others. Leask (2001) writes that

internationalizing the curricula is a complex process and is as much about how teaching is done, and who is taught, as it is about what is taught. Intercultural learning is facilitated when students have opportunities to interact across cultures in the classroom and feel comfortable doing so. The professor can facilitate or inhibit this process. Faculty members who see international students as a commercially driven unwelcome change to their busy working environments are less likely to embrace international students as bearers of alternative knowledge and perspectives (Ryan & Carroll, 2005).

All students were asked to identify where they experienced intercultural learning or meaningful intercultural interactions. The international students readily identify learning through the international and intercultural programs, such as the International Orientation Program, the Peer Guide Program, the Cultural Festival and many of the events and activities at the university. They are also emphatic about their appreciation for the international programs at the university. Ling says that,

The Bridging Orientation Week for international students was amazing. The university arranged to take us many places. We were driven to some important places near the university. It was really helpful for our later life here. Many senior students attended the activities and introduced us to situations in Canada. Also, many Korean exchange students were together with us. It was really influential for me later.

Ling also speaks of learning about Canadian culture and lifestyle through her job at the university as a fund raiser in the Alumni Office and also through her religious experiences. She says,

In addition to having a job, I try to know more about Canada. Although I am not a Christian, I want to get to know Christianity and build my faith. But the hardest thing is getting started. The first time I went to church with some Korean students who were Christian. The services in Canadian were even strange for the Korean students. I was totally confused. The second time I went to a Catholic church. I went as a scholarship winner. Actually it was very strange to me, and their English is a little hard for me to understand. The first two times I attended church made me a little depressed. I began to doubt whether there was really a way of getting involved in church. But just last week I changed my mind.

She also explains how she felt welcomed at another Christian church: “The music, the speech, and the whole environment really moved me. I still remember the topic of the speech was ‘the miracle of faith’. It encouraged me to do the things which I believe.”

Hui says she experienced the most intercultural learning through the university’s international programs and activities. She states,

All of the activities like the activities during orientation week, the Autumn Day party, going to Cirque du Soleil, and the Christmas party gave me a chance to get involved in the life of the Canadians. Moreover, these activities made me feel warm here, because people’s care made me feel warm.

Hui also reflects critically on her experiences when she mentions that she learns through her mistakes: “The mistakes I make also teach me a lot. Sometimes I am right and sometimes I am wrong. When I am wrong I need to play the game again.”

Peng particularly speaks fondly of the Cultural Festival organized at the university: “The Cultural Festival was so good and it let me know much about the culture

of aboriginals, Eastern Europeans, and Latin Americans.” When asked where he learns about intercultural relations, Peng replies,

I think mostly through the TV channel. Yes. I learn a lot from the media -- because in my residence only two guys are local Canadians. Some of the guys are from Pakistan, some of them are from.... (pause) I don't know where they're from. Most of them are from China, so I guess I get less chance to connect with Canadian people.

Peng says that this is of concern and that he would prefer to live in a residence with more Canadians.

Zacharias also indicates that he learned about intercultural understanding through the Peer Guide Program. He gives an example of a birthday party he attended with one of his international peers. He says,

We went out the other day for one of the international student's birthdays. The international students do a lot of the same things we do too. It's good to know that the world is like that and that everyone likes to have fun sometimes.

All of the international Chinese students in this study mention the challenge of making friends with Canadians, and their interest in forming relationships with domestic students. Hui's comments exemplify this: “Most of our class is Chinese and we have a preference to take the same class. So it is very hard for us to make friends with foreigners... I'm trying to find chances to interact more.” Of the Canadian students, Geraldo has the greatest familiarity with Chinese culture because he studied Mandarin and had spent some time studying in China. All the domestic students in the study agreed that Canadian students are less familiar with Chinese culture than the Chinese students

were with Western culture. Although the Canadian students feel they formed meaningful relationships with the international Chinese students, their lack of knowledge about China and Chinese culture, as well as the Chinese students' lack of knowledge of Western popular culture, is a barrier and it limits the ease with which these students communicated.

All of the student participants of this study indicate that the structured International Peer Guide Program was instrumental in their forming intercultural relationships and they found the program assisted them in the facilitation of their relationships. Some of the international Chinese students suggest that the only intercultural friendships they had been able to form came as a result of the Peer Guide Program. Marilyn and Terri-Lynne, two female Canadian students, report that they had little opportunity to meet international students in their classes and that the Peer Guide Program facilitated the formation of their intercultural relationships. Structured programs at the university, such as an International Peer Guide Program, can play an important role in the formation of intercultural relationships. These programs are particularly relevant for students who do not have opportunities for intercultural interactions within the classroom. Geraldo and Zacharias were the only students in the study who felt they had ample opportunities for intercultural interaction in the classroom as the majority of their business and economics classes were made up of international Chinese students. However, Geraldo and Zacharias indicated that the amount and level of intercultural interaction in the classroom was largely dependent on their professor's ability to assist in this facilitation.

The students in this study agreed that they learned from their interactions with students from other cultures, both within and outside of their classrooms, but that these interactions often did not happen without prior structures in place to facilitate their occurrence. The Canadian students in the study indicate that many of their Canadian peers lacked prior knowledge about Chinese culture that would assist them in interacting with the international Chinese students in a more meaningful way. The international Chinese students did not often feel comfortable initiating interaction with domestic students without support structures in place, such as a professor's support and facilitation, or the International Peer Guide Program.

Intercultural interaction is a key component in the development of international knowledge and intercultural understanding. If intercultural interaction is not occurring naturally (without structural support) at universities, students are missing out on an important opportunity for intercultural learning. As indicated by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000), social-structural changes in our institutions are needed to provide opportunities for optimal intergroup contact. The perspectives of both groups need to be carefully considered when fashioning an optimal learning situation (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

It is especially important that, from a post-colonial perspective, power imbalances and historical and political contexts be taken into account when interacting across cultures. As noted in the introduction, theories of intercultural competence have been criticised for not addressing the application of understanding to intergroup power relationships, to social justice issues, or to the individuals' relationships to institutional or societal power. (Landreman, 2003). Because the international Chinese students are interacting in a second language and coming from a culture that differs from the host

culture in which they are learning, additional attention is required to ensure that their needs are met inside and outside of the classroom. International students can be recognized by their teachers and peers as leaders in the classroom by being given opportunities to share knowledge about their home culture, thereby educating domestic students through the sharing of their experiences.

Research has shown that international students can help home students become global learners, increasing their intercultural knowledge and understanding (Ryan & Carroll, 2005). Forty-three percent of Canadian universities indicate that they use the strategy of utilizing the international experience and knowledge of students in the classroom (AUCC, 2007b). This intercultural sharing is more difficult in courses or disciplines that do not have naturally occurring diversity in their classrooms. A challenge with having few international Chinese students in classes with Canadian students, because of differing academic disciplines, is that there are fewer opportunities for intercultural interaction and learning to occur in the classroom. Students who have the opportunity to learn about the experiences of culturally diverse others frequently develop the ability to think more critically about their own culture. Independent thinking and the ability to think critically have typically been assigned to the category of Western student. Both the international Chinese students and the domestic Canadian students in the case study were able to think independently and critically.

In this case study the international students comprise the majority in their business and economics classes, yet they are the minority within the wider university context. Even as the majority in the classroom, the international Chinese students typically did not feel comfortable speaking out in class and they depended on their professor to assist in

fostering intercultural relations in the classroom. The professor, located in a privileged position, and the domestic Canadian students who were learning in their first language, are in a position to facilitate intercultural interaction. The international Chinese students spoke highly of some of their professors' abilities to facilitate interaction across culture but indicated that some of the domestic Canadian students were not sensitive to their needs. It is through the interaction with others who are different than themselves, either inside or outside of the classroom, that students have the opportunity to develop intercultural knowledge and sensitivity (Bennett & Salonen, 2007).

To deal with inequality and power imbalances in society, intercultural relationships need to move beyond the pleasantries of surface interactions, and acknowledge differences. Intercultural interactions that are effective in facilitating effective communication, such as productive intercultural relations during class assignments or projects, remain important and meaningful to students, even if they do not immediately lead to transformative changes for individuals or for society. The international Chinese and Canadian students who participated in this research show that the intercultural interactions they had, inside and outside the classroom, were meaningful to them. However, it was difficult for the international Chinese and domestic Canadian students to enter into close friendships. Deeper and more intimate friendships between members of the two cultural groups did not occur spontaneously and required effort, openness and intercultural knowledge and understanding.

Hybrid and local/global identities.

Each of the four international Chinese students who participated in this case study said that they had a stable and solid Chinese identity of which they are proud. They

frequently presented their national identity as one of their strongest defining points and saw their core essence as being Chinese. Although they did think that they were changing and growing as a result of being in Canada, their connection and loyalty to China was strong. Yet some of their other comments concerning their identity contradicted this stable and solid, unchanging sense of being “Chinese to the core” that they were presenting, showing that their identities were not as fixed as they may have believed.

Although these four international Chinese students who participated in the case study identify strongly with their Chinese national identity, they are less sure about what it means to be a global citizen and do not identify as a global citizen. When asked if her cultural identity had changed over time Ling says,

Maybe after I came to Canada, after I decided to go abroad, I became more open.

But my core mind, in my heart, my spirit is Chinese. So there may be many changes in my actions, but my mind will stay the same.

Similarly Hui identified closely with her national culture. This can be seen in the following interaction between the researcher (Linda) and Hui:

Linda: Do you identify more with national culture or with global culture?

Hui: I’m Chinese.

Linda: What makes you Chinese?

Hui: My culture. My thinking has roots in my culture. It is deeply rooted. I’m very proud of my culture and my civilization. My civilization is old and it continues until now. I’m very proud of that.”

Although Hui had a strong Chinese identity, it was also important to her to feel accepted by those who surrounded her in local Canadian culture. She emphasized, “I want to be

accepted by the local culture. I don't want to be an outsider." Not being an outsider is particularly important to Hui because she moved around a lot in her childhood. She explains, "My family moved from one state and city to another and I moved along with them so I had to force myself to adapt to a new culture and a new environment there."

Peng also aligns himself closely with his Chinese identity and his nation. He perceives his opportunity to study outside China as a positive way to further develop China and bring prosperity to China. He says,

I think China is part of the world and Western countries are mainstream in the world. And if China wants to open itself to gain more chances to develop itself, then my experience in Canada or North America will help me to enlarge my horizon and will grant me more chances in China to do business and join the government. I think the Chinese government needs people like me and Chinese enterprise does also. But there is still some contradiction. You know. I think sometimes I will be rejected by the political organization because I have the experience of studying outside of China. Sometimes that happens.

When prompted, he further explains:

Linda: Do you think it would be perceived that you bring too many Western ways to China?

Peng: I can say that I am not as pure as the people just studying in China.

Peng thinks that the Chinese government fears that having Chinese citizens studying outside of China would make them less Chinese. He also states that studying in Canada makes him "less pure." When asked if he thought studying in Canada would make him "less Chinese" he said that he did not think it would:

Linda: You have been here now for a month. Do you feel less Chinese now or do you feel more Chinese?

Peng: I think I'm still Chinese. (chuckles).

Linda: You are still Chinese. So it hasn't changed who you are as a Chinese person?

Peng: I haven't noticed any change of my identity now.

Like Peng, who feels the contradiction of living outside of China, and being more valuable in a global context, but less accepted by the government of the country he wished to serve, Tao fears that his desire to connect with those of other nationalities might separate him from his Chinese peers. Discussing this dilemma, and how to initiate contact with Canadian students Tao says, "So maybe Canadian students are a little afraid or maybe they find it a little strange to see so many Chinese together, and we always act like a group." The discussion between the researcher (Linda) and Tao continues as follows:

Linda: That is challenging isn't it? Because the group is important to you, but at the same time you would like to meet more Canadians and get to know them.

Tao: Yes, so sometimes it's like a dilemma to me. Like a paradox.

Linda: So how you fit in with your Chinese group and also branch out to get to know other people—that is the paradox?

Tao: Yes. Now I think I try to make more conversation with others – Canadians and people from other cultures, maybe from India, or from Korea. I try my best.

Tao and Peng describe the dilemmas they face, and the contradictions or paradoxes they encounter when they negotiate their acceptance by both Canadian (or

Western) and Chinese cultures. For example, although Peng identifies as being Chinese, he also thinks that being in Canada makes him “less pure” (he did not say that he thought this was a negative change) and he strongly advocates for increased democracy in China. Peng is bringing together his cultural experiences from both nations and is forming a hybrid identity. Hui, while speaking admiringly of the beauty of the old Chinese texts that were passed on through the generations, also speaks about how interested she was in a Taiwanese student’s (a student she had met in Canada) historical texts, especially as they narrated Chinese history quite differently from the texts with which she was familiar in China. Tao openly expresses that his desire to relate only to Chinese students, and thus to maintain the essence of his Chinese identity, is in conflict with his desire to interact with, and become friends with, Canadian students. He calls this dilemma a paradox.

Ling, although she did not identify as a Christian, attended a weekly evangelical meeting, and attended church regularly with her Korean boyfriend (who she met at her Canadian university). Ling’s Korean boyfriend attends an evangelical Christian church and introduced Ling to this church and to a Christianity course that was offered by the church. Ling says that, “We are forbidden to spread religion in our own country so I wanted to know something about Christianity, from the basics.” Ling and her boyfriend joined a small church group that met together regularly for dinner and to watch and discuss an instructional Christian video. Ling saw joining the group as an opportunity to get to know Canadians of varying ages. She says,

We get to know each other because we go to the same church and plan to see each other at the course. After watching the video, the host gives us some questions which are about the life of the faith and sometimes about experiences.

Everyone expresses their opinions and own experiences. It's very exciting and sometimes I feel very moved.

When Ling interacts with families at the church she is aware that her lifestyle and customs are different from lifestyles and customs of the Christians she meets. This is evident when she says,

One of the people also attending the course is a guy who is around 40 or 50 years old and he invited us to join his family and spend Easter together. At that time we strongly felt the difference between Canadian and Asian people.

The Canadian host father had 5 sons (from a blended family) and all of the sons had girlfriends. Ling confides, "His oldest son is the same age as me. His youngest son is only 16 and his girlfriend is 15. You know when I was in China, at that age, I was forbidden to have a boyfriend." Many of Ling's international Chinese peers would not have been comfortable attending church services and bible study groups or having a Korean boyfriend. Yet Ling found meaning in many of these experiences. Although Ling identifies closely with her Chinese national identity, she is comfortable encompassing ideas from other belief systems as well. Ling does not experience culture as unitary or essentialist (Hall, 2000). She integrates Christian experiences outside of her lived experiences in China, incorporating these ideas into her current sense of self without any apparent concern that this might threaten her Chinese identity. She appears comfortable with the complexities of cultural difference and seems untroubled by the possible contradiction inherent in regularly attending a Christian evangelical church yet not identifying as a Christian. Ling has stepped outside the boundary of her familiar Chinese culture and has the opportunity to create and envision herself within a new context.

All of these examples show that although the international Chinese students identify closely with their Chinese national culture, their identities were also fluid and changing. The students' identities were influenced by their experiences in Canada and by the people with whom they were interacting at the university. Their intercultural experiences impacted them in complex and sometimes contradictory ways.

The international Chinese students' responses to questions about their international experiences and identity are consistent with Bhabha's (1990) concepts of cultural translation and hybridity. All forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity, a "third space" from which other positions can emerge (Bhabha, 1990). Hall (1990) indicates that cultural identities are "always construed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture" (p. 226).

