Uttam Gaulee
Shyam Sharma
Krishna Bista *Editors*

Rethinking Education Across Borders

Emerging Issues and Critical Insights on Globally Mobile Students

Rethinking Education Across Borders

"*Rethinking Education Across Borders* offers innovative perspectives on key issues in international higher education at a time of global uncertainty. As xenophobic nationalism is on the rise, this collection is a useful reminder of the important role that globally mobile students play in building bridges of intercultural learning across the borders that divide us."

—Dr. CindyAnn Rose-Redwood,
Assistant Teaching Professor of Geography,
University of Victoria, Canada

"This book is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on cross-border education, demonstrating the wide diversity of issues that arise from the literally millions of students now studying outside their home countries. The book provides fresh insights into the experiences of students from many different cultures and backgrounds and it challenges some narrow and misinformed assumptions about who international students are and what motivates them."

—Steve Nerlich, *Director, International Research and Analysis Unit, Australian Government Department of Education and Training, Australia*

"A wonderfully edited book providing engaging stories and reports that makes you reconsider your, perhaps sometimes entrenched, views on international students. The chapters make us re-examine how we forge, maintain and support relationships with our international partners within the changing global political and economic climate."

—Dr. Anesa Hosein, *Department of Higher Education, University of Surrey, UK*

"No one is expected to agree with every chapter of this book, and that's why you must read it. Adverse policies limiting access of international students eventually return to negatively impact our institutions, our economy, and our society. This book helps to advance conversations to promote international education."

—Dr. Michael Brown, *Assistant Professor,*
University of Maryland
University College Asia, Japan

"At a time of unprecedented global upheaval, international students are both caught up in and a central element in the emerging understanding of the local and global. In reflecting on the way in which Higher Education enables this flux ethically and effectively, this book makes an important contribution to both the theory and practice of transcultural knowledge exchange."

—Dr. Chris Loynes, *Reader in Outdoor Studies* |
University of Cumbria, Ambleside, UK

"The scholarship inside the pages provides a critical addition to the 'must read' list of anyone concerned with current global paradigm shifts regarding the intersection of international students, mobility, and higher education institutions. Invaluable information for recruiters, university marketing, student affairs, senior administration, and faculty; the book showcases insights into the global mindset of international students caught in the ebb and flow of geopolitical waves."

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"A timely and comprehensive analysis of current issues and perspectives that affect international students. An outstanding group of scholars provide a comparative perspective in bringing international higher education to deliver outcomes desired by the international student community."

—Dr. Manjet Kaur Mehar Singh, *Deputy Dean, School of Languages, Literacies and Translation, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia*

"This book is a timely and comprehensive compilation of diverse perspectives to address the complexity and enormity of changes and challenges faced by international students. It prods us to reimagine our conventional scholarly frameworks and institutional approaches to create a more sustainable future of global student mobility."

—Dr. Rahul Choudaha, *Principal Researcher, DrEducation, USA*

Uttam Gaulee · Shyam Sharma · Krishna Bista
Editors

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ISBN 978-981-15-2398-4 ISBN 978-981-15-2399-1 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1

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This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

About This Book

Rethinking Education Across Borders focuses on the critical issues and perspectives about globally mobile students as the issues and perspectives are made pertinent by major shifts in the geopolitical, economic, and technological changes globally (i.e., in and across major origins and destinations of international students). In the past few decades, the field of international higher education and scholarship has developed robust areas of research guiding current policy, programs, and pedagogy. However, many of the established narratives and wisdom that dominate research agenda, scope, and foci have become rather ossified and unable to account for recent political upheavals and other changes (such as Brexit, Trump era, and the Belt and Road Initiative) that have disrupted a number of areas including mobility patterns and recruitment practices, understanding and support of students, engagement of global mobile students with their local counterparts, and the political economy of international education at large. By reassessing established issues and perspectives in light of the emerging global/local situations, experts of international education contributing to this project will guide policies and practices in response to emerging challenges and opportunities for institutions, scholars, and other stakeholders of international higher education. This book will be of particular interest to the readers because it includes theoretical, empirical, and practitioner-based methods and perspectives by scholars from around the world.

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Part I
Rethinking Practice

Chapter 1
Rethinking Education in a Changing World: Emerging Issues and Critical Insights

Uttam Gaulee, Shyam Sharma and Krishna Bista

Abstract In light of ongoing political upheavals around the world and the narrowing views of international higher education within mercenary and nationalistic terms, this chapter highlights the exigency for developing bolder, more multidimensional, and visionary frameworks. We ask questions that go beyond the economic and political framework in which international higher education is increasingly thought of and advanced. What does it mean, for instance, for prestigious "world-class" universities to consider their position as "global leaders" in higher education or even leaders in certain disciplines of knowledge internationally? Does that invite or challenge the institutions to bear certain responsibilities toward the world of education or areas of it, toward the people who trust the institutions' "global" positions and prestige, toward the students who come to their gates with that trust? What responsibilities does any institution participating in the "internationalization" of higher education bear toward being accessible for students in war-torn nations in far-away places, to students who are politically displaced and economically unable to pay for "international education"? What professional, ethical, and humanistic obligations do the "international scholars" have toward students across political borders and economic stratifications who aspire to pursue their dreams to learn, regardless of their political status? We address these questions while exploring a variety of issues, urging scholars to take on intellectual and ethical responsibilities of diversifying the discourse about international education, so they may influence practice accordingly.