Although all four international Chinese students readily identify with "global commerce", they do not identify with the term "global citizen". The following dialogue with Ling exemplifies the importance Ling places on her Chinese identity and her need to believe in the unchanging nature or fixedness of her Chinese culture (Hall, 1990). The concept of global citizen seems to be, for her, in conflict with her position as a Chinese citizen.

Linda: Would you call yourself a global citizen?

Ling: No.

Linda: No?

Ling: Just Chinese.

Later in the interview Ling brings the conversation back to the topic of global citizenship, clarifying her earlier comment.

Ling: Oh back to your last question. Yes, even though I say I am Chinese, I do not call myself a global citizen. But compared with other Chinese who are still in China, I think I am more of a global citizen than them.

All of the international Chinese students acknowledge that being in Canada has changed them and that they are in some ways different from the Chinese nationals in China who had not left China. They indicate, however, that their primary loyalty is with China. Hui demonstrates her loyalty to China when she says, “I think the first language I teach my children will be the Chinese. I find my culture from my language.”

The international students in Canada in this study are living within an unstable point of identification or suture, a third space (Bhabha, 1990); they bring their past experiences to a new situation or context. Rizvi (2005) says that cultural identities are not static or nation-bound. They are created in deterritorialized spaces and characterize cosmopolitan futures. We all speak from a particular place, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without necessarily being constrained by that position (Hall, 1996). Hui, speaking from her past place in China, says that it is important for her to teach her children Chinese because culture can be found within language. Yet Hui, who spent much of her youth in boarding schools in China, completed her undergraduate education in Canada, and who enrolled in graduate studies in Sweden after completing her undergraduate degree, speaks from a deterritorialized space. Her future children, should she have any, will characterize cosmopolitan futures (Rizvi, 2005a). Hui’s future

children, like herself, would speak from the particular place and culture they were positioned within, and they would have hybrid identities.

When I asked Tao about his ideas about global citizenship he said, “It’s hard to say because most people have somewhere to belong, no matter their mind or their physical living conditions. In my opinion, most people belong to the place they are born. But some people, just open their mind to all the world.” All the international Chinese students shared Tao’s belief that, no matter where they lived, they belonged with China. The national loyalty the international Chinese students expressed coincides with Parekh’s (2003) conceptualization of a globally oriented national citizenship. He argues that we have obligations to fellow citizens, those to whom we are bound by special ties, as well as to human beings in general, and that these obligations can conflict with each other. Human beings, he argues, grow up within and are profoundly shaped by their community, and define their identities in terms of their experiences within their community. All of the international Chinese students indicated that they were strongly influenced by their connection to China and that their Chinese identity was fundamental to their understandings of themselves. They also mentioned fears that their outside ties could compromise their connections with their Chinese community, both locally and nationally.

The international Chinese students also speak of the influence of Western culture, both in Canada and in China, both personally and nationally. The concept of a globally-oriented national citizenship more accurately describes the way the international Chinese students identify themselves than does the concept of global citizenship. Yet this is the first time the Chinese students have left their national culture and their identifications could change with time. Cultural identities are construed through memory, fantasy,

narrative and myth (Hall, 1990), and they are tied to historical and political discourses. The students seem to believe that their Chinese nation carries a fixedness to which they can return. They seem to have a firm understanding of how they are positioned within their past national culture but, at this time, less of an understanding of how their experiences in Canada are positioning them in a global context. Although they acknowledge that their experiences at the Canadian university are changing them, they hold tightly to the belief that their core essence is “fixed” by their national Chinese culture and heritage and that it will not change. The realities of how their experiences are shaping them and the way they are forming more hybrid identities seems, at this point (first year outside of China), still difficult for the international Chinese students to acknowledge or accept.

The Canadian students do not identify as strongly with their Canadian national identity as the international Chinese students do with their national identity. The Canadian students are more aware of the ways that their identities are hybrid, and influenced by their varied contexts and experiences. Each of the Canadian students indicated a desire to identify with another culture, in addition to their Canadian national culture, and they struggle with understanding what it means to be a Canadian. Terri-Lynne believes that she does not have any cultures represented in her family. She says,

The strongest link would be Italian. But only one eighth of me is Italian. I find that my culture seems to be to learn about all the other cultures and kind of combining them, but I didn't grow up like in one specific culture. Well, Canadian culture, but we don't have traditional Canadian holidays we celebrate like we do our Catholic holidays. Yeah, we don't seem to have a strong culture.

Terri-Lynne seems confused about what it means to be a Canadian and although she identifies as Catholic and is majoring in Religious Studies, she does not identify her religious belief system, and the Christian holidays that are a part of it, as a part of her national culture.

Marilyn also describes some confusion in identifying with her national culture. “I’d say I’m Canadian,” she states. She then continues,

I mean I find that culture is kind of a funny topic. You talk about it because everyone asks you where you are from. Even though I am from Canada, and I was born and raised here and both my parents are from Canada as well, I would automatically say I’m Belgian if people asked me where I was from. My dad’s parents, my grandparents, are from Belgium. Even though I’ve never been to Belgium and I’ve never been immersed in that kind of culture, I find when someone asks me where I’m from I say Belgium. I also find when I ask another Canadian where they are from or what their background is, they say like a European background. This baffles me because I am Canadian. Like I do say I am Belgian, but I am Canadian.

When prompted by the researcher (Linda), Marilyn expresses more about her beliefs:

Linda: So you identify with Canadian culture?

Marilyn: Absolutely. Because I’ve never really known anything else. Like I don’t really understand why I say I am Belgian.

Linda: Do you think your understanding of who you are as a Canadian has changed over time and, if so, what do you think has initiated the changes?

Marilyn: I think it has definitely changed. School is probably the most pre-dominant thing that has changed me. Right now I'm taking a Canadian culture course. The history of Canadian culture has changed my views on so many things Canadian. It actually blows my mind. Yeah, completely. Like just last week we were talking about what multiculturalism is, and at the end of the seminar, at the end of our discussions, we kind of agreed that maybe it doesn't even exist. When I was younger growing up being Canadian was about hockey and farming. I grew up on a farm so farming was a big deal for me. But the older I get, the more my understandings change. Schooling and travelling have changed it for me.

As this excerpt shows, Marilyn is questioning an understanding of culture that is unitary, essentialist, and all encompassing (Hall, 2000). Through her study and reflection she realizes that she is changing and that culture and cultural identities are not static (Rizvi, 2005a). She is recognizing that each person speaks from a particular place, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being constrained by that position (Hall, 1996).

Marilyn also observes that differences in culture do not only exist between national cultures; she finds that growing up in a Canadian rural setting markedly distinguished her from those who grew up in more of a Canadian urban setting. She says,

When you live on a farm that has cows and turkeys and chickens people look at you like you're completely foreign and like they don't know how to relate to that. When I bring friends who have grown up in the city to my home, and I show them my farm they don't have any words to describe it. To me that is probably, yes,

now that I think about it, my rural roots is probably the number one thing that I relate my culture to.

Marilyn identifies more strongly with her rural experience than she does her Canadian national identity, especially because she experiences her rural culture as being so different from the more urban experiences of many of her Canadian peers.

Geraldo is also challenged by his understanding of what it means to be a Canadian. When asked if he saw changes in his cultural identity in the last year and if his interactions with international students had affected these changes, Geraldo replies,

Yeah. I definitely saw that the international students are proud of who they are and their cultures and I've been thinking that I do have a Spanish heritage and I would like to identify more with it now -- more so than before. First and foremost I would love to have a good grasp of Mandarin and then I would love to go to Spain and understand the Spanish culture. That desire definitely is there but it is hard to be attracted to it when there are other things I feel should be accomplished first.

The discussion with Geraldo follows:

Linda: So you are interested in Mandarin because you are studying business and your interest in Mandarin is a career interest? You feel it is more practical for you to attend to your career development right now than to learn more about your Spanish heritage?

Geraldo: Yes, exactly.

Geraldo observes that the international Chinese students are more closely connected with their national identity than he is to his Canadian identity. He wishes to be strongly

connected with a cultural identity as the international Chinese students are, and feels he needs to connect with his European heritage to do this. Geraldo feels this is a luxury he cannot afford at this point in his life when his first priority is the development of his career. In this regard Geraldo is similar to the other male students Peng, Tao and Zacharias, who also emphasize and prioritize their careers and the practicalities of earning money. These findings are also similar to Rizvi's (2005b) findings in his investigation of how East Indian and International Chinese students' identities and cultural affiliations were transformed by their experiences in Australia. Many of the students in this study were primarily concerned with their positioning within the global labour market.

Similar to Geraldo, Zacharias identifies himself as Canadian and is also somewhat unsure of what this means. He explains,

I definitely like to say I'm Canadian since I was born here in Canada. But I don't know. My father is Ukrainian and my mom's English so it's just tough around the house for my dad to speak Ukrainian when there is no one there who can speak Ukrainian with him. When my grandma was around my father used to speak to my grandma a lot in Ukrainian and I picked up a couple of words, and stuff like that. I'd like to say that I'm strongly Ukrainian because I don't want to be just Canadian. It's not that I don't want to be just Canadian but I want to be something else too. I want to know different cultures. Because if you are culturally diverse in business you can do well and you can make steps and you can make progress. You can get in and out of some places. So I like to say I'm Ukrainian. And English too. I've never been to the countries. But I've eaten many English dishes

and my mom usually cooks it up, although I've heard the British aren't the best cooks. But my mom always makes really good food for me. I don't want to leave it as me being just Canadian.

Zacharias perceives that being "just Canadian" put him at a disadvantage in the business world. He needs to encompass more identities to "get in and out of some places." Like the other Canadian participants (i.e., Terri-Lynne, Marilyn, and Geraldo), Zacharias seems unsure of what it means to be Canadian but he feels sure that it is not enough to bring him the success he needs to "do well", "make steps" and "make progress" in the business world or global economy. The Canadian students' perceptions contrast with those of the international Chinese students who fear their fellow nationals might see them as "less pure" or "less Chinese" because they had studied outside of China. However, the international Chinese students also indicate that a degree earned outside of China was frequently more highly valued by employers in China than one earned within China. These are complex and contradictory responses. The international Chinese students express intense pride in their national heritage yet value education outside China more highly than education within China. The Canadian students are proud of being Canadian but they are uncertain of what it means to be a Canadian and their national heritage does not play as significant a place in their identity formation.

The Canadian students in this study, similar to the international Chinese students, do not identify as global citizens. However, unlike the Chinese students, this is not because they identify strongly with their national identity; rather, the Canadian students do not think they have the level of knowledge and understanding that a global citizen

requires. When asked if she has heard the term “global citizen” in her classes and what the term means to her Terri-Lynne responds,

We haven't used it in my classes, but I can kind of guess what it means. It is someone who is a citizen of all countries, like not all the countries literally but they have an understanding from around the world, like a global understanding. They would have a good understanding with people around the world and they could immerse themselves in a new country and with people from that country.

The discussion about “global citizen” proceeds:

Linda: Using that definition, would you call yourself a global citizen?

Terri-Lynne: I wouldn't say yes yet. I don't want to say I'm a global citizen because I think I have a lot to learn still and I haven't had that many years of experience with different cultures. I think I'm a beginner global citizen. I think to call yourself a global citizen, I think it takes a lot of time.

Terri-Lynne sees global citizenship as an identity she strives towards but not one she has yet achieved.

Marilyn also perceives a global citizen to be someone who has attained a high level of maturity and intercultural understanding. We see her opinion about this in the following excerpt:

Linda: When you hear the term global citizen what does that mean to you?

Marilyn: I think you have to be aware. A global citizen is very aware of what is going on about them. That is the first thing that's coming to my mind.

Linda: So they are well informed?

Marilyn: Yes, very informed about things that are going on in places. Because I think that right now people get so caught up in their day to day lives that they completely forget that there's an entire world out there and that someone half way across the world could be dealing with war on a day to day basis. But because it doesn't impact you directly I think a lot of people just think like OK, whatever, you know. I feel like a global citizen would definitely be very informed – whether that means following the news or just travel. I don't know if it necessarily means travel. I feel like as long as you are informed and you are participating in some way, shape, or form, I think that would make you a global citizen.

Linda: When you see university students here at the university, would you say that many of them meet your definition of a global citizen?

Marilyn: Not the majority. No, not at all. I think that's because of maturity levels as well though. For example, some of the Social Justice and Peace students at the university, they are right in there. I have one friend who has travelled all over and she is my age. She has been to the Ukraine and El Salvador and right now she is in Holland. She is all over the place and she immerses herself in culture. She doesn't hold anything back and she throws herself into it and tries to get the most out of every experience. I think that definitely makes my friend a global citizen... fully throwing yourself into another culture.

Linda: Do you think universities could be doing more to assist students in having these experiences?

Marilyn: Yes, I think probably they could. But I think they are doing quite a bit, and like I said, I think the maturity level of the student has a lot to do with it—

like whether the student is actually going to become a global citizen and become interested in different cultures. I think for people who have the maturity and the zeal to learn about other cultures, they do it. And when they go looking I think the university has enough resources to help them out.

Marilyn and Terri-Lynne valued the term “global citizen”, and although they do not necessarily think they have the maturity, knowledge or confidence to call themselves global citizens, they see this concept as something to which to aspire. They understand a global citizen to be someone who is well informed about global relations or, in their words, globally aware, well travelled, able to immerse oneself in another’s culture, and capable of showing understanding and respect for diversity. Terri-Lynne’s and Marilyn’s ideas of citizenship are not unlike Noddings’ (2005) depiction of global citizenship. Noddings defines global citizenship as a set of cultural attitudes towards economic and social justice, social and cultural diversity, environmental protection and peace education. Noddings’ framework for educating for global citizenship includes ethical values for community-building and mutual respect, social responsibility, appreciation for diversity and social justice. Marilyn mentions that the student she knows whom she thinks embodies the characteristics of a global citizen is a Social Justice and Peace Studies student who is acutely aware of values such as social responsibility and mutual respect. Marilyn’s and Terri-Lynne’s definitions of a global citizen are quite general in nature. As Rizvi (2008) argues, definitions of global citizenship that are stated in a highly generalized and abstract manner make it difficult to infer implications for specific practices. Although Marilyn and Terri-Lynne think that the majority of their Canadian peers do not have the maturity or intercultural awareness to be considered global citizens,

it is difficult to know, from their definitions and explanations, who would best exemplify or meet the criterion for global citizenship.

Zacharias and Geraldo, although concerned about interacting effectively and respectfully with diverse others, frequently view the purpose for their interactions within the context of a potential future business alliance. They are more focused on the importance of competent business interactions across cultures than values such as social responsibility and social justice; values that are encompassed within Noddings' framework. Zacharias, Geraldo and the international Chinese students are interested in forming meaningful relationships with their diverse peers, and communicating effectively across cultures; they do not think or express their ideas in a way that prioritizes a valuing of global economic and social responsibility and social justice. The international Chinese students do, however, speak of the social responsibility they feel toward China. The six Economics and Business students participating in this study (Peng, Zacharias, Hui, Ling, Zacharias, Geraldo) did not indicate that they were aspiring to be global citizens; they are globally oriented or minded in their interests in gaining intercultural knowledge and fostering intercultural relationships that could further their economic interests and position them in the global market economy. They see these intercultural relationships and the furtherance of economic relations as being mutually beneficial.

Future Plans and One Year Post-Study Follow Up

All of the students, international Chinese and Canadian, indicated that their lives and futures were impacted by their international or intercultural experiences at the Canadian university. The four international Chinese students graduated in 2009. Ling and Tao were accepted into a graduate studies programs in Economics in Western Canada.

Peng pursued graduate studies in Financial Mathematics in Central Canada and Hui enrolled in graduate studies in Economics in Sweden. The international Chinese students' future choices are representative of their cohort of 24 students who came to Canada together from the Chinese partner university. All of these 24 students, except one who decided to complete an additional year of undergraduate studies and then apply to graduate school, were accepted into graduate programs in Economics or Business or a related field at Western universities. The majority of these students stayed in Canada to complete their graduate studies.

The four Canadian students who participated in the case study were also impacted by their intercultural experiences at the university. Marilyn completed her undergraduate degree in International Relations in 2010. She is also working and saving money to travel outside of Canada, and to eventually pursue graduate studies. Geraldo graduated in 2008 and is currently teaching English in Korea, studying Korean and applying to study business at a Business school in Korea. Zacharias graduated in 2009. He traveled to France and Italy in the summer of 2009 and returned to Canada to study for the GMAT test and to work. Terri-Lynne completed her undergraduate degree, majoring in Religious Studies with a minor in English literature, in 2010. She then went to Korea to teach English as a Foreign Language, and plans to apply to graduate school or a Faculty of Education teaching program after working in South Korea. All of the Canadian students who participated in the case study travelled abroad after graduation, or had aspirations of doing so, and all had aspirations to pursue graduate studies, but none of them are currently enrolled in graduate programs. The Canadian students are globally minded and say that their international or intercultural experiences at the university influenced them

and cultivated a greater desire to interact internationally or globally. Their intercultural experiences at the university influenced their choices to pursue international connections through travel, work or study.

Summary

The international Chinese and Canadian students were impacted by their international and intercultural experiences at the university, sometimes in complex and contradictory ways. The international Chinese students identified strongly with China and feared that their Western connections, although highly valued, could compromise or diminish their Chinese identity. The international Chinese students were interested in positioning themselves within the global market economy, and their future choices of graduate studies in Economics or business position them well for continued professional success. The international Chinese students' concern for economic and social responsibility was directed towards China and not necessarily toward a global concern for economic or social responsibility.

The Canadian students were also impacted by their intercultural interactions in complex and contradictory ways. All of the Canadian students were somewhat confused about what it meant to have a Canadian identity. Zacharias and Geraldo feared that having only a Canadian identity could compromise their positioning in the global market economy because they were uncertain of what it meant to have a Canadian identity in the global marketplace. Terri-Lynne concluded that having a Canadian identity meant that you learned about others' cultures. Marilyn indicated that her understanding of Canadian culture was quite ambiguous until she took a university Canadian culture class that challenged some of her assumptions and helped her gain a fuller understanding of what it

meant to be a Canadian. Through interacting with the international Chinese students, the Canadian students developed an increased awareness that they were not as familiar with Chinese culture and also with their own national heritage.

If students are to benefit from a globally oriented national citizenship (Parekh, 2003) and develop a sense of responsibility for economic and social justice, both nationally and globally, they need to develop an awareness of national and global identity that extends beyond the market economy. Universities may well ask if they are primarily preparing students to be successful in the global market economy, or if their mission is also to educate students in their development of global, economic and social responsibility, and to graduate globally oriented citizens.

Chapter Six

Data Analysis: Intercultural Sensitivity and Critical Reflections

Critical reflections from the case study interviews and journal writings are discussed in relation to the results obtained from the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2009; Hammer et al., 2003). The IDI results of the eight students who participated in the case studies will be compared with the results of the others in their cohort groups who participated in writing the IDI. Findings will be related to previous literature and research on internationalization, intercultural sensitivity, and students' intercultural experiences within a university context.

Despite the high consensus among Canadian universities that the key rationale behind internationalization efforts is to prepare graduates who are internationally knowledgeable and interculturally skilled (Knight, 2000), few universities address the development of intercultural understanding in students as an outcome for internationalization. The IDI is an instrument that has been designed to assess intercultural sensitivity. In this study, development in intercultural sensitivity and understanding was assessed through the use of the IDI and through the students' demonstration of critical reflection.

Results from Intercultural Development Inventory and Critical Reflections

The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (Hammer, 2009; Hammer et al., 2003) was constructed from Bennett's (1986, 1993) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS) and represents a progression of worldview "orientations toward cultural difference" that indicate the potential for increasingly sophisticated intercultural experiences. The underlying assumption of the model is that as experiences of cultural

difference become more complex there is an increase in one's potential to effectively interact across cultures (Hammer & Bennett, 2001). The three ethnocentric orientations (Denial, Defense, Minimization) in the model are followed by three ethnorelative orientations (Acceptance, Adaptation, Integration) where one's culture is experienced in the context of other cultures (Hammer et al., 2003). (See Figure 2). The participants' results can be interpreted from this progressive scale.

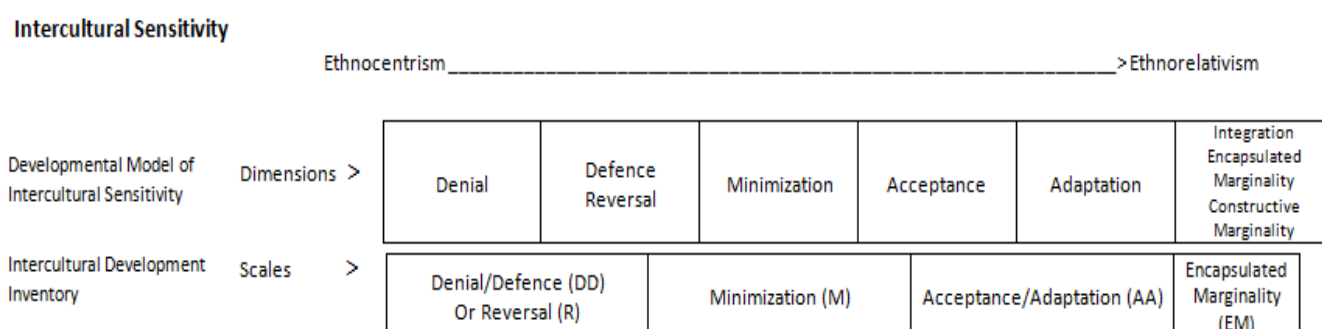


Figure 2. Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003).

Interpreting the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)

The IDI scales. The Intercultural Development Inventory Manual (Hammer & Bennett, 2003) outlines the characteristics of the IDI scales. The IDI Profile graph identifies specific issues around cultural difference faced by individuals or groups. The participants' results are visually profiled as a coloured/shaded bar extending horizontally from left to right. The Overall Perceived and Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity Profiles are presented along the developmental continuum from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism (See Figure 2). The Perceived Intercultural Sensitivity Profile indicates

how the individual (or group) rates her/himself in terms of intercultural sensitivity. The Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity Profile indicates how the IDI rates the individual (or group) in developmental terms. This bar is typically shorter than the Perceived bar.

The DD (Denial/Defense) scale measures a worldview that simplifies and/or polarizes cultural difference. This orientation ranges from a tendency toward disinterest and avoidance of cultural difference (a denial interpretive cluster) to a tendency to view the world in terms of “us” and “them”, where “us” is superior (a defense interpretive cluster). The denial cluster includes two additional interpretive clusters, disinterest in cultural difference and avoidance of interaction with cultural difference. This worldview is considered ethnocentric, meaning that one’s own culture is experienced as central to reality in some way.

The R (Reversal) scale measures a worldview that *reverses* the “us” and “them” polarization, where “them” is superior. This *reversal* orientation is the “mirror image” of the *denial/defense* orientation and is similarly considered to be ethnocentric.

The M (Minimization) scale measures a worldview that highlights cultural commonality and universal values through an emphasis on *similarity* (a tendency to assume that people from other cultures are basically “like us”) and/or *universalism* (a tendency to apply one’s own cultural values to other cultures). This worldview is considered to be “transitional” from more ethnocentric orientations measured by the “DD” and “R” scales to more culturally sensitive (ethnorelative) worldviews.

The AA (Acceptance/Adaptation) scale measures a worldview that can comprehend and accommodate complex cultural difference. This can range from *acceptance* (a tendency to recognize patterns of cultural difference in one’s own and

other cultures) to *adaptation* (a tendency to alter perception and behaviour according to cultural context). The *adaptation cluster* includes two additional interpretative clusters, *cognitive frame-shifting* and *behavioural code shifting*. This worldview is considered ethnorelative, meaning that one's own and other cultural patterns are experienced in alternative cultural contexts.

The EM (Encapsulated Marginality) scale measures a worldview that incorporates multiple identities with confused cultural perspectives. *Encapsulated marginality* refers to an experience of "cultural marginality" that is mainly characterized by feelings of alienation. *Constructive marginality*, where the experience of cultural marginality incorporates the fluid movement in and out of cultural context is not now measured by the IDI, although efforts are underway to develop a CM scale (Hammer & Bennett, 2001).

Students' Participation in Completing the IDI

The eight students participating in the case study were invited to complete the IDI at the beginning of the academic school year and at the end of the academic year. The IDI results of the participants in the case study were also compared with the IDI results of the other students in their cohort. There were 24 students who were in the cohort of students who came from the Chinese partner school in the 2007-2008 school year and 19 of these students participated in the IDI component of the study. There were 22 international peer guides in the 2007-2008 school year and 18 of these students participated in the IDI component of the study. The international peer guides were Canadian students as well as upper year international students. Six of the international peer guides who participated in completing the IDI were upper year international students and 12 were upper year

Canadian students. All eight of the students participating in the case study completed the IDI; they were invited to complete the IDI at the beginning of the academic year and again at the end of the academic year. All four of the international Chinese students who participated in this study completed the IDI at the beginning of the academic year and three of them completed it at the end of the academic year. Three of the four Canadian peer guides who participated in this study completed the IDI at the beginning of the academic year and three of them completed it at the end of the academic year (however, the same peer guides did not complete an inventory at the beginning and end of the academic year). After discussing the results of the IDI overall profiles of the eight students in the case study, these results will be compared with the critical reflections from the students' interviews and journal writings.

Hui.

Hui's overall developmental intercultural sensitivity on the IDI declined from the beginning of the year to the end of the year (see Figure 3). At the beginning of the year she was at a developmental stage of Minimization, indicating that she did not feel that other cultures posed a threat to her own, and her experience was that people from other cultures were similar to her. At the end of the year her overall developmental intercultural sensitivity was in the Defense category, indicating a strong commitment to her own worldview and some distrust of cultural behaviours or ideas that differ from her own. Issues in the reversal (R) scale were resolved at the beginning and at end of the year, indicating that she did not experience Canadian/Western culture as superior to her own. Her end of year profile indicated that she was not in denial of cultural difference but that

she had a tendency to view the world in terms of “us” and “them” where “us” is superior (see Figure 2).



Figure 3. Hui’s IDI Overall Profile

Hui’s critical reflections.

In her final interview Hui voiced strong support for her Chinese culture. The final interview was done in April 2008, prior to the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, at the time of the Tibetan uprising in March 2008. It is possible that this experience caused Hui to be more defensive of her home country. Hui indicated that she felt that countries were critical of China because of China’s relationship with Tibet. She said she read *The New York Times*, *The London Times*, and various other articles about the Tibet uprising and found that they were all very critical of China. Hui also indicated that she read diametrically opposing information about the uprising from the Chinese website. She was supportive of the Chinese government indicating that a central, controlling government was needed. When asked if she thought it was necessary to have a government with

central control she said, “Yes, because we cannot step back and let the Tibetans be independent, because then Taiwan would also want to be independent. So you cannot give up in this kind of work.” Hui was also concerned that Westerners might not go to the Olympics because of wide-spread criticism with the Chinese approach to the Tibetan uprising. She felt that a government anywhere in the world, in the particular developing and economic state that China was in, would require the use of military control. Hui’s support of the Chinese government and of military control seems to contradict her previous indications of support and appreciation for the ability to live more independently in Canada and her enjoyment of the freedom of speech she experiences in Canada. On one hand, she believes a central more controlling government is needed in China, and on the other hand, the freedom she experiences in Canada is important to her.

Ironically, during her year in Canada Hui indicated that she had become more supportive of the Chinese government than she was prior to coming to Canada. She says,

We used to be critical of the government but now we are more supportive. It’s because we were not allowed to speak freely in China. But now I feel more supportive because being critical gives more pressure to our government.

Hui is loyal to her conception of China. Her perceptions of the Chinese government are complex. On the one hand she supports the Chinese government and is bothered by Westerner’s criticism of the Chinese government; on the other hand, she seems to feel ambivalently about China’s control of the people. She surmises,

Some Chinese are very angry about what Western people said, so they act very angry. They love their country. But how do they love their country? Maybe we cannot love the government but we can love the country, the people, the culture,

the language. This love of country cannot be changed, like the Great Wall. It remains but the government, it's gone. It changes by periods, by history. So I love the country but I may not love the government. After I read the article about the Tibet uprising I just suddenly feel a lot of things about the country, like what's the definition of the country?

Hearing the media and her Canadian peers be critical of China's response to the Tibetan uprising clearly affected Hui and caused her to reflect critically about her national culture and her identification with it. It is possible that her experience of stress from the criticism she saw Westerners direct at China caused her to identify more strongly with Chinese culture and feel more defensive. Hui did not directly say she was angry at what she perceived to be misconceptions about her national culture (although she attributed this experience of anger to others within her Chinese group), but it is significant that she said that she felt more strongly aligned with China after experiencing a year in Canada. The Tibetan uprising, especially as it was related to the media's and others' critical response towards China had an impact on her.

Hui has a complex relationship with her Chinese culture. As indicated by her IDI results, after spending one year in Canada she felt more defensive of her Chinese culture than she was prior to her experience of living in Canada. Her critical reflections in her journal entries also indicated a stronger, although somewhat ambivalent, alliance with China after spending a year in Canada. According to the IDI results, Hui's intercultural experiences in Canada seemed to impact her intercultural sensitivity adversely because she was more interculturally sensitive or open to cultural differences at the beginning of the year than she was at the end of the year.

Ling.

Ling began the school year with a relatively advanced IDI score (See Figure 4). The IDI results indicated that all of Ling's developmental issues in the denial and defense clusters were resolved. Nor did she have any concerns on the Reversal Scale. She had advanced beyond the tendency to apply her cultural values to other cultures, although she did have a tendency to assume that people from other cultures were basically like her (a worldview indicative of the positioning on the M scale). She was progressing well in her understanding of difference and the IDI demonstrated that she was moving into the AA Scale with a worldview demonstrating a comprehension and accommodation to complex cultural difference. Yet, like Hui, her Overall Developmental score also declined significantly in the course of the year and she ended the year, according to the IDI results, just at the beginning of the Minimization stage. At the beginning of the school year, all issues in the Defense cluster were well resolved, but at the end of the year her IDI Worldview profile indicated that she had a tendency to view the world in terms of "us" and "them with "us" being superior. At the end of the school year Ling also had significantly less of a worldview that highlighted cultural commonality and universal values, seemingly indicating that she no longer had a tendency to view people from other cultures as basically like her.

Ling's critical reflections.