Keywords International students · Higher education · Student mobility · International education · Perspectives

Since the surprising vote by the British public to leave the European Union in mid-2016 and then similarly dramatic results of the national election in the United States later that year, numerous news articles and editorials, as well as small number of academic works, have explored the adverse effects of rising nativism in politics on

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© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2020

U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_1

international education. Writing for the *Chronicle of Higher Education,* a magazine for academics, for instance, Gluckman (2018) pointed out a number of challenges brought about by the uncertain and often hostile political climate, including slowing enrollment numbers, anxiety among students, worries about the prestige of American universities among academic leaders, and lack of a national policy framework about international education (also see Fischer, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018). As in many other news stories and editorials, Gluckman's ultimate concern is that the United States is losing out the competition for international students as a nation on the global stage. Writing for a more public audience of the *Forbes* magazine, and more explicitly reflecting the same dominant politico-economic narrative that even academics embrace without hesitation, Anderson (2018a, 2018b) adds a more bluntly nationalistic view of international education. After presenting the dollar value of companies started by partners who were once international students, Gluckman shows the potential dangers to the new wave of immigrants, those who first come here as international students, due to the hostile policies of Trump administration. Furthermore, both articles assume English-speaking countries as the de facto leaders and key competitors in international higher education, with the harvest they can make from the world a matter of their national benefit, rather than a global social institution which also has transformative potentials for the world at large.

We find it rather ironic that even when journalists and scholars write with a concern for international students and scholars, they still don't see international education as a means for advancing knowledge and collectively contributing to global social good. International education remains an economic phenomenon, a market, and it is still defined in political, especially nationalistic terms. The politically hostile environment and policy obstructions are not viewed as disrupting the movement of passionate scientists and artists, young students and seasoned scholars, and inventors and explorers with limitless potentials. The shared global benefits, challenges, potentials, and visions of international education—its broader, global economic and social missions included—do not seem to appeal to many journalists and scholars who are concerned about the political disruptions. In other words, the persistent, even increasing, focus on economics and national interest lays bare significant gaps within the dominant view about international education. It exposes the lack of recognition that international education can and should also be pursued by nations and individuals, institutions and professional communities alike as a global asset, as an expanding network of humanity that is invested in advancing knowledge for global human good.

The argument that this book seeks to make is that given the major changes and disruptions, especially disruptions made by major nationalist and nativist political waves around the world, scholars of international education, as well as institutions of higher education, cannot afford to approach international education as business as usual. The increasing lack of diversity of perspectives about international education calls for philosophical as well as political perspectives, humanitarian as well as economic goals, ethical as well as pragmatic focuses, global good as well as national interest. A broader framework for research, policy, and practice would need to make room for all of the above and more. As Altbach and de Wit (2017) have

noted in reference to policies of anti-global politicians such as Donald Trump in the US and Theresa May in Britain, that "[o]ccurrences of hostility and discriminatory practices… difficulties in obtaining visas, and numerous other problems, real or perceived, will affect how people think about mobility and internationalization. The genie is out of the bottle, and cannot easily be put back" (p. 4). As such, especially focusing on the political environment and shifting socioeconomic dynamics globally, we posit that scholars of international education must rethink the sufficiency of conventional frameworks behind current scholarship and practice, generate new perspectives to advance new discourses, develop and pursue new research agenda to address emerging challenges, foster collaboration and conversations across borders, and promote advocacy for global social mobility through education.

The rest of this chapter highlights a few different geopolitical points of reference that we believe could prompt the scholarly community in particular to "rethink" conventional narratives about international education. How should scholars of international education rethink/resituate their issues in the context of macro-level political and socio-economic changes at major destinations such as the United States (post-Trump era), UK (Brexit), Canada (Post-Trudeau), Australia (crash of international education "industry") and other emerging markets? How can we situate our work and issues in the context of local changes and global impacts on major origins of international students such as China (e.g., economic rise along with One Belt One Road Initiative), India (e.g., national policy change), South Korea (e.g., Brain Korea 21, a project for naturing highly qualified human resource for the twenty-first century knowledge-based society) and other major sources? What critical perspectives should we address in relation to current, emerging, or anticipated issues/dynamics affecting international higher education? How can scholars engage different stakeholders—from fellow scholars to policy makers to practitioners to the professions and the general public—for advancing and enhancing not just nationalistic but also a global vision of international education? How can our scholarship prompt productive interventions by informing and influencing scholars/researchers, institutional leaders, and policy makers, or other stakeholders? Contributing authors of this book have explored such questions through content and organization, theory and method, and/or rhetorical and stylistic strategies. Together, the chapters not only cover a number of important, especially emerging, issues in the field of international education but also answer a variety of shared questions that could prompt scholarship on the broader and more specific issues in the future.