In her interviews Ling noted differences between herself and those who were part of the dominant culture, especially in use of the English language. This continual reminder of difference may have contributed to Ling feeling separate from and different

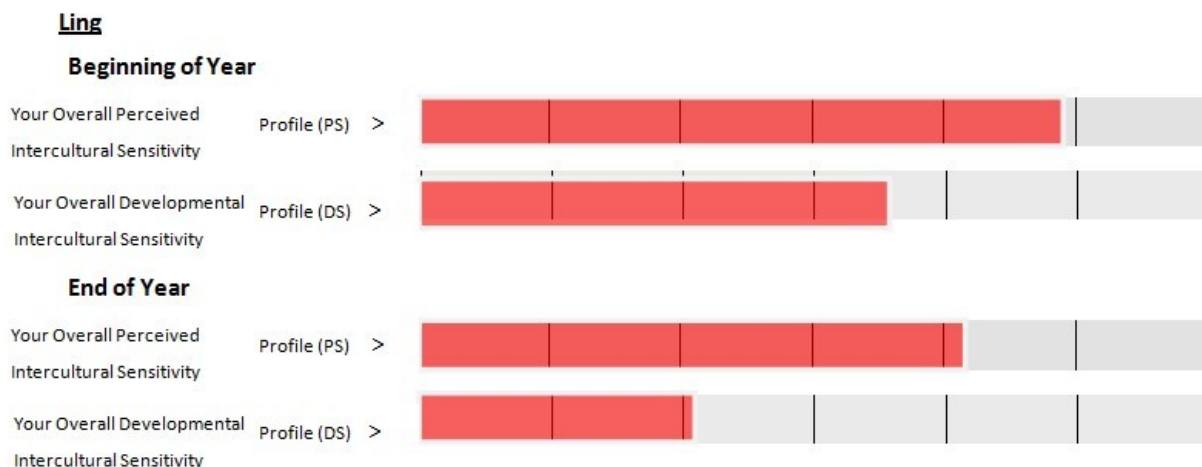


Figure 4. Ling's IDI Overall Profile

from the host culture, especially during her first year of study in Canada. Ling was also aware, through her interactions with those in the church, of differences between her home and host cultures in religious beliefs, family values, and lifestyle.

A defensiveness toward Canadian culture was not noted in Ling's interviews, critical reflections, or interactions. Ling was supportive and protective of the Chinese government's position against the Tibet uprising, but she did not directly indicate that she was distressed by the events. Speaking of Tibet she says, "In my point of view I think the government is doing their best to treat the citizens of Tibet." She acknowledges that the information she is receiving in Canada is different than the information she would have received in China:

I first heard about the uprising from my boyfriend because he read the news from the Korean media. So, he said, your government tries to control Tibet and uses violence and hits the citizens. They hit the common people who try to make Tibet independent. So I checked the news. The news provided from the Chinese government was totally different.

She then voices support for the Chinese government saying, “I think our government can do well, even though the uprising is a big event now. I think it will eventually be just an event, a part of China. Because I am Chinese this is my hope.” This conversation, and Ling’s response to the Tibetan uprising, was representative of Ling’s response to cultural difference. If Ling experienced something negative she seemed to find ways to reframe the experience in a positive way or in a way she found more acceptable. Although Ling’s worldview, according to the IDI results, changed from the beginning to the end of the year, Ling’s interview responses and critical reflections did not display defensiveness. Ling became more aware of the complexities of cultural differences as the year progressed. Although the IDI results indicated that Ling’s cultural sensitivity and ability to deal with cultural difference declined during the course of the academic year, Ling did not appear, through her interviews or intercultural interactions, less intercultural sensitive at the end of the academic year than she was at the beginning. However, observing others’ responses to the Tibet uprising and the upcoming Beijing Olympics highlighted differences in cultural understanding that Ling found challenging.

Tao.

At the beginning of the school year, Tao’s IDI results indicated that he was situated within a Denial/Defensive worldview profile. IDI results also indicated that Tao was interested in cultural difference but that he was avoiding interaction with cultural difference and that he had a tendency to polarize cultural difference and see his culture as superior. By the end of the school year his profile indicated that he was more ethnocentric in his worldview than he was at the beginning of the school year, and that he was now disinterested in cultural difference, was continuing to avoid interaction with cultural

difference, and continued to simplify and polarize cultural difference, seeing his Chinese culture as superior (See Figure 5).

Tao's critical reflections.

Tao's reflections and interviews also indicate that he was struggling with understanding and accepting cultural difference. However, unlike what his first IDI profile showed, in his interview at the beginning of the year Tao indicated that he had a sincere desire to interact with those from other cultures. In his first interview he indicated that he wanted to connect with Canadian students but felt that they did not have time for him.

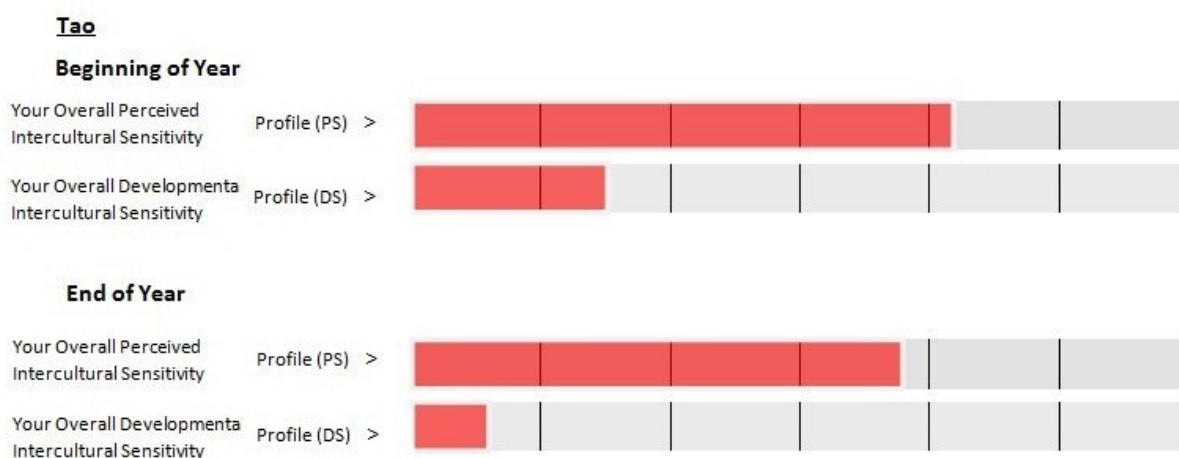


Figure 5. Tao's IDI overall profile.

Tao reflects upon his experiences of interacting with Canadian students.

Tao: Before I came to Canada I was thinking about how people would treat me. Because I think Canadians are friendly, and to me they are friendly. But also my ideas have changed a little bit, because everyone here has work to do, and they don't have too much time to care about you. Sometimes you need to be more active to make friends and not wait for others to make friends with you.

Linda: So you expected that perhaps Canadian students would be more outgoing and they would bring you into their circles more readily. You are finding Canadians are friendly but they have their own lives, so they don't invite you, perhaps as much as you would have expected.

Tao: Another reason may be because they are not from a big city in Canada, like Toronto or Vancouver.. So maybe they are a little afraid, or maybe they find it a little strange to see many Chinese. And we always act like a group. So maybe they think we don't take them in. So they feel a bit strange, so they won't invite us.

Linda: And that is challenging isn't it. Because the group is very important to you, but at the same time you would also like to meet more Canadians and get to know them better.

Tao: Yes, so sometimes it is a dilemma to me. Like a paradox.

Linda: So, how do you fit in with your Chinese group and also branch out and get to know other people – that is the paradox?

Tao: Yes. Now I think I try to make more conversation with others—Canadians and people from other cultures, maybe from India, or from Korea. I try my best. Because most of the time we talk to Chinese in Chinese. I talk to my roommate J. now in English to improve my English and maybe in case Canadians see us talking in English, they will feel we are friendly.

Although it was a challenge to speak to his roommate in English, even when Canadian students were not present, Tao wanted to make this effort in hopes that it would increase

the possibility for interactions with other native English speakers. Tao demonstrated, in his interviews, that he was motivated to interact with culturally different others.

At the beginning of the school year Tao was finding it challenging to interact with Canadian students but he was exerting efforts to make this possible and he was hopeful about forming cross-cultural relationships. In the middle of the school year, Tao reflected in his journal,

It is far more difficult than I thought to get used to the life here. My first impression of Canada is that Canada is quiet at night. The cities are not as vibrant and noisy as what I expected. Not only the cities don't have many neon lights at night, but also there aren't many high-rise buildings, even in Toronto, compared with most Chinese cities. When night falls, most places sink in horrible dark.

However Tao was happy with the public and university services (e.g., libraries, gyms, other general customer services) in Canada. Like many of his Chinese peers he complained about the lack of diversity in food, especially at the cafeteria and fast food outlets he frequents.

Tao felt discriminated against by his Canadian peers. He gives an example of his experience with the University Foot Patrol office at the university.

For example, when I sat in the University Foot Patrol Office³ and was waiting for patrolling duty, as soon as I introduced myself as an international student, nobody ever talked to me from then on. That was the toughest time I have ever had in Canada.

³ The University Foot Patrol promotes safety and deters crime through offering safe escorts for community members. University students can volunteer to provide these safety services for other students or for faculty and staff members.

Tao struggled with feeling accepted by his Canadian peers in Canada. His IDI results indicate that from the beginning of the school year to the end of the school year he became more disinterested in cultural difference and avoided interaction with cultural difference. Tao's interviews and reflections help put this in context. His disinterest and avoidance of cultural differences grew out of his perceived experiences of isolation and discrimination. It is difficult to know, from the Canadian Patrol Students' perspectives, why they did not communicate with Tao after he introduced himself as an international student. The lack of interaction with Canadian students felt rejecting and isolating for Tao.

Tao was also affected by the Tibet uprising in 2008 and felt his Canadian peers and others around the world, did not understand the reality of the Chinese experience. He spoke passionately in defense of the decisions China was making and was dismayed by the Western media's portrayal of what was happening in Tibet at the time. He said,

I want to emphasize that in China we are not only giving, we have not only given to Tibet financially, we also gave them cultural support. We say to them you are ok to have your culture, but we are not ok if you try to reverse slavery, to return to slavery. So that's no good. Because they have a cultural, I mean spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. But the Dalai Lama believes in a slavery system and those uneducated people [in Tibet], they might not be conscious of the slavery system. They might just believe in the Dalai Lama. So that's why we try to give the Tibetan people cultural support, to let them know how other parts of China will think, not just the Dalai Lama.

Tao voiced his concern about the discrepancy between his understanding of what was happening in China and Tibet and the understandings of other students. He said,

Other Canadian students, in my opinion, they find it really difficult to know what happens in our Chinese South because they do not spend time on their computers finding out. They may watch TV a lot but that information may mislead them and they may not be conscious about what happened, what's happening in the outside world. I have to be here to know Canada, so if they want to know about China, they should be there.

Tao felt it difficult to relate to the Canadian students because of some of their ignorance and misconceptions about China. From Tao's explanation of the Tibet uprising, it is evident that his interpretations of what is happening in China are significantly different from the interpretations of many of the Canadian students he would encounter. Tao's challenges in being open to various interpretations of reality, as indicated in the Denial/Defense stage on the IDI continuum, makes it more difficult for him to communicate across cultures.

The four international Chinese students in the case study felt that they were successful, at least in some important ways, in interacting across cultures. All four indicated that it would be helpful if the domestic Canadian students knew more about Chinese culture, but Ling, Hui and Peng did not indicate that they found the Canadian students' lack of knowledge about China as problematic and as inhibitive to establishing relationships as Tao did. Tao, with more of a defensive world view profile, perceived that the Canadian Foot Patrol students' lack of interaction with him indicated their lack of interest in him and he felt discriminated against by them. This prevented him from

interacting with the other Foot Patrol students for the remainder of the year. The IDI results do not account for defensive responses that justifiably develop in response to discrimination and racism.

Although Tao had difficulty interacting within Western culture, and felt discriminated against, he also faced challenges in coping in his Chinese culture. It is possible that Tao's IDI results and progression could be related to his overall coping ability. Tao also felt like he had disappointed his parents in China and that he was not as successful as he should be. It is significant to note that although Tao was defensive about his Chinese culture, he was also able to identify that he did not always feel fully accepted in Chinese culture either.

The IDI results show that at the end of the school year Tao was withdrawing from intercultural interactions. Yet in his final interview, at the end of his first academic year in Canada, Tao continued to voice hope that he would be able to interact with other Canadians in a meaningful way. When asked if his experience in Canada had changed him Tao said, "It's a tough question. I don't think it has changed me a lot." He concluded his interview by saying, "If I live with a Canadian family or with some Canadian students maybe I will experience a great change inside of me." In his final interview, at the end of the academic year, Tao voiced a continued desire for connection across cultures.

Peng.

Peng began the academic year with an Overall Developmental IDI result within the Minimization dimension of the continuum (see Figure 6). Peng's Overall Perceived Profile of Intercultural Sensitivity is significantly higher but this is not unusual. Most participants Perceived measure is higher than their Overall Developmental measure

(Hammer & Bennett, 2001). Peng did not complete the IDI at the end of the school year so a measure of comparison from the beginning to the end of the academic year is not available. Issues in the Minimization dimension of the IDI continuum indicate that one experiences people from other cultures as being much like oneself. The challenge in Minimization is that one tends to project one's culture onto other's experiences because there is an assumption that others are like oneself.

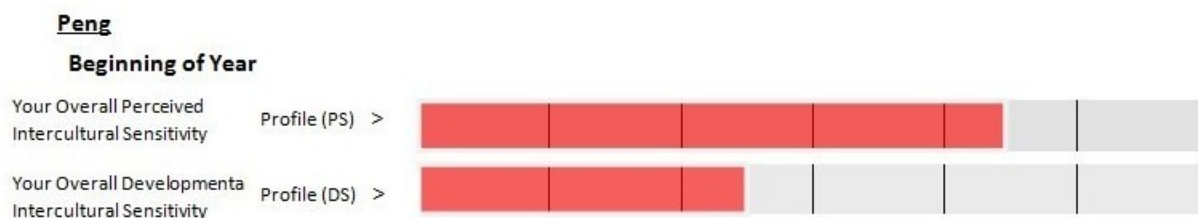


Figure 6. Peng's IDI overall profile.

Peng's critical reflections.

In Peng's first interview he spoke about his surprise that he was not hosted more graciously and attentively by the Canadian students. His expectation was that Canadian students would treat him the way he would treat them if they came to China. This expectation demonstrates an underlying belief that the way the Chinese and Canadian students would want to be hosted in each other's countries would be the same (as is indicative of the Minimization stage of the IDI and of the Golden Rule, to treat others as you would wish to be treated). Peng talked about how Canadian students who visited China on exchange would be treated, in comparison to how he was treated as an exchange student in Canada. He said,

I think that in China when Canadian students come I will initiate and introduce our culture to them. When I am in Canada now, they do not take as much

initiative as us. So I should ask them. If not they will not tell me about Canada... the Canadian students expect that we know everything about Canada. They treat us as normal students – not as exchange students, or not as special people here.

Linda: It is part of Chinese culture to be gracious and to be a good host and in Canadian culture there is more of an expectation that you just fit in.

Peng: I agree with you. It is a cultural difference I think. The traditional Chinese culture is that we should be a good host. Just like the Beijing Olympics – that sort of thing. But in Canada, they treat us (pause) they treat people equal. If I don't ask them questions they just expect that I will get familiar with everything and adapt to it by myself.

Peng's reflection that Canadian students perceive hospitality differently than he does is demonstrative of moving outside of more ethnocentric thinking and is more closely represented by the AA scale (Acceptance/Adaptation) on the IDI continuum, indicating a worldview that comprehends and accommodates to complex cultural difference. Like Tao, Peng also joined the university's Foot Patrol service and found that his communication with Canadian students became easier as the year progressed.

Peng: It did get easier. But some obstacles came when I communicated with them. One on one the Canadian student would take care of me and slow down their speed of speech and would use some vocabulary that I was familiar with. But if they were just to meet me at school, the Canadians use slang and native language that they assume I understand. They don't intend to hurt me. They just do their things as their own and in their own way.

Linda: So it is not an intentional exclusion.

Peng: Yes.

Linda: But sometimes you might feel excluded if they are talking and you don't feel included?

Peng: They might ignore something or neglect. I think they neglect or ignore with no intention to do so.

Peng's understanding of cultural differences enabled him to perceive that he was not being intentionally harmed by the Canadian students, although he felt ignored at times. This intercultural understanding allowed him to initiate contact with Canadian students and bridge the barrier of the Canadian students' lack of awareness.

A worldview of greater ethnorelative awareness assists communication across cultures. In his final interview at the end of the academic year, Peng demonstrated an ethnorelative world view of acceptance and adaptation through his ability to shift his behaviour and thinking to connect in diverse and creative ways with Canadian and Chinese students. Peng indicated,

When I hang out here with local people and with my Chinese friends it's different.... I will explain what I mean. When I speak with Canadian students I will explain my ideas to them, but in conversation with my Chinese friends I would be like, OK, I will first listen to them. I won't do much debate with them, so it will be more smooth or more peaceful. We want more harmony in the Chinese way, but people here focus on their own ideas so I will do as they do.

This ability to change behaviour in order to enable more effective communication with another is indicative of the ethnorelative stage of Bennett's model of intercultural sensitivity, meaning that one experiences one's own culture in the context of other

cultures (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). Peng's description of his ability to interact differently in different cultural contexts coincides with the adaptation dimension of the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI). "Adaptation involves the capability of shifting perspective to another culture and adapting behaviour according to cultural context" (Hammer, 2009). Adaptation is the dimension or stage of the Intercultural Development Continuum that is most indicative of an intercultural mindset and intercultural awareness. Peng spoke about his ability to shift behaviour according to cultural context at the end of his first year of study, after he had experienced living in Canada for a year. Peng had experience with cultural differences in China as well; he found that the culture in his Southern China hometown was very different to the culture in North China where he attended university prior to coming to Canada. His previous experiences with cultural differences, and his reflections upon them, prepared him for his year of study in Canada, enabling him to put into perspective experiences with Canadian students that he found unwelcoming.

Like the other international Chinese students, Peng was concerned about Canadian students' perceptions of China as they related to the Tibet uprising. Because he had more interactions with Canadian students than many in his international Chinese cohort, he felt more comfortable communicating with his Canadian peers about the uprising. When asked if he would talk about global economics or relations between China and Canada in his economics class he said, "Oh it's rare. Yes, it's rare, but at some occasions. Sometimes we talk about Tibet in these days."

Linda: In economics class?

Peng: No, just generally.... Because I want to explain what happened. What exactly happened in Tibet, to give them my opinion, my ideas.

Linda: So it is important to you to pass on to some of the Canadian students that you have a different perspective about what is happening in Tibet?

Peng: But I think, honestly speaking, it will be easy for them to have a misunderstanding about it. Because I don't know why but some media in the US they mislead people. I look on the CNN website and the photos they use are the wrong photos. The photos are not in China. It is like the country beside China like India or Bangladesh. The police, they crack down the demonstration and you know, the soldier is not in the Chinese uniform.

Linda: So we are being misinformed.

Peng: SO (with emphasis) I feel like I should share my information with them.

Linda: Have you had meaningful dialogues about this with Canadian students?

Peng: Well, in the conversation we get some different ideas and some different logic. They focus on human rights and I think it's a high priority for them. I think about how our logic is sometimes different. And our focus is different.

Although Peng did not share a common understanding about the Tibet uprising with the Canadian students with whom he interacted while in Canada, it is significant that Peng felt motivated and obligated to have a discussion with his Canadian peers about Tibet. Peng's ability to critically reflect upon why he and his Canadian peers had different understandings, and his conclusion that he and his Canadian peers had a different focus, are evidence of his ability to communicate effectively across cultures.

Terri-Lynne.

Terri-Lynne began the academic year with an Overall IDI Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity profile in the Defense dimension and finished the school year with an ID I profile one stage higher on the scale in the Minimization dimension (See Figure 7). The Canadian students who participated in the case study were all members of the International Peer Guide Program. As a result they had increased opportunities for intercultural interactions. Therefore, it would be predicted that they would move on the continuum in the direction of increased intercultural sensitivity. Because all students had opportunities for intercultural interaction, all students could be expected to progress on the IDI ethnocentric- ethnorelative continuum. However, Hui, Ling and Tao demonstrated, according to the IDI results, a decrease in intercultural sensitivity from the beginning to the end of the academic year.

Terri-Lynne's IDI Worldview profile at the beginning of the school year indicated that she had resolved most issues in the Denial/Defense dimension but that she was in transition on the R scale, indicating a worldview that reversed "us" and "them" polarization where "them" is superior. This is also a notable change from the international Chinese students' profiles. None of the international Chinese students idealized another culture or saw another culture as superior to their own. According to the IDI, at the beginning of the academic year Terri-Lynne had not yet begun to interact within the Minimization dimension, meaning that she had a tendency to stress cultural similarity and universal values in a way that would mask crucial cultural differences.

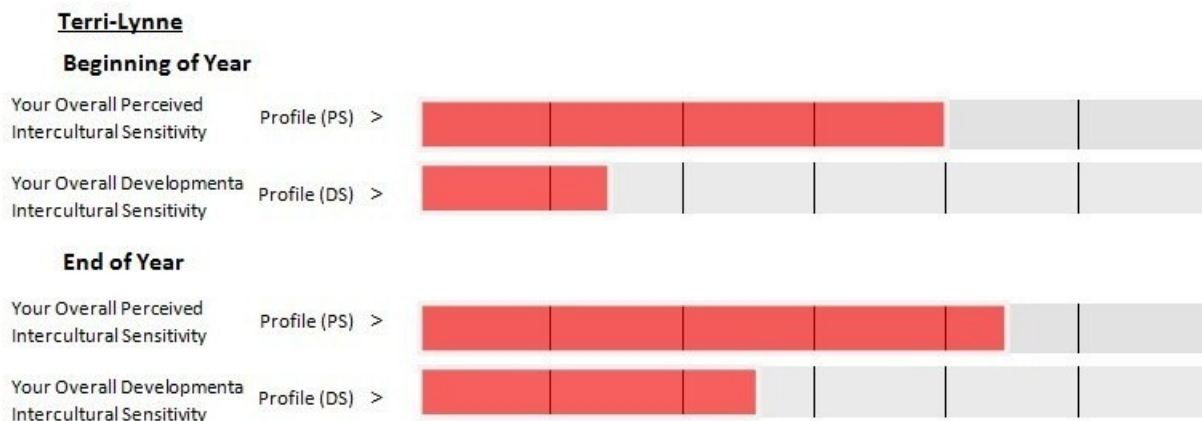


Figure 7. Terri-Lynne's IDI overall profile.

Terri-Lynne's difficulty in recognizing cultural differences could be a result of not having lived in another culture. All of the international Chinese students indicated in their interviews that the Canadian students who had been to China on a study exchange were more aware of cultural differences between China and Canada and were more receptive to them than were the Canadian students who had not been to China. Even without living in another culture, according to the IDI results, Terri-Lynne's ability to differentiate between cultures and communicate more effectively across cultures increased from the beginning to end of the academic year. At the end of the academic year Terri-Lynne no longer had a worldview that reversed and polarized cultures, idealizing cultures different from her own. At the end of the year she was in transition on the Minimization dimension, indicating that she was learning to see people from other cultures as different from herself and was learning to transcend her tendency to apply her cultural values to others.

Terri-Lynne's critical reflections.

Terri-Lynne's conception of culture at the time of her first interview was largely related to food and cultural holidays and celebrations. When I asked her how she would

describe her cultural identity she said,

I find that my culture seems to be like learning about all the other cultures and kind of combining them. But I didn't grow up like in one specific culture. Well Canadian culture, but we don't have traditional holidays we celebrate, towards our religion, like our Catholic holidays. Yeah. We don't seem to have a strong culture.

These statements coincide with the reversal scale on the IDI. Terri-Lynne seems to see other cultures as more significant and appealing than her own. She spent some time with her boyfriend in the Philippines and found Filipino culture appealing. "It seemed in the Filipino people were so relaxed and I wanted to get to that point sometimes."

Terri-Lynne indicated that she wanted to be involved in international programs at the university because she was positively affected by her summer trip to the Philippines with her boyfriend, and she thought joining the Peer Guide Program would be "a fun thing to do". When asked, at the end of the academic year, if working with international student programs at the university fulfilled her expectations she said,

I had no expectations. I had no idea what was going to happen. But it was a great year and being a peer guide and coordinator was great because I was able to see things from two different angles. As a peer guide you get to see up close, and as a coordinator you get to look at the overall picture and plan the activities. Yeah, it was a great experience. I got to meet so many new people.

By the end of the academic year Terri-Lynne also identified some of the challenges of communicating interculturally. When asked about her experiences interacting with the international students, Terri-Lynne said that it was more difficult to

engage the Chinese students in activities than it was some of the international students from other countries. She explained,

A lot of peer guides that I talked to that had Chinese peers said that the Chinese peers didn't go out to events as much and they were kind of like, "OK, I guess they don't want to do anything with me. Some of the peer guides felt discouraged about it.

She identified this difference between the Chinese peers and some of the international peers from other countries as being related to a concern over academic studies and success. The Chinese students did not have much time to socialize because they were dedicated to their studies. Terri-Lynne and Geraldo noted that the Chinese students were less familiar with Western music media than some of the international students from other countries. Terri-Lynne shared,

An experience that I will reflect about was with a group of peers and peer guides hanging out in a residence lounge. There was a boy from Russia, a girl from the Bahamas, a girl from El Salvador, four girls and a boy from Korea and myself. One thing all of us girls had in common was that we all grew up with the Spice Girls. From all parts of the globe, as preteens we memorized their songs. We put on some of their music and were all doing the moves. I thought about how small the world seemed since we could relate to loving the Spice Girls in our younger days.

Terri-Lynne concluded,

In meeting people from across the globe, I have begun to learn about our differences but also our many similarities. We are all students and young adults

trying to make our mark on the world and be successful in school. We all like to laugh and cry and sing and dance. Even though we do things a little differently, in the end we are all still people. I think some Canadian students have to be more accepting of the international students because they can teach you so much.

Terri-Lynne's reflection coincides with the IDI Minimization stage, which recognizes differences but emphasizes commonalities.

In the year Terri-Lynne spent engaged with international students at the university, her IDI results and her personal reflections indicated that she increased in her understanding of other cultures and in her abilities to communicate intercultural. Terri-Lynne began to understand that she had a culture, and she resolved the developmental IDI reversal issue of seeing other cultures as superior to her own.

Geraldo.

Geraldo's Overall IDI Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity Profile results also advanced during the course of the academic year (See Figure 8). He began at the Defense/Reversal dimension of the continuum, indicating a worldview that reversed "us" and "them" polarization with "them" as superior. Geraldo was actively interested in Chinese culture, particularly as it related to business and the economy, and had spent time studying in China. At the end of the academic year Geraldo's IDI results indicated that he had resolved issues on the Reversal Scale and that he had also resolved many issues on the Minimization Scale, demonstrating an increase in his intercultural sensitivity. Geraldo's IDI results indicated that he did not demonstrate a tendency to apply his cultural values to other cultures but that he had a tendency to assume that people from other cultures were basically like him.

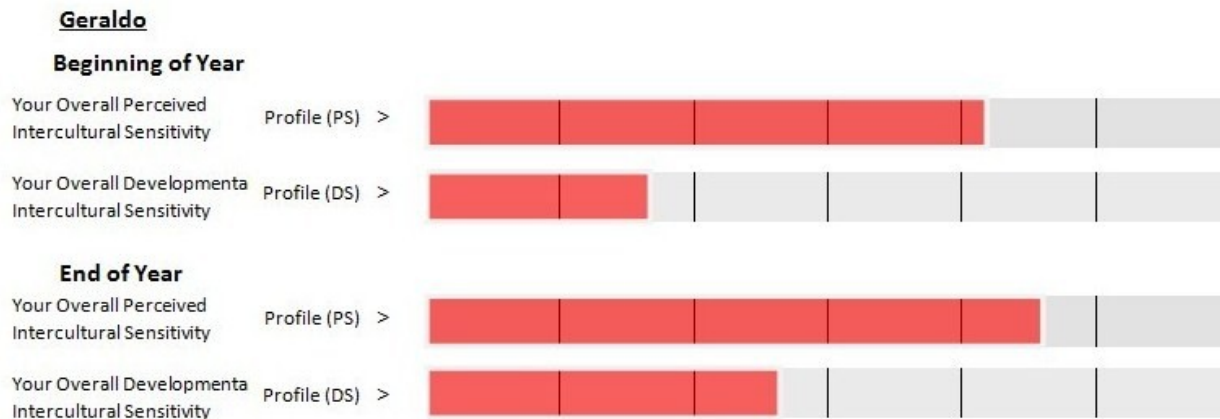


Figure 8. Geraldo's IDI overall profile.

Geraldo's critical reflections.

Geraldo demonstrated his respect for Chinese culture, and his tendency to see it as better than his own culture, in some of his reflections during his beginning of the year interview. Geraldo described what he learned from his international Chinese peers as follows:

What I learned is the different cultural values they have. There are a lot of similarities but I think they have a lot of different values that we don't really focus on. Well, we don't anymore I feel. For example, they focus a lot on the family, whereas we don't as much. We don't appreciate family as much as they do. There are other points as well. They are very friendly and caring. If I was to go over there they would be more caring then let's say a Canadian would be to them over here.

Geraldo had observed that family values and hospitality were expressed differently in China than they were in Canada. He perceived that the Chinese culture was more caring.

There was evidence of Geraldo's increased maturity in some of the remarks he made in the middle and towards the end of the school year. He said,

I have developed a sense of maturity through my two and a half years experiences as a peer guide. I say this in a strict sense, in the way that I have matured through the course of my university life. I have found that when I first began as a peer guide I was young and naïve. I didn't know how to process the maturity of my international peers. In fact some of them were several years older than me, and I thought that I would be their teacher, their helper, when in fact they have helped me; they have taught me. This year I found that I connect with them on a mature level that I haven't connected with them before. Whatever the reason may be, I found that I can connect with them on a different level than just meeting someone new, and I feel that I have developed a fine sense of genuine friendship with someone who is not from this country. I feel that it has helped me grow and develop into the person I am now.

Geraldo's experience developing cross cultural awareness and the ability to "develop a genuine friendship" with someone outside of his cultural group took time and maturity.