The chapters in this book collectively seek to identify the faultlines and potentially disrupt established and saturated narratives, insufficient questions, and outdated perspectives that have dominated discourses and research agenda about international students' education. While the changes are ongoing and they make perspective-building challenging, we also posit that there have been significant enough developments for scholars in this field to create a new vantage point and start finding a handle on the issues. We are at a watershed moment where further waiting to let things coalesce seems no longer necessary. Accordingly, we asked our contributing authors to illustrate the need to rethink key issues, identify new problems, and generate new perspectives. The exigency of the approach taken and questions pursued by this book

project lies in the premise that dramatic changes of recent times—political upheavals and geopolitical shifts, economic changes and crises, technological advancements and impacts on education—demand that scholars of international education revisit established issues and perspectives, as well as asking new questions and pursuing new projects. The discourse and scholarship on international education must transcend the complicity of its mainstream discourse with the nationalistic-only regime and the economic logic uncritically embraced by academic institutions and leaders, academic scholars and educators alike. Usually, academic scholarship doesn't respond to ongoing changes because the changing situations affect scholarly research and conversation like a "moving target" affects the hunter. However, the current trajectory of changes and disruptions seem to have set in motion some major shifts that have already made impacts that can and should be talked about substantively and meaningfully.

The exigency of this book also lies in the need to address the uncertainty and anxiety bred by ongoing changes, whether they are among professors, administrators, and policy makers who want to understand how to conceptualize and handle uncertainties or among the students who are affected by the volatility of current situation. At a time when the world is supposed to look forward to reaping the benefits of globalization, current international tensions have seemed to paint a more callous world scenario. Marginson (2017) posits that strong rise of national identity had endangered the knowledge-making sector, which "can become sidelined, despite its great recent growth and its deep long-term potential for human formation and social transformation." Thus, we have prompted our contributors to ask questions in response to emerging global/local conditions in order to study and report on how institutions can design curriculum and instructor their pedagogies, how different academic professionals can facilitate international student engagement, and how policy-level issues may need to be revisited. Similarly, instead of simply describing the current set up and issues of international higher education in popular destinations and in commonplace thematic frameworks, our contributors are requested to explore macro and meso level issues of political economy and global–local interactions affecting international student mobility, institutional policy, emerging economic models, social movements, academic support, and so on. The intersections of the local/national and global are becoming increasingly important not only because the issues (such as those raised by #MeToo Movement and #BlackLivesMatter) quickly transcend and spread across national borders but also because local dynamics shape/influence the global and vice versa.

We believe that scholarship can and should influence not only social policy toward becoming more diverse (and not just driven by political and economic forces), but also shape future research, institutional programs, curriculum, and pedagogy and programs with other objectives that international education can achieve. Of course, there is nothing inherently problematic about economic and political forces shaping international education; but they are in themselves not sufficient and may not help address certain needs or achieve certain goals, especially the goals of global social mobility, of making education a means of advancing humanitarian causes, of advancing social justice and economic equity across vast inequalities in the world. In fact,

even scholars who don't question the centrality of the market-based international education that is politically dominated by the UK and US, such as Altbach and de Wit (2017), have expressed concerns about the undermining of socially driven programs such as the Fulbright and ERASMUS. They have alerted us about the adverse consequences of the policies of Trump administration and Brexit decisions, including increasing intolerance and xenophobia, disruptions to transnational research, weakened collaboration through branch and satellite campuses, and perception of the prestigious international education programs as elitist and "globalist."

We, as editors, and the contributing authors of this book ask new questions toward forging new avenues of research and scholarship on international higher education. How can research and scholarship advance the diverse set of perspectives and values about global international education? Who should the scholars speak to and how can they influence them? What are the points of intervention and leverage in institutional policy and programs in the universities? We believe that first of all, there is a need for scholars themselves to hit the reset button on some of the dominant narratives about international education. For instance, the majority of scholars working with or even engaged in research on international students continue to focus on a roster of popular topics, often conducting innovative research but noticing the same old problems such as language proficiency, cultural difference, and lack of intellectual honesty among international students as the most significant in their research findings—instead of exploring contexts, connections, or complexities behind these appearances. Most academic scholars and staff members continue to complacently embrace and reinforce old narratives, whether it is out of self-interest inherent in the model of their professional work, lack of critical thinking due to the acceptance of dominant narratives, inability to penetrate researched/informed perspectives, or the unwillingness to question the nationalistic and geopolitical framing of the whole enterprise of international education. As a result, we find it necessary to identify a range of new topics, as well as new methods, theories, and perspectives to explore those topics. Scholarship must and can expose the pitfalls of deficit framing, nationalistic frameworks, and hemispheric perspectives (whereby students simply pursue certain national destinations or popular narratives such as the "American Dream"); international education must have higher ideals to attend to as well.

The current disruptions in international education are not just undermining all that was desirable; they are also exposing the faultlines of what seemed normal and desirable. The politics have exposed that there was a longer trajectory from models driven by at least partially idealistic thinking by nations toward a market (and competition among the nations) that lacked similar ideals. For instance, national programs such as the Fulbright scholarship, East-West scholarship, and Peace Corps program in the United States were a historically significant counterpoint to market logic dominating today's international education. But so were the ideas of Nalanda University of ancient South Asia, where scholars gathered from far and wide, the Academy of Greece, and the other institutions of higher learning we mentioned above. It is time for scholars to, pause, reflect, and study the faultlines of economic logic and its pitfalls; to use the scholarship to educate and influence other scholars; to use research for rethinking and redesigning academic programs and pedagogies; and to

develop new approaches and directions of research and discourse about international education.