Although he had been involved in international programs at the university for two and a half years, and had spent time in China, Geraldo indicated that he was not aware of his growth and increased maturity in relating across cultures until this year. Although students, like Geraldo, may be involved in many activities, and classroom interactions with students from other cultures, cross-cultural maturity is difficult to measure and it takes time to develop the intercultural knowledge that develops through interaction with culturally diverse others. Although Geraldo had spent time in China and had been involved in cross-cultural programming for two years prior to taking the IDI the first time, he began the academic year, according to the IDI and his reflections, at an early stage of

development. As Geraldo indicated, he started to feel that he was developing maturity in his intercultural interactions after having spent two and a half years being engaged in cross-cultural interactions, both inside and outside of the classroom. He also identified his experiences relating across cultures as highly meaningful. His cross-cultural experiences, he said, helped him grow and develop into the person he is today.

Zacharias.

Zacharias' Overall Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity Profile results at the end of the academic year indicated that he was in the Denial/Defense dimension of the IDI (See Figure 9). His worldview profile indicated that he had resolved most of the issues in this dimension although he was still resolving some issues on the Reversal scale, meaning that he had a tendency to idealize other cultures or see them as better than his own. Zacharias completed the IDI at the end of his academic year as an international peer guide. IDI results from the beginning of the academic school year, prior to Zacharias' involvement in the International Peer Guide Program, are not available because Zacharias did not complete the IDI at that time.

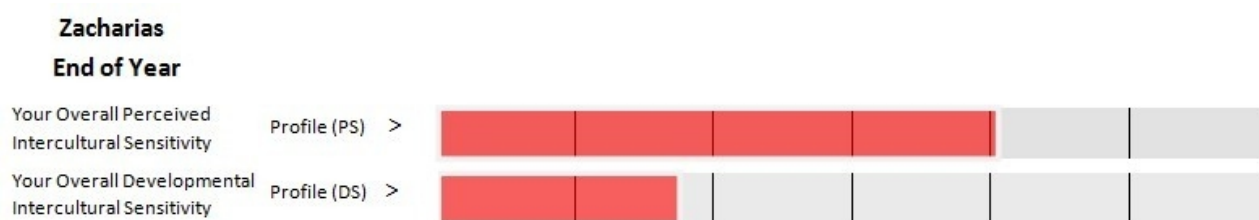


Figure 9. Zacharias' IDI overall profile.

Zacharias' critical reflections.

In a defensive world-view one sees one's own customs and culture as being better than that of another's culture. During the defensive stage, a judgemental orientation that is grounded in a sense of "us" and "them" can emerge (Hammer, 2009). Zacharias

demonstrated a defensive stance when he commented on what he considers to be the international Chinese students' more collectivist tendencies and he expresses his frustration with them. He said,

For the most part recreationally/socially [the Chinese students] do not wish to participate and involve themselves with the Canadian students. This is their fault. They really don't like to break their routines. I mean like being 5 minutes late for class, always coming to class and then going back to residence is set in their heads. I don't know what else they do. I have heard that some Chinese students organize parties they may attend.... but I have not been invited, except to Jenny's birthday. They are a small contained group and what one of them does, the others follow. They almost always ask a question of the teacher after class, never in class. All the Chinese students stay behind and figure out answers to questions for themselves. It is disappointing and frustrating most of the time as the teacher only has so much time after class. It sucks to wait around, waiting until they have finished.

Zacharias' IDI worldview profile results indicate that he has a tendency to assume that people from other cultures are basically like him and to apply his cultural values to those from other cultures. Increasing in intercultural sensitivity, on the IDI continuum, would involve learning to differentiate and accept patterns of more complex cultural differences. The expectation is that with an increased understanding of cultural difference, Zacharias' frustration of others who were not behaving according to his cultural expectations would decrease, and his ability to communicate more effectively interculturally would increase.

Zacharias had many more “in class” and “out of class” interactions with international students than most of his Canadian peers. Many of his classmates in the Management and Organizational Studies program were international students. His decision to join the International Peer Guide Program was indicative of his interest in forming relationships with international students. He demonstrated this interest by spending time with his international peers on and off campus, and inviting them to his family’s home on holidays. At the end of the academic year, when asked about his impressions of the International Peer Guide Program at the university, Zacharias was asked if he would suggest any changes to the program. He responded,

No, I really liked it. I really liked it. Like a lot of my Canadian friends, I’m always telling them about what I’m doing with the international students, and I say, yeah, it’s a lot of fun. One of my friends, like I told him all the stories, all the good times, and the fun we’ve had, and he was like, I want to do that next year.

Although it appears from the IDI results that Zacharias’ year with international students at the university did not substantially improve his ability to interact across cultures, Zacharias said that he found his intercultural experiences meaningful, indicating that students do not have to be interculturally advanced or mature in their understanding to benefit from intercultural interactions. Zacharias’ experience also demonstrates that intercultural maturity, even with ample opportunity for intercultural interactions and experiences, does not necessarily change markedly in a defined measure of time such as an academic year. Geraldo, for example, indicated that he spent two to three years interacting across cultures before he started to feel that he was maturing in his abilities to interact across culture. Zacharias and Geraldo’s experiences demonstrate that

increased intercultural interactions do not necessarily lead to immediately measureable improvements in students' levels of intercultural knowledge, maturity or development.

Marilyn.

The results from Marilyn's Overall Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity IDI profile showed that she ended the academic year at the Minimization dimension of the scale (See Figure 10). Her worldview profile indicated that she had resolved most issues on the Denial/Defense Scale but she continued to be in transition on the Reversal Scale, indicating a tendency to see other cultures as superior to her own. Marilyn did not complete the IDI at the beginning of the academic year. Her worldview profile at the end of the academic year indicated that she had a tendency to assume that people from other cultures were basically like her (similarity cluster), and that she had a tendency to apply her own cultural values to other cultures (universalism cluster).

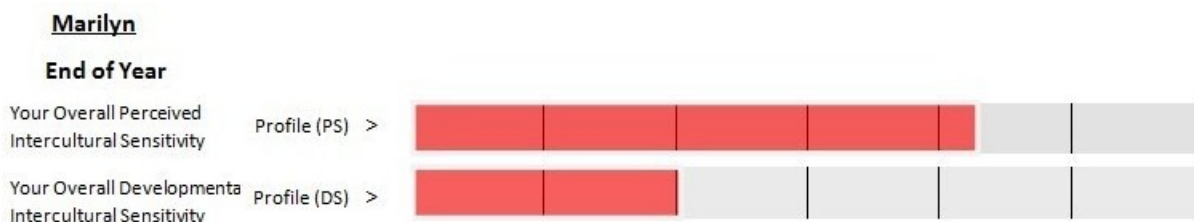


Figure 10. Marilyn's IDI overall profile.

Marilyn's critical reflections.

Like the other Canadian peer guides, Marilyn spoke favourably about her time interacting with international students. She began the academic year nervous about her role as a peer guide, but relaxed after she found she was accepted by her peers.

When I first began the training I was worried that I wouldn't be able to fit the standards and I was extremely nervous meeting my peers. I wondered whether our

personalities would mesh and whether I would be able to help them with their transition into Canadian culture. After meeting them though, I was very excited to see how enthusiastic they were, and that instead of expecting a lot from me, they were just looking for a friend.

In her reflections Marilyn spoke at length about sharing food, customs, trips and activities together, including introducing her international peers to her family. She concluded her journal reflection by saying, “It has been nothing but splendid to spend time with my peers. My expectations have been far exceeded with this program, and I truly hope that the relationships that I have made with my peers will last a lifetime.” The Peer Guide Program at the university provided an opportunity for interaction that Marilyn did not have in her classes. Marilyn who was studying International Relations at the time of the study, explained in an interview that there were not many international students or students from a variety of cultures in her classes. When asked if there were international students in her classes she responded,

Not really. Or if they are, they’ve been , this is a bad term, but ‘white-washed’ . They are very much immersed into our culture. There are some students from other cultures but the majority are from Canada for sure. But everyone is interested in global politics. I have one class, my political comparative politics class, where we spend our tutorial every week talking about things that are going on in the world.

When Marilyn was asked if she had discussed the Tibet uprising in China in her classes or with other students, she responded,

As for the whole Tibet and China thing, it's so hard to know. I have one friend, my friend from Hong Kong actually, who I was watching a newscast about Tibet with, and he said, you know, the media just shows such a skewed view of what is actually going on. Because he was like, everyone just wants to blame China immediately. But in reality, like again though I don't know, because he is from China and probably has a bit of a skewed view as well. In his opinion the Tibet monks that they are persecuting are actually very violent and it's not just the Chinese government making it up... I think that there are injustices on both sides and we are only seeing one part of it because China is communist and our democratic societies don't like that. So we are threatened by that and we automatically think that what they are doing must be wrong because it is backwards from what we know and I don't think that is necessarily true either. I don't think it is fair to say that democracy is the best way just because we enjoy it.

Marilyn also indicated that she had read an article about Tibet and China that related to the uprising in *Macleans* that week and that she found it so biased that it "blew her mind."

Although Marilyn focused on food, customs and celebrations when she described her interactions with her international peers, she also demonstrated, when she discussed her academic study in international relations and international politics, that she was thinking critically about political biases and how these biases affected overall relations. She was also critically reflective in her interactions about Tibet that she had with her friend from Hong Kong. Marilyn's IDI results indicated that she had a tendency to apply her own cultural values to other cultures. However, in her discussions about Tibet she

showed that she was aware that other cultures had different perspectives. She was unsure of what her own perspective was concerning the Tibet uprising, indicating that it was difficult for her to have an opinion because the media and other stakeholders were biased in their representations about what was happening. Her reflections indicated that she was open, and interested in gaining a clearer understanding of intercultural relations. Her own identity seemed less certain at this time but she was dedicated to the process of learning and understanding cultural difference.

Case Study Students' Results Compared with Peers' Results

The class peers of the students in the case study also completed the IDI and their findings were compared with the case study students' findings. There were a total of 24 students in their third year of study (first year at university in Canada) from the Chinese partner university attended by Ling, Hui, Tao and Peng during the 2007-2008 academic year. A total of 19 of the 24 students from the Chinese class cohort completed the IDI. Thirteen students completed the IDI at the beginning and end of the academic year (See Figure 11). Another 6 students from the Chinese cohort completed the IDI only at the beginning of the school year, and these results, along with the results of the 13 Chinese cohort students who completed the IDI twice are shown in Figure 12. There were minimal differences in the results between the thirteen students who completed the IDI both times, compared with the additional 6 International Chinese students who completed the IDI only at the beginning of the year (See Figures 11 and 12). The international Chinese students' Overall Perceived Intercultural Sensitivity profile results and their Overall Developmental Intercultural Sensitivity results did not change significantly from the beginning to the end of their first academic year of study in Canada. According to the

IDI results, the international Chinese students' abilities to interact across cultures did not significantly change after their first academic year of study in Canada.

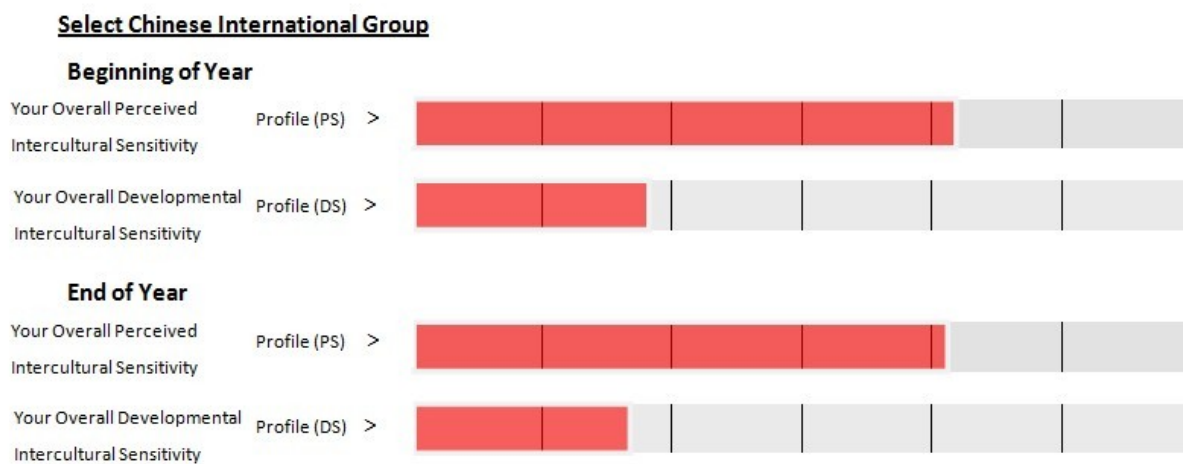


Figure 11. International Chinese group who completed the IDI at the beginning and end of the academic year.



Figure 12. Total international Chinese group who completed the IDI.

Tao's results at the beginning of the school year were similar to the overall results of his cohort. Tao began the school year in the Defense dimension of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Hui and Peng began the school year one

dimension above their cohort in the Minimization dimension and Ling began two dimensions above her cohort in the Acceptance dimension of the DMIS (on which the IDI is based). It was not surprising that the students who self-selected to participate in the case study were initially more advanced than their international Chinese cohort because their decision to volunteer for the study indicated that they had a particular interest in intercultural experiences and interactions. It was surprising that the international Chinese participants in the Case Study finished the academic year, according to the IDI findings, with a significantly lower level of intercultural sensitivity or competence than they had at the beginning of the academic year when they first arrived in Canada. Hui and Tao's IDI results (Figures 3 and 5) decreased by one dimension from the beginning to the end of the academic year, and Ling's IDI results decreased by one and a half dimensions from the beginning to the end of the academic year (Figure 4). Because the international Chinese students were living in a Western culture for the first time, and would supposedly have ample opportunities for intercultural interactions, it would be predicted that their intercultural sensitivity would increase during their first year of academic study because of their increased exposure to another culture. Unpredictably, the overall IDI results of the international Chinese group, all of whom had spent their first academic year in Canada, did not change significantly from the beginning to the end of the academic year; as well the international Chinese case study participants IDI results decreased. At the end of the school year, Ling's IDI results, although decreased, remained higher than her international peers but Hui and Tao's results were lower than their peers in the international Chinese Group.

The Canadian Peer Guide Group, like the international Chinese group, did not have IDI results that changed significantly from the beginning to the end of the academic year (See Figure 13), indicating that an academic year spent interacting with international student peers did not appear to change their scores on intercultural sensitivity or competence. A total of 22 peer guides participated in the Peer Guide Program in the 2007-2008 academic year and 18 of these guides completed the IDI. Of the 18 peer guides, 12 were Canadian upper-year students and six were upper-year international students. A total of 10 peer guides completed the IDI at the beginning and the end of the academic year, three peer guides completed the IDI only at the beginning of the academic year and five peer guides completed the IDI only at the end of the academic year. When the international peer guides' IDI results were included with the Canadian peer guides' IDI results in the Overall Peer Guide Group, the peer guides had higher levels of intercultural sensitivity (see Figures 13 and 14). The International Chinese Group IDI results and the Canadian Peer Guide Group results were very similar. Both groups were at the high end of the Defense/Reversal dimension at the beginning and end of the academic year. Neither the International Chinese Group nor the Canadian Peer Guide Group showed changes in intercultural sensitivity, as demonstrated through the IDI results, after one academic year of intercultural experiences and interactions.

The six international peer guides in the peer guide cohort group (not including the Canadian peer guides) began the school year in the Minimization, Acceptance or Adaptation dimension of the IDI, indicating, according to the IDI, that they were more intercultural sensitive and aware at the beginning of the academic year than were their Canadian peers participating in the Peer Guide Program, or the international Chinese

peers who had just arrived in Canada. Four of the international peer guides were Chinese, one was from Trinidad and Tobago, and the other from Indonesia. One of the Chinese peer guides had also worked, during the academic year, as an International Student Coordinator. This peer guide had IDI results that increased one dimension from the beginning to the end of the academic year. The Indonesian student's IDI results remained relatively the same from the beginning to the end of the academic year. Another peer guide had IDI results that decreased a half of a dimension (Chinese student), and two had results that decreased significantly (two dimensions) from the beginning to the end of the academic year (Trinidadian student and Chinese student). One of the Chinese students only completed the IDI at the end of the academic year and she was in the Defense dimension at that time. In total, two of the international Chinese peer guides ended the academic year in the Defense dimension, and the other four international peer guides were in Minimization or Acceptance at the end of the school year.

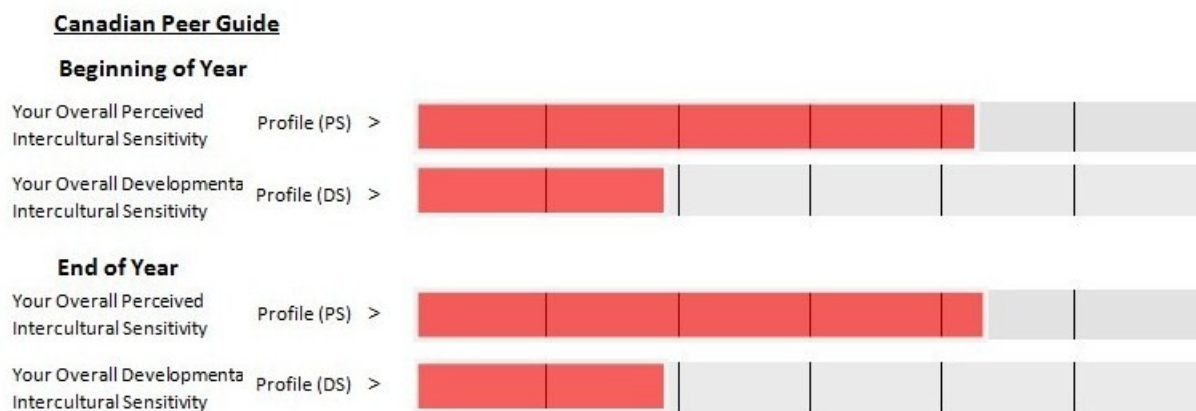


Figure 13. Canadian peer guides' IDI overall profile.

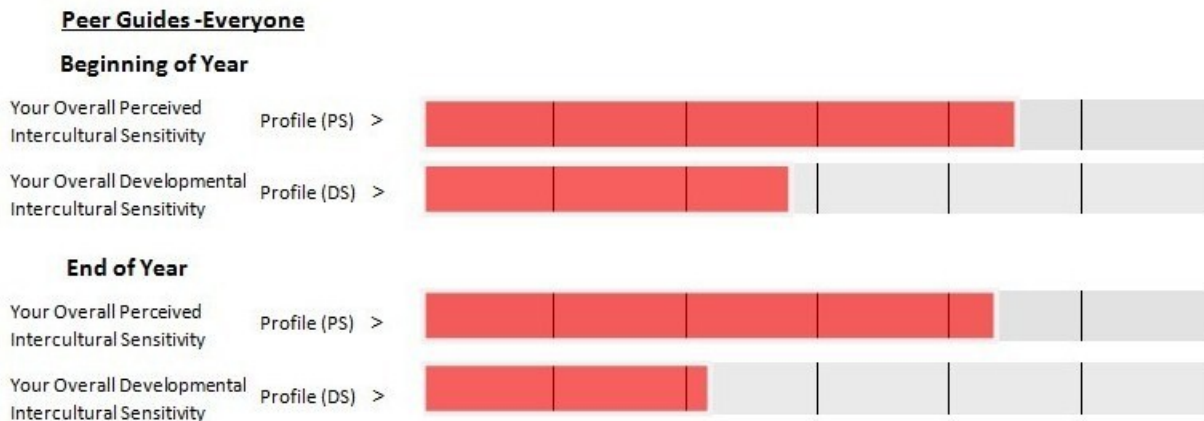


Figure 14. Canadian and international peer guides' IDI overall profile.

The majority of the peer guides who were international students showed higher levels of intercultural sensitivity than their Canadian and international peers at the beginning of the academic year but their IDI results indicated a decline in sensitivity at the end of the academic year.

Peer guides Terri-Lynne (see Figure 7) and Geraldo (see Figure 8) began the school year slightly lower on the Defense/Reversal dimension of the IDI Scale than their Canadian peers in the Peer Guide Program (see Figure 13). Unlike the majority of the Canadian peer guides, Terri-Lynne and Geraldo ended the academic year higher on the Ethnocentrism-Ethnorelativism IDI scale than where they began at the beginning of the academic year. Zacharias' Overall IDI results (see Figure 9) at the end of the school year indicated that he was positioned slightly lower than his Canadian peers (see Figure 13) in the Defense/Reverl dimension of the scale. Marilyn's (see Figure 10) IDI results at the end of the school year were slightly higher than the Canadian Peer Guide Group's (see Figure 13); Marilyn was positioned at the beginning of the Minimization Scale. In summary, Zacharias' and Marilyn's results were similar to the results of the Overall Canadian Peer Guide Group's results; Terri-Lynne and Geraldo's results were similar to

the Canadian Peer Guide Group's at the beginning of the academic year, but they completed the academic year with results that were higher than the Canadian Guides Group's results.

Summary: IDI Results and Critical Reflections

The Overall IDI results from the international Chinese students who participated in the case study indicated that their overall developmental intercultural sensitivity decreased from the beginning to the end of the academic year. These IDI results were then compared with their Chinese international peer group whose overall IDI results indicated that overall sensitivity did not change significantly from the beginning to the end of their first academic year of study in Canada. The IDI results of the Canadian peer guides who participated in the case study increased, but the Overall Canadian Peer Guide Group results did not change significantly. As indicated by the IDI results, intercultural experiences and interaction at the university did not increase intercultural sensitivity for the International Chinese or the Canadian Peer Guide Overall Groups. However, Terri-Lynne and Geraldo, and several others in the peer and peer guide comparison groups, had an increase in their intercultural sensitivity measures from the beginning to the end of the academic year.

It can be concluded that intercultural experiences and interactions did not independently increase scores of intercultural sensitivity. Nor did living in a new culture, as was the experience for all the international Chinese students, in itself increase intercultural sensitivity. The four international Chinese students who participated in the case study were particularly interested in intercultural experiences and interactions, and in increasing their abilities to interact effectively across cultures. Yet despite their

attention and efforts, their IDI results decreased rather than increased during the academic year.

These results are comparable to those of Johnson and Battalio (2008), who found, with a group of pre-service teachers participating in a six-week study abroad program in Scotland, that 70% of the participants remained at the same level of intercultural sensitivity after the program and only 30% moved to a more culturally sensitive view of cultures. Similarly mental health workers who participated in an intensive training program on intercultural sensitivity, using Bennett's DMIS, found that over a 10 month training period, development of intercultural sensitivity was for the most part a non-linear process and participants in the study made intermittent reversions to earlier levels of intercultural sensitivity, and moved forward in spurts (Bourjolly et al., 2005).

Intercultural learning or development does not occur simply from having intercultural experiences or from being in the vicinity of intercultural events when they occur. Rather, learning emerges from the capacity to construe events and then re-construe them in transformative ways (Bennett & Salonen, 2007). The case study participants had the opportunity and the ability to construe and re-construe their experiences in transformative ways and they demonstrated this in their critical reflections. It is important for all students to learn to frame and re-frame their experiences in meaningful ways, so they can increase their intercultural learning and effectiveness. Bringing different cultural groups in contact with each other, when learners are developmentally unprepared to handle them, can generate more problems than advancement in intercultural communication or understanding (Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Hui, Ling, and Peng began the academic year with higher measures of intercultural

sensitivity on the IDI scale than their Canadian peer guide counterparts who participated in the case study, yet Hui, Ling, and Tao ended the academic year with IDI measures that were significantly lower than their beginning results. Half of the peer guides who were international also had a significant decrease in their IDI scores from the beginning to end of the academic year (and they also began the school year with higher IDI measures than their Canadian peers).

It is possible that the overall decrease in scores in intercultural sensitivity of the international Chinese case study participants was related to their experiences of being a minority student and not feeling included and accepted by the less interculturally sensitive majority population. The international Chinese students in the case study indicated that it was difficult for them to be included in interactions with Canadian students and they had few interactions with Canadian students other than those arranged through their professor's interventions in the classroom or through social interactions organized through the Peer Guide Program (with the exception of Peng who interacted more freely with other Canadian students). The international Chinese students also indicated that they knew more about Canadian culture than most of their Canadian peers knew about Chinese culture. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000), in their meta-analysis of studies that researched the question of whether intergroup contact reduced prejudice found that overall, face-to-face interaction between members of distinguishable groups is related, in important ways, to reduced prejudice. A major mediator in the size of contact-prejudice effects involved whether participants were from a majority group or a stigmatized minority group. Majority participants revealed much larger mean effects than did minority participants. Pettigrew and Tropp concluded that the perspectives of both

groups, and especially the lower-status groups, need to be carefully considered when creating an optimally structured contact situation. In the current study it appears that the international Chinese students' experiences and intercultural interactions at the Canadian university did not necessarily prepare them for optimal intercultural growth and development.

The international Chinese students voiced varying levels of distress or concern about the Tibet conflict and the West's perception of the Beijing Olympics, which may have impacted their overall feeling of acceptance by non-Chinese, as well as their sense of well-being in Canada. The majority group (Canadian) case study participants, as evidenced through their IDI results and critical reflections, found that their intercultural experiences were more optimal for the furtherance of their intercultural growth and development. However, neither the Overall Canadian Peer Guide Group nor the International Chinese Group showed significant changes in intercultural sensitivity from the beginning to the end of the academic year, so it is difficult to ascertain if the international Chinese students' minority group status impacted their development of intercultural sensitivity.

Chapter Seven

The Complexity of Students' Experiences of Internationalization: Consistencies and Contradictions

The purpose of the research was to explore international Chinese and domestic Canadian students' experiences at a Canadian university. The major themes explored included how students' intercultural experiences, in a university context, influenced their relationships, identities, critical understandings and awareness.

The four major themes identified were: education and marketization; academic pressure and performance; language, intercultural connections and barriers; and hybrid and local/global identities. Globalization impacted the lives of international Chinese and Canadian domestic students. The business and economics students were acutely aware of marketization forces and made life choices that they perceived would best position them in the global economy. The international Chinese students experienced more academic pressure to succeed than did their Canadian peers and the Canadian students were also aware of the international Chinese students' need to be academically successful. All of the international Chinese students in the case study were successful in gaining acceptances to graduate schools at Western universities. English language ability was experienced as a barrier to intercultural interaction by both the international Chinese as well as the Canadian students. Although the international Chinese students had similar English preparation prior to coming to Canada, some experienced greater language barriers in Canada than others. All of the students, the international Chinese students as well as the Canadian students, experienced cultural barriers in forming meaningful relationships each other. However, meaningful intercultural relationships were valued by

all the case study participants. Some participants were motivated to form intercultural relationships because they believed these relationships would assist them in being more marketable in the global economy. Others were motivated by a desire for increased intercultural knowledge and understanding. Regardless of the motivation for intercultural interaction, most case study participants were able to develop, to varying degrees, meaningful intercultural relationships. However, intercultural connections were not easily established by case study participants and many of the case study participants' peers were not involved in meaningful intercultural interactions or relationships. All case study students formed hybrid identities and were variously attached to local and global identities. The Chinese students had a strong attachment to their local Chinese identity and the Canadian students were more confused about their local identities and were keen to embrace multiple identifications. All students recognized that they were impacted by globalization but were less certain about their global identities and responsibilities.

From the data analysis, it can be concluded that the students' intercultural experiences impacted their lives in complex and sometimes seemingly contradictory ways. This finding is consistent with Doherty and Singh's premise (2005) that cultures are formed through experiences of ongoing struggle, and through contact with people socially and historically categorized as "Other." Cultural processes formed under conditions of globalization and "new times", are not what they used to be; "culture" can no longer be seen as an independent or inert variable (p. 53). Profound cultural changes are occurring as a result of globalization and these changes are affecting internationalization at universities, including the lives of students at tertiary institutions of learning (Rizvi, 2000a). The students in this research were impacted by their relations

with each other; through their critical reflections they demonstrated the ways their intercultural interactions influenced how they perceived the “Other” and how their personal identities were influenced by the “Other”. A postcolonial framework provided a useful and illuminating understanding of how students developed hybrid identities, as well as an understanding of the fluidity of culture. It also provided a framework that enabled students’ intercultural experiences at the university to be problematized, thereby allowing for consistencies and contradictions to be more meaningfully explored. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), although using a model of intercultural sensitivity and development that differs from postcolonial theories, was in this study complementary because it also demonstrated the complexities and contradictions inherent in students’ experiences of intercultural learning and development.

Students’ identities changed as a result of their intercultural interactions. Postcolonial theory offered an instructive lens through which to understand these changes, for it contributed to an understanding that learning does not always occur in a straightforward linear manner, and that identities, especially when they are in a state of flux, can be fraught with complexities and contradictions. Students who engaged in intercultural experiences, and who are given opportunities and instruction to reflect critically on their intercultural experiences, are in a position to act in a socially responsible way in their local and global environments. These students are in a position to question and change the power inequalities they see in their local and global worlds; they are in a position to transform national consciousness into social consciousness (Said, 1991/2005). Yet, how this transformation occurs is difficult to map or measure. As was evident through the intercultural sensitivity measure used in this study, intercultural

sensitivity or awareness does not necessarily develop in a linear fashion and intercultural contact does not necessarily predict increased intercultural sensitivity or awareness, as measured by the IDI.

Intercultural learning occurred as students critically reflected upon their intercultural experiences. As more students have opportunities to understand and integrate into their lives the complexities of hybrid cultures and identities, universities will have the opportunity to move beyond graduating the “new international student” and will instead graduate “the new globally oriented student” who is identifiable not primarily by national identity but rather by the ability to contribute to society as a responsible globally oriented citizen.

Canadian institutes of higher learning, and the administrators and the faculty and staff who work within them, through their reports on AUCC surveys, and their mission statements and strategic plans, emphasize the importance of developing international knowledge and intercultural skills in all students. This in-depth study of students who participated in intercultural experiences demonstrated that intercultural knowledge and skills do not develop automatically as a result of intercultural contact. On average, according to the Intercultural Development Inventory results, the international Chinese students who participated in the case study began the school with higher levels of intercultural sensitivity and awareness than the domestic Canadian students, yet their sensitivity measures decreased by the end of their academic year of study in Canada. The overall IDI Groups reports (international Chinese and Canadian) of students with intercultural experiences at the university did not show evidence of increased intercultural sensitivity after one year of study. However, through their interviews and

journal writings, students demonstrated intercultural learning and understanding in their reflections of their experiences. They demonstrated this learning by challenging and rethinking their past assumptions, and by bringing meaning to their intercultural interactions by seeing these experiences through the lens of their own culture as well as through the lens of the “Other”. Sometimes the students demonstrated evidence of transformative learning and a shift in their ways of perceiving the world, and other times they had difficulty reflecting deeply on an intercultural experience. Difficulties were encountered when an experience threatened a cherished identity or value or when students did not have the previous knowledge, or educational or cultural background needed to make sense of their experiences. To enhance intercultural learning, students required time, ample opportunities for structured and unstructured intercultural interactions, intercultural maturity and educational support. With these opportunities and supports students can better learn to construe and re-construe intercultural experiences in meaningful and critical ways that contribute to their intercultural knowledge and understanding.