The volume builds on critical insights available in some past scholarship, (e.g., the global public good, as posited by Marginson (2011) internationalization and globalization in higher education as defined by scholars (Altbach & de Wit, 2017; Ata, Tran, & Liyanage, 2018; de Wit, Gacel-Avila, Jones, & Jooste, 2017; Bhattacharya, 2017; Oleksiyenko, 2018 ; Johnson, 2018; Mervis, 2017; Paraskeva, 2016; Peterson, 2018; Quilantan, 2018; Read, 2018; Saul, 2017; Stanley, 2017; Wilson, 2016, and misconceptions thereof. We draw on this scholarship to develop critical questions that practitioners at various levels can begin to answer. There is also some scholarship that has either paid attention to the geopolitics and the increasing domination of international education by political economies and its often fickle forces or, in some cases, confronted the challenge and envisioned different frameworks for global learner mobility and advancement of knowledge with sharper focus. Here we would like to mention just a few of the scholars whose work inspire our thinking and whose perspectives we borrow and build upon. Marginson (2007, 2017, 2018) is one of the scholars in this area who has proposed new approaches to international education by pointing out serious flaws of the current nationalistic regime of international education. Marginson (2018) highlights that "[i]t is hard for national systems of regulations to encompass cross-border persons. It is harder for the students, at the sharp end of national-global ambiguities and tensions" (p. 10). He shows how the nationalistic framing of education leads to "othering" of students from another country and how the nationalistic "master othering" leads to various challenges for students, "including racist Othering, the exclusions, and the abuse and violence." Furthermore, the "duality of citizen/non-citizen shelters, legitimates, and amplifies the other subordinations," said Marginson, even as international students are celebrated for their contribution in "diversifying the campus" or helping "internationalize" higher education. In the specific context of writing education and focusing on the local front of higher education in the United States, Scott (2016) discusses how the "political economy" of international student enrollment is part of a financial politics of neoliberal economy, instead of being driven by a global educational mission, as Sharma (2018) has further argued by building on Scott's work. Scott (2016) used the case of outsourcing to make a larger point about the political economy of internationalization: "Under neoliberal political economic reorganization, global economies have seen a forty-year trend toward the privatization of everything from local mail delivery to national security and intelligence to public education" (p. 13). Scott challenges scholars to not "accept that neoliberalization is inevitable and that we can't do postsecondary writing education in a way that is research-informed, ethically conscientious, and engaged with the realities of global communication and labor" (p. 26), emphasizing the impact of neoliberal economics of international education on faculty labor and the integrity of higher education itself. A group of scholars in Australia who focus more directly on international education, have pointed out the need to confront the need to "reciprocate" the adjustment that international make with adaptations that higher education institutions must make to the changing demographic, for effective engagement, and mutual benefit (Bartram, 2018; Liyanage,

Tran, & Ata, 2018; Tran & Gomes, 2017; Tran & Nyland, 2017). Writing along with other scholars, Tran has further argued that "[s]uccessful interaction, if only to achieve disagreement, and the possibility of situated (re)structuring of knowledge of the world necessitates individual other-orientation" notes Tran, arguing that that orientation "implies a reciprocity of perspectives, the attempt to perceive the world from the perspective of the 'other', a fundamental tenet of the global citizenship" (Liyanage et al., 2018, p. 3). Citing some other scholars, the authors have highlighted the need for scholars to understand that

> Today's internationalized higher education is of a different order because of its scale, ease of movement, much more widespread demand for higher education in a knowledge economy… commodification and commercialization of knowledge as assets and services… owned by nation states, and disparate knowledges and cultural/academic practices that are in contact. The difference is also exacerbated also by nation states' migration policies, human capacity development, public diplomacy, promotion of ICT in education, and establishment of offshore online international education.… (p. 3)

Fegan and Field (2009) also highlighted the pitfalls of traditional narratives about international education; for instance, these authors discuss a tendency behind the scholarship to equate "internationalization" with "Westernization" and globalization with "Americanization." They argue that learning needs to account for various levels of context, from the local to global, with each adding a layer of citizenship to individuals in a knowledge-based and globalized society. But the "uncritical acceptance" of the notion that the "West is the best," which they call "at best ludicrous, and at worst, irresponsible" (p. 12) seriously hinders productive conversations about the role of international education for people in dominant as well as peripheral geopolitical locations.

Complementing to the scholarship that provides a broad response to the current regime of international students, a number of scholars have presented research and perspectives focusing on specific themes that advance new perspectives that we seek to advance here, including issues that are prompted by the current political disruptions of international education. A growing body of emerging scholarship has directly responded the some specific current issues and challenges such as healthcare and wellbeing and other psychological issues of international students (Gan & Forbes-Mewett, 2018), stress-driven spending behavior and college decision making (Lou & Byun, 2018), post-graduation plans and labor market differences (Adamuti-Trache, 2019; Alberts, 2019; Cantwell, Lee, & Mlambo, 2018; Tran, Rahimi, & Tan, 2019), and impact of MOOCS and student experience in online classes (Karkar-Esperat, 2018; Sharma, 2018). Although the current political upheaval and rapidly changing immigration issues have been generating status anxiety, social pressure, and confusions for both international students and foreign-born faculty members in the United States, many scholars and institutional leaders have advocated for a more humane world and highlighted the opportunities and insights and positive impact in the workforce as a result of crossing the borders and boundaries and cross-cultural engagement between domestic and international students in academia (Choudaha, 2018; Gaulee, 2019; Glass, 2018; Showalter, 2018). While rethinking international student identities (e.g., queer student experience, stereotypes and microaggression)

and wellbeing experiences (e.g., mental health), some recent publications (Ata et al., 2018; Bista, 2019; Cabrera, 2018; Oleksiyenko, 2018) have suggested the growing use of technology and collaborative initiatives to look into the social and educational issues and challenges of international students where authors focus on personalized professional support to succeed each student, and creating respect and cross-cultural competence by reviewing existing institutional strategies and policies and by creating flexible self-learning culture. Meanwhile, because of political upheavals in major destinations, international students are becoming increasingly aware of alternative countries (Showalter, 2018). Similarly, Rose-Redwood and Rose-Redwood (2017) highlight the impact of uncertain political times, such as in the form of xenophobia, violence, and psychological stress.

In addition to the work of academic scholars, some journalists have contributed meaningfully to the discourse about international education; while most of them seem to accept the status quo of the economic/nationalistic framework, some have adopted the lens of economic justice and ethical thinking as well. Writing for the *Atlantic* magazine, McKenna (2015) highlights the issue of cost for international students with an example: "given that one year at NYU for tuition, room and board, and fees costs $66,022, it would take the average Chinese family—with a yearly income of $2,100—decades to save enough money to afford attendance there." As implied by McKenna, the increasing focus on revenue is dangerous on a global scale because it can prevent lower income students from around the world to pursue education across borders, thereby undermining the possibility of what Zakaria (2015) calls a "natural aristocracy" of talented people who acquire education and wealth by sheer commitment, rather than an "unnatural aristocracy" that is inherited by a certain class. In this situation, academic scholarship can and must guide universities in major destination countries toward cultivating the vision of global social mobility. In the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (e.g., Fischer, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018), writers have reported on other factors including less aggressive recruiting agencies, high cost of U.S. tuition, global economic and political turmoil, and cut back on Brazilian and Saudi Arabian scholarships for decline statistics of international students in a time of heightened nationalist political rhetoric of the United States. Anderson and Svrluga (2018) report in the *Washington Post* that many institutions of higher education started receiving problems with student visa delays and denials and student decisions to enroll outside the United States. In this context, the bigger questions for the higher education institutional leaders and scholars are to look into the organizational capabilities to evaluate, respond, and develop initiatives that make experience of international students smooth and bring a positive change in the ecology of tertiary education.

The "rethinking" that this book calls for may be prompted most significantly by the political upheavals of recent years; but we also see a number of other reasons for refreshing scholarly perspectives and conversations about education across borders. The neoliberal regime of international education as a market, as a source of income for academic institutions and countries, or for that matter the nationalistic framing where international students are accepted for national interest, is not a recent creation. But these framings have become more and more dominant, increasingly

taken for granted, over the decades. Shifting mobility and tensions have also been caused by convergences and divergences of social and geopolitical forces, especially due to increasing globalization; multidirectional mobility started becoming visible with the rise of large economies (such as China and India) and the increasing interest among other developing countries to attract international students (e.g., Mexico, South Africa). The ideals/ideologies about diversification of student body, globalized learning experience, cross-cultural engagements, and in some cases greater justice through educational opportunities have driven some of the trends in higher education over the years. The rapid digital revolutions and changes in the way people communicate ideas and access knowledge have also forced scholars to rethink international education; MOOCs and other forms of online education, for instance, have not only given rise to new forms of colonial dynamics on the global stage but also created new opportunities for education in global peripheries. New technologies are also facilitating teaching and learning transnationally, expanding the meaning and application of international education.

We certainly do not consider the economic or even the political/nationalistic regime of international education as inherently flawed. We instead see the need for other perspectives and understanding about international education to be taken up equally seriously by scholars, policy makers, and politicians alike—to be advanced as equally respectable and for practically important reasons toward promoting international education. Indeed, scholars may need to begin by acknowledging and highlighting the economic benefits and national interest in order to start communicating the importance of international education. According to National Foundation for American Policy, the number of jobs created in immigrant-founded billion-dollar companies, revealing an average of more than 1,200 employees per company, the vast majority of the jobs in the United States (Anderson, 2018a, 2018b). For example, Uber was the largest source of employment for an immigrant-founded billion-dollar company with 9,382 employees in the U.S. as of December 2017, as well as 3 million active drivers. Similarly, SpaceX was second with 7,000 employees, followed by WeWork (6,000), Mu Sigma (3,500), Palantir Technologies (2,000), Unity Technologies (2,000), Houzz (1,800), Sprinklr (1,400), Warby Parker (1,400), Medallia (1,300), Zoom Video (1,300), Apttus (1,200), CrowdStrike (1,200), Rubrik (1,200), Anaplan (1,150), Stripe (1,100), Compass (1,000), Peloton (1,000), and Slack (1,000). Many former international students have become the founders of one-quarter (20 of 91) most exciting and innovative billion-dollar startup companies in the United States. Elon Musk, for instance, started the company SpaceX, which employs 7,000 people and is worth 21 billion USD, with Adam Neuman, who started WeWork that is worth more than 20 billion dollars and employs 6,000 people. John and Patrick Collison, Noubar Afeyan, and Vlad Tenev are other former international students who founded or cofounded companies whose worth already exceed five billion USD (NFAP, 2018). As indicated in the National Foundation for American Policy, the leading countries of origin for the immigrant founders of billion-dollar companies are Canada and Israel with 9 immigrants each, India (8), the United Kingdom (7), China (6), Germany (4), France (3), Ireland (3), Russia (3), Australia (2), Ukraine (2), and 14 other countries with one entrepreneur—Armenia,

Table 1.1 Nobel prize leaders in various disciplines—thanks to immigrants

Disciplines	Physics	Medicine	Chemistry	Literature	Peace	Economics
	222	219	194	111	102	83
US born	47%	51%	41%	6%	19%	78%
Non-US born	35%	63%	32%	–	–	29%

Source NobelPrize.org/National Geographic

Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Denmark, Iraq, Italy, Lebanon, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Uzbekistan and Vietnam (Anderson, 2018a, 2018b). In the telling chart Table 1.1 from *National Geographic*, we see similar presence of immigrant scholars among US Nobel laureates (Greshko, 2018).

Thus, in the particular case of the United States, on the more pragmatic side, there is a history as long as the history of this nation showing the towering contributions made to the advancement of knowledge and its disciplines by its immigrants. Such contribution, understood in political and economic terms by many, inspires nations to view immigrants positively; it boosts their self-interest while creating greater acceptance of the immigrant. Ranging from scientists like Albert Einstein to diplomats like Madeleine Albright, and from writers like Junot Díaz to cultural icons like Rihanna, people who were displaced or otherwise moved to the US have made remarkable contributions to the nation and to the world. Indeed, Jesus Christ was banished from his society, and Karl Marx was stateless for much of his later life; everywhere in the world, from the likes of Malala Yousafzai to Alfredo Quiñones-Hinojosa, both involuntary displacement and voluntary mobility have produced some of the greatest minds that have shaped the course of human history. What the dominant political-economic argument about the educated immigrant and mobile scholar obscures are the equally or more important issues: social, global, intellectual, ethical, and humanitarian.

That is, we first urge scholars to first transcend economics and politics, then explore the needs and benefits of international education in a variety of ways. Our argument is that the greatest need for global mobility of the learner, the learned, and aspiring to learn is about the immeasurable potential to be realized for the nations and, more importantly, unprecedented justice to be done to humanity at large—including the individuals who drive the advancement of knowledge and its use for human good. On the one hand, the challenges that are emerging at the intersection of international education and local politics and economics must be addressed; on the other, to address those challenges and to show the good that can come out of bolder visions and missions, scholars need a seat at the table. In times of economic and political difficulty, scholars must provide the vision that institutional leaders and even policy makers at the national levels need; otherwise, as the horizons of thought about global mobility of students and scholars (along with other groups of people) narrows, scholars and their mission for internationalization of education will be squeezed into and out of the margins. Scholars of international education can and must play larger roles.

In the wake of major political upheavals and their disruptive effects on international higher education, advocacy for international students and education has evidently increased. Our observation was before the current political climate, even liberal-minded scholars seemed to take for granted the nationalistic regime of international education, as well as the economic determinism undergirding that regime. As nativistic political waves take over political systems in many countries across the world, we have observed some intellectual backlash against it, including in the voices of academic leaders who have articulated their support and defense of international education and scholars/students by adopting frameworks of social justice (as well as national interest). Of course, mainstream discourses about international education remain predominantly driven by economic interests, not just among the administrative class that bears institutional responsibilities related to balancing budgets and sustaining programs but also among scholars who ought to advance social, ethical, political, disciplinary, professional, as well as economic perspectives on the issue. In fact, partly in response to that dominant interest in using international students as a source of income, a variety of stakeholders seem to have become significantly more sensitive to the mercenary nature of international education today; we hear or read more students, scholars, and even journalists respond more articulately about the jeopardies of nativist waves that are undermining the global mission of higher education. With the advancements in internet technology and social media, and the backlash against nativist politics that new media facilitates, even the general public (whether opposed to or supportive of nativism) has become more informed and sensitive about the value of international education as part of globalization; more people are aware of the importance of higher education as one of the transnational social institutions that advance critical missions in the interest of humanity at large. If nothing, more people are exposed to conversations about the importance of scientists and engineers, economists and philosophers who are an asset of the world at large. That is, the agenda of international education is likely to have shifted from being a domain of the experts and a minority of people shaping the politics and policies to being a broader public discourse. In this environment, many scholars have begun to address emerging issues in general and particular ways.

In addition to the slow, positive start by scholars toward addressing the disruptions brought about by the political upheavals in recent years, we believe that there is an urgent need for developing bolder and more visionary frameworks for advancing the discourse about international education that is more multidimensional and robust. The dominant economic framework has the potential—which we argue must be harnessed—for advancing a global social vision, allowing for political and policy collaborations among nations and academic institutions alike and prompting scholars to advance social, political, disciplinary, professional, and even morally driven discourses about international education. The economics of international education doesn't have to be just an end; it can and must be a means toward broader social/global goals as well. Conversations prompted by disruptions of established systems and norms can potentially expose the vices and create more room for advancing the virtues of current systems, encouraging and enabling stakeholders to think more

clearly, boldly, and purposefully. That clearer thinking can facilitate better decisions, create better opportunities, and allow for the exploration/realizations of new possibilities. For those things to happen, scholars must take the disruptions seriously, make sense of them, and use their research and scholarship to generate and advance a broader global vision of education across borders. We must ask questions that go beyond the framework in which we think and work, research and share knowledge. What does it mean, for instance, for prestigious "world-class" universities (such as the Ivy Leagues) to consider their position as "global leaders" in higher education or even leaders in certain disciplines of knowledge internationally? Does that invite or challenge the institutions to bear certain responsibilities toward the world of education or areas of it, toward the people who trust the institutions' "global" positions and prestige, toward the students who come to their gates with that trust? In the case of public institutions that are funded by nations and local governments, how do the institutions justify the investment in students from beyond the local and national borders, the return on investment for the students from outside who pay significantly higher price for education, and the "global mission" that they claim to be part of their social objectives? What roles and responsibilities does any institution participating in the "internationalization" of higher education bear to students in war-torn nations in faraway places, to students who are politically displaced and economically unable to pay for the "international" education? What professional, ethical, and humanistic obligation does the "international" scholar or a scholar specializing in "international education" have toward students across political borders and economic stratifications who aspire to pursue their dreams to learn, regardless their ability to get a visa to travel or a bank account to support the expense? Thanks in part, rather ironically, to the disruption of the established order and the gradual domination of a political economy to the detriment of other perspectives about international higher education, we hope that scholars across borders and scholars studying issues of education across those borders will increasingly advance the social view of education as much as economic, humanistic as much as nationalistic, ethical and philosophical as much as political. We envisioned this book as a step in that direction.

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Chapter 2
Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Transnational Mobility: A Review of the Literature

Rosalind Latiner Raby and Yi Leaf Zhang

Abstract This chapter creates a mapping of theories found in the literature on international students published from 2009–2019 to show what has existed in the field. The purpose of this research is to chart theoretical constructs used to interpret international students and to categorize current research with the intent to analyze trends on those who are studying international students. Findings show that the study of international students is an emerging field because there is a lack of commonality in how the field is researched. It also shows that a range of theories are used to study the fields that are aligned with specific academic associations. Finally, there is a varied focus on author's affiliations, which has the opportunity to represent international perspectives and on the hosting institutions which are not all located in the Global North.

Keywords International student · Theories · Literature review · Community college · Higher education · Neo-liberalism · Humanism · Post-modernism · Post-colonalism

Introduction

Research on international students has exploded in the last decade as mobility flows have become ingrained in institutions around the world. Student mobility exists in graduate studies, university undergraduate studies, community colleges, colleges of further and higher education, and TVET institutions. In the last decade, student mobility flows have moved beyond the Western-dominated and developed system notions of internationalization (Proctor & Rumbley, 2018). This chapter explores

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© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2020

U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_2

the changing contextual and theoretical perspectives on international student mobility through a literature review of selected higher education journals that published articles on international students from 2009–2019.

The purpose of this research is to chart theoretical constructs used to interpret international students and to categorize current research with the intent to analyze trends on those who are studying international students. To do this we use a content analysis literature review research design to review journal publications writing about international students.

Overview of the International Student Mobility

In the past years, an increasing number of students choose to study overseas. From 2011 to 2017, the number of international students in postsecondary education more than doubled, increasing from 2.1 to over 5 million (UNESCO, 2017). The flows of student mobility also changed from the traditional unidirectional flow of east to the west to flows that are diverse and include non-traditional sending and receiving countries (The University of Oxford, 2017). In 2017, while the United States hosts the largest number of international students, the proportion has decreased 4% since 2001, while China is now the third most popular destination, hosting 10% of all international students (UNESCO, 2017). Students' choices on international destination have also shown new patterns in which the choice is now to study in a hosting county that is geographically close to their home country. For instance, the percentage of Latin American students who studied abroad in the region increased from 11% in 1999 to 23% in 2007. During the same time period, the percentage of international East Asian students who studied abroad close to home grew from 26 to 42% (The University of Oxford, 2017).

Choudaha (2017) characterizes international student mobility into three different waves. Wave I (1999–2006) reflects the increased demands of a skilled workforce in STEM fields of study, mostly in master's or doctoral degree programs. These students were particularly attracted to the U.S. colleges and universities for abundant educational opportunities in these fields. At the same time, the Bologna movement in Europe and the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) encouraged non-EHEA students to study in Europe and promoted European student mobility within the region. Wave II (2006–2013) was shaped and impacted by the global financial crisis faced by traditional hosting countries in the west and the increasing power and opportunities in the East. The rising middle class in China has increased the number of international Chinese students dramatically (Hagedorn & Zhang, 2011). In addition, the Saudi Arabia government-sponsored scholarship encouraged more Saudi students to study overseas. During this period, the proportion of undergraduate students increased and more international students were self-funded. Wave III (2013–2020) was impacted by three major events, the economic slowdown in China, "Brexit," and the election of U.S. President Donald Trump. The decreasing economic growth in China negatively impacted Chinese international student mobility. Meanwhile, the

increasing educational opportunities within China made students and their parents question the value of investing in international education. Due to the changes in the political environment in U.K. and U.S., international students perceive studying in these two countries with higher risks and uncertainties. As a result, students were increasingly attracted to countries with more welcoming immigration policies and learning environments, such as Canada and Australia.

Methods

The content analysis of the literature review includes both quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis. The quantitative descriptive review includes the following charting of variables: year of publication, journal, author country affiliation, countries of sending international students, countries of receiving international students, level of study, and key terms. The qualitative design shows that "meaning is constructed by individuals in interaction with their world" (Merriam, 1998, p. 3) and includes a depiction of what theory(s) were used, how authors defined their theories, and how authors utilized the theories in the research. The choices of terminology that defined the theoretical perspectives generate thick data from which we were able to derive themes, categories, and content focus to capture the author's interpretation of international students. The content analysis of the literature review serves the goal of gaining a multiplicity of perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) as we analyze how authors contextualized "social phenomena from the perspectives of those involved [allows] to contextualize issues in their particular socio-cultural-political milieu" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 4) and the cross-intersectionality of one article to the others in the review. In addition, since a goal is to describe research over time, the content analysis design helps to provide descriptive and explorative data (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). We are among those who study international students, and as such, we needed to create a context to departmentalize what Creswell (2014) calls personal subjectivities. To do that, we engaged in several measures to ensure that our personal experiences, beliefs, and biases did not taint the integrity of data collection, analysis, and interpretations.

Data Collection

We used a purposeful selection of journals to gather a comprehensive review of the field. First, we choose journals that published on community colleges to target community colleges. These journals are Community College Review and Community College Journal of Research and Practice. Second, we choose journals that focused on Higher Education within cross-sectional institutions and in different countries. These journals are AERA Open, CATESOL Journal, Canadian Journal of Higher

Education, Higher Education, Journal of Academic Administration in Higher Educations, Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, Journal of Further and Higher Education, International Journal of Higher Education, Journal of Learning in Higher Education, Studies in Universal Higher Education, Teachers College Record, and Universal Journal of Educational Research. We specifically choose journals that target Canada and United Kingdom to add a global perspective. Finally, we choose journals that published on comparative and international education and that frequently publish on the topic of international students. These journals are Journal of Comparative and International Higher Education, Journal of International Students, and Journal of Studies in International Education. We choose to limit the selection of articles from 2009–2019 to represent scholarly discourse over the last decade. We reviewed both in-print and on-line peer-review journals written in English. While any review that only focuses on only English language sources ignores a wealth of publications (Raby, 2010), English still remains the dominant language of international publication. We choose each article based on the process defined by the *Comparative Education Review Bibliography* (Raby, 2010) in which an article title or keywords had to reference the subject, in this case "international students." In total, we reviewed 17 journals within which we read 143 articles. Table 2.1 lists the journals and the total number of articles during the targeted dates while Table 2.2 compares the frequency of publications.

Table 2.1 Journals and total number of articles

Journal	# of Articles
Journal of Studies in International Education (JSIE)	53
Journal of International Students (JIS)	27
Universal Journal of Educational Research (UJER)	12
Journal of Further and Higher Education (JFHE)	10
Canadian Journal of Higher Education (CJHE)	9
Community College Journal of Research and Practice (CCJRP)	7
Journal of Comparative and International Higher Education (JCIHE)	6
International Journal of Higher Education (IJHE)	5
Higher Education (HE)	3
Journal of Learning in Higher Education (JLHE)	3
Journal of Diversity in Higher Education (JDHE)	2
AERA Open	1
CATESOL Journal	1
Community College Review (CCR)	1
Journal of Academic Administration in Higher Education (JAAHE)	1
Studies in Higher Education (SHE)	1
Teachers College Record (TCR)	1
Total	143

Table 2.2 Frequency of publications in specific time periods—need to update

	2009–2011	2012–2015	2016–2019
Total number	15	60	68

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process through which the raw data is rearranged into meaningful patterns, categories, and themes to interpret the data and to gain a deep understanding of that data (Patton, 2002). This is done to enable multiple perspectives to emerge (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) and to find interrelationships between data sets (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009). We used the same data analysis process for all articles with prompts that were neither positively nor negatively worded (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). Data analysis was conducted simultaneously with data collection and included three stages.

First, each publication was compiled into an Excel spreadsheet and organized by journal and date. For each article, we charted (a) author(s) country affiliation, (b) countries of sending international students, (c) countries of receiving international students, (d) level of study, (e) key-terms, (f) theories identified, (g) how authors defined the theories, and (h) how the authors utilized the theories in the research. Second, constant comparison integrated data collection and analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) in an iterative manner (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2010) to break the text down into chunks in order to make meaning of responses (Bowen, 2009). We used the language of the respondents when possible (Saldaña, 2009). Literature Review Mapping (Creswell, 2014) was used to (a) identify key terms, (b) sort data into groups or "families of studies," (c) provide a label for each family, and (d) link the literature from other families. In that our focus was longitudinal, we kept in mind that data describes the context that is shifting and fluid (Torres, Jones, & Renn, 2009) which requires constant critical reflection to confirm viability over time. Initial coding for the quantitative data charted changes between articles to find patterns of intersectionality (O'Leary, 2014) in terms of the themes, geographical focus, institutional focus, author nationality, and changes and similarities over time. Initial coding for the qualitative data, used text-mining to isolate terms that were used most often to define theory and commonalities that crossed publications (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

Finally, we grouped the themes into tables for visual clarity and placed the mega-themes into a Social Cartography Mapping. We used Rolland Paulston's Social Cartography (1995) to interpret the changing nature of the themes and to provide a snapshot of the different theories and perspectives