Research Significance and Implications

Canadian universities have given priorities in their mission statements and strategic plans to increasing the numbers of students going on outgoing exchange, to increasing numbers of incoming international students (Church, 2010; Knight, 2005), and to internationalizing the curriculum (AUCC, 2007b). The primary overall rationale for the internationalization of Canadian universities is to prepare graduates who are internationally knowledgeable (Tunney & White, 2008).

This research found that the process of preparing graduates who are internationally knowledgeable and intercultural sensitive and aware is complex and difficult to measure. International Chinese and domestic students learned from their intercultural interactions but their interactions were not always instrumental in increasing scores on intercultural understanding and awareness. Sometimes interactions produced frustration or defensiveness and solidified beliefs that it was difficult to relate with those who were culturally different. The students found that their intercultural interactions occurred most often in structured situations such as when a professor facilitated interaction in the classroom, or when they were participating in organized international programs at the university such as the International Peer Guide Program. The students' need for structure to aid in facilitating intercultural interactions has implications for universities that are preparing students to be internationally and intercultural knowledgeable. Students benefit from learning how to reflect upon and construe and re-construe their intercultural experiences. They require a foundational understanding of their own culture and identity so they can better understand how diverse experiences form hybrid identities. As all students gain in their understanding of how various cultural experiences affect their lives, there will be less of a perceived dichotomy between the international student and the domestic student, and an increased recognition that diversity exists in many forms that extend beyond national identity. As each student becomes aware of multiple identities within the "Self" they will be more able to interact with the multiplicities of the "Other" without defining the "Other" primarily by national identity or place of belonging.

Regardless of their positions or their changes on the IDI intercultural sensitivity measure, all eight students in this study demonstrated, when instructed or guided, the ability to think critically about themselves, their culture and their context. Their lived intercultural experiences and their reflections demonstrated varying degrees of understandings of power, equity, and social and critical consciousness. Even though most of the students interviewed, and especially the business students, adopted a metanarrative of progress that was related to a consumeristic economic model, through their critical reflections they indicated that there were also ways in which they questioned or challenged this metanarrative. The international Chinese students held tightly to notions of progress, or of national identity and positioning, yet at the same time they recognized that they were changing, and that the consumeristic economic model, and the promise that a Western degree would bring high status and security (Doherty & Singh, 2005), also had flaws.

International Chinese and domestic Canadian students found that forming more deeply meaningful intercultural relationships required effort, intercultural knowledge and understanding. The domestic Canadian students indicated that they were engaged in interacting interculturally for several years before they were able to form more deeply meaningful intercultural relationships and the international Chinese students had developed only a few meaningful friendships with Canadian students (after one year in Canada). International Chinese students indicated that Canadian students' knowledge about China was a barrier to intercultural communication, and Canadian students indicated that it was more difficult to interact with the international Chinese peers than it was to interact with Canadian students with whom they had more commonalities.

Internationalization at the university, as it relates to students' experiences of intercultural learning, takes time, structure and effort, does not occur in a linear or straightforward manner that is easily measureable, and impacts students in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Yet, as evidenced in this study, students learn and are transformed by the stories and experiences of those who are different from themselves, and in the process of learning about the other, they also learn about the self.

To foster internationalization within universities, and to graduate students who are internationally knowledgeable and interculturally skilled, universities need to do more than create opportunities for outgoing student exchange. Further effort is needed to promote and structure intercultural interactions and intercultural experiences of learning at the domestic university, both within the classroom and outside of the classroom. Students indicated that the structured International Peer Guide Program facilitated intercultural interactions and relationships they would not otherwise have experienced at the university. International students and domestic students who have participated in international exchange experiences can also be more involved in their university classrooms by sharing and contributing the knowledge they gained through their intercultural experiences.

This research confirmed Bennett and Salonen's (2007) premise that learning emerges from the capacity to construe events and then re-construe them in transformative ways. Students indicated that they benefited from critically reflecting on their intercultural experiences. Those who were able to re-construe or re-frame intercultural interactions that they experienced negatively, or that they did not understand, were better able to develop intercultural knowledge and to interact effectively across cultures.

University classrooms of all disciplines of study, including business and economic classrooms, could further benefit students by being intentionally structured to facilitate students' experiences of critical thinking, reflection, and intercultural learning.

Research Limitations

This study provided a rich source of data of the experiences of the four domestic and four international Chinese students who participated in the study. However, the research period was limited and a longitudinal study may show changes that cannot be captured within a time period of six to eight months. Change patterns in intercultural learning, and the development of intercultural knowledge and understanding, or hybrid identities can occur over many years.

Each student in the study had unique experiences and their perceptions and development is not necessarily generalizable to another population. The sizes of the Peer Guide group and the Chinese International Cohort group were small (22 people and 24 people respectively) and a larger sample size may have yielded more significant results on the IDI measure. Also, the experiences of the international Chinese students are not generalizable to another group of non-Chinese international students.

Future Research

Further study could indicate if the experiences of the eight students in this case study are indicative of the experiences of other university students in Canada. Canadian students in this research did not have a clear understanding of their national identity. If Canadian students had developed a better understanding their own culture they would have had a more stable foundation from which to understand and respond to differences in others. As evidenced in Marilyn's experiences, being educated about citizenship and

Canadian identity in a university classroom helped her to frame her understanding of what it meant to identify as a Canadian. Further research could also illuminate whether other students' conceptions of global citizenship are similar to the case study students' understandings. The Canadian students perceived of global citizenship as a noble yet challenging identity to which to aspire (they did not perceive of themselves as global citizens) and the international Chinese students did not identify with the term and seemed more comfortable with the concept of a globally-oriented citizenship (Parekh, 2003).

Although this study found that intercultural knowledge and understanding were complex concepts and difficult to measure, it is essential that they be explored further. Without a more clearly articulated understanding of what it means to graduate students who are internationally and interculturally knowledgeable, universities are dependent on surface measures of internationalization such as the numbers of students who are participating in incoming or outgoing exchange. As is evident in the literature, and in this research, international exchange, in itself, does not ensure the development of intercultural knowledge. Becoming interculturally knowledgeable and sensitively aware is necessary if responsible citizens, regardless of national citizenship, are to work together for the common goal of sustainability for all.

The Intercultural Development Inventory was a useful tool in this research for conceptualizing the movement from an ethnocentric to a more ethnorelative world-view. Further research could explore if this tool requires further development to capture short-term or minute changes in the development of intercultural sensitivity. A question this research also raises is if a tool such as an inventory is capable of consistently measuring a concept as complex as intercultural sensitivity development or a change in world-view.

More research could also explore other measures of intercultural learning or development. If learning emerges from the capacity to construe events and then re-construe them in transformative ways (Bennett and Salonen, 2007), then further research is needed to explore more intensively how students learn to construe, critically reflect upon and bring meaning to their intercultural experiences, whether these experiences occur inside or outside of national boundaries.

As indicated in the introduction, profound cultural changes are affecting every facet of life around the world, including the lives of students at tertiary institutions of learning (Rizvi, 2000a). As evidenced in this research, intercultural experiences interacted with the identities and learning of the eight students in the study in multiple, complex and at times contradictory ways. As internationalization at universities matures, it is imperative that universities look closely at the outcomes of their internationalization strategies and priorities, identifying successes as well as exposing myths. This research on students' experiences of internationalization provides important feedback about universities' progress in their internationalization endeavours, as well as valuable instruction on how universities can move beyond good intentions and delve more deeply into the complexities of how students can be best prepared as internationally and interculturally knowledgeable citizens.

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Appendix A

Intercultural Development Inventory

INTERCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT INVENTORY

The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) is a valid, reliable instrument measuring people's basic orientations toward cultural difference. Thank you for your valuable assistance.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your honest responses to the IDI are crucial to its effectiveness. If your name or identification is asked for, your individual responses will be kept in strict confidence by the IDI administrator.

RESPONDING TO ITEMS

There are no right or wrong answers, nor "good" or "bad" responses. Respond to each statement based on your first, initial reaction. BE SURE to respond to each and every item. Ignoring some statements will mean that your total responses will not reflect your own personal viewpoint, and your completed survey cannot be properly analyzed.

The items in the IDI are drawn from actual statements made by people from many cultures throughout the world. The wording and content of the items reflect a range of viewpoints toward cultural differences. It is important that you respond to each item based on your agreement or disagreement with the overall content of each item. You should not respond based on whether you believe a certain type of statement should or should not be made or whether you like or dislike the way a statement is worded.

Some of the items in the IDI express a viewpoint that you might not feel comfortable expressing to others. When responding to these types of statements in the IDI, you should think about the degree to which you agree or disagree with the overall content or meaning of each statement as if you "overheard" someone make that statement.

DEFINING "CULTURE"

Each of us has a worldview that is related to participation in one or more culture groups. These groups are typically defined by national and/or ethnic boundaries, but they may also represent other affiliations. In the IDI, terms such as "our culture" or "my culture" refer to the culture group(s) to which you feel you "belong" the most. The terms "other cultures," "people from different cultures," or "different cultures" refer to groups to which you do not feel you belong.

Try to think about the other culture groups with which you are familiar. Please avoid considering cultures that you know only from media. Respond to each item in the IDI in terms of the specific culture groups with which you have had the most contact or experience.

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INSTRUCTIONS

Use a No. 2 pencil, or blue or black ink pen only.

Do not use pens with ink that soaks through the paper.

Make solid marks that fill the oval completely.

Fill in the number that best represents your response.

Complete every item.

Erase errors completely or use an "X" to indicate erasure.

Do not tear or mutilate this form.

● CORRECT MARK
✗ ⊗ ⊖ ⊕ INCORRECT MARKS



intercultural
development
inventory

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA



85002

Part One

For each statement, please fill in the number that most accurately indicates your agreement or disagreement with the item. When a statement presents an opinion or viewpoint, respond to that item as if you overheard someone making that statement. Also, be sure to respond to each item in terms of the specific culture(s) with which you have had the most contact or experience.

Responses: 1 = disagree 2 = disagree somewhat more than agree 3 = disagree some and agree some 4 = agree somewhat more than disagree 5 = agree

EXAMPLE: "I like people from different cultures."

In this example, if you "agree" with this statement, you would fill in the number "5." If you "disagree somewhat more than agree" with this statement, you would fill in the number "2."

Disagree
disagree somewhat more than agree
disagree some and agree some
agree somewhat more than disagree
Agree

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. It is appropriate that people do not care what happens outside their country. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. I feel rootless because I do not think I have a cultural identification. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. I have observed many instances of misunderstanding due to cultural differences in gesturing or eye contact. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. When I am with people from different cultures, I act differently than when I am with people from my own culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. I have seen many situations where cultural differences in the way people express their emotions led to misunderstanding. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. People of other cultures are more interested in improving themselves than we are. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. People are the same; we have the same needs, interests, and goals in life. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Technology is creating a single world-wide culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. I can look at the world through the eyes of a person from another culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. I do not feel I have a culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. When I come in contact with people from a different culture, I find I can change my behavior to adapt to theirs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. I use different cultural criteria for interpreting and evaluating situations. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. While I see myself as a member of my own culture, when I am in one or more other cultures, I find myself thinking like a member of that group. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. I evaluate situations in my own culture based on my experiences and knowledge of other cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. It is appropriate that members of our stronger culture have more opportunities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. Human behavior worldwide should be governed by natural and universal ideas of right and wrong. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. There would be fewer problems in the world if culturally different groups kept to themselves. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. People from our culture are lazier than people from other cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. I can change my behavior to adapt to other cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. I do not feel I am a member of any one culture or combination of cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. Many times I have noticed cultural differences in how direct or indirect people are in conversation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. If only other cultures were more like ours, the world would be a better place. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

	Disagree	Disagree somewhat more than agree	Disagree some and agree some	Agree somewhat more than disagree	Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
23. I am often aware of cultural differences in how decisions are made.	1	2	3	4	5
24. People from our culture are less polite compared with people from other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I do not identify with any culture, but with what I have inside.	1	2	3	4	5
26. My cultural identity is not clear to me because it is not grounded in the values and patterns of any particular cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Too much attention is directed toward other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
28. People from other cultures are more sophisticated than people from our culture.	1	2	3	4	5
29. Other cultures relate to technology better than our culture does.	1	2	3	4	5
30. Despite some cultural differences, it is more important to recognize that people are all alike in their humanity.	1	2	3	4	5
31. If only our culture was more like other cultures, the world would be a better place.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I often act as a cultural bridge between people from different cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
33. People from our culture are less tolerant compared with people from other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
34. People from other cultures are not as interested as we are in improving themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
35. Too much cultural diversity is bound to lead to divisive conflict.	1	2	3	4	5
36. People are fundamentally the same despite apparent differences in cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Family values are stronger in other cultures than in our culture.	1	2	3	4	5
38. It is appropriate that people do not socialize very much with individuals from different cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
39. People in our culture work harder than people in most other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Our culture's way of life should be a model for the rest of the world.	1	2	3	4	5
41. Cultural differences are less important than the fact that people have the same needs, interests, and goals in life.	1	2	3	4	5
42. Family values are stronger in our culture than in other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
43. People should avoid individuals from other cultures who behave differently.	1	2	3	4	5
44. People from our culture are not as open-minded as people from other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
45. Our common humanity deserves more attention than cultural difference.	1	2	3	4	5
46. Because there are universal values, cross-cultural conflicts can be resolved.	1	2	3	4	5
47. I have frequently observed cultural differences in how problems are defined and solved.	1	2	3	4	5
48. It is best to form relationships with people of your own culture.	1	2	3	4	5
49. Universal moral principles provide an effective guide for behavior in other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
50. I frequently change my behavior to deal with cultural differences in gesturing or eye contact.	1	2	3	4	5

Please Continue 

Appendix B

Interview Questions for

International Chinese Students and Domestic Canadian Students

- 1) What does intercultural understanding mean to you?
- 2) Tell me about an intercultural experience that was meaningful to you?
- 3) How would you describe your cultural identity? What various cultures fit with who you are?
- 4) Do you think your understandings of who you are (your cultural identity) has changed over time? If so, what caused you to change?
- 5) How do you conceive of global citizenship and do you consider yourself a global citizen?
- 6) Where at the university do you think you learned intercultural understanding (e.g. the classroom, through curricula, international programs, through interactions with others). Please explain.

International Chinese Students

- 1) Why did you decide to study in Canada?
- 2) How was the education you received in Canada like or unlike the education you received in China?
- 3) How did you feel about your interactions with your peer guide and other Canadian students? Did you feel like you had equal and reciprocal relationships?
- 4) How do you think the education you received in Canada will help you with your future goals and plans?

Domestic Peer Guides

- 1) Why did you decide to join the Peer Guide Program?
- 2) What did you learn from your international peers? Did you feel like you had an equal and reciprocal relationship with them?
- 3) How do you think the intercultural experiences you had as an International Peer Guide will affect your future?

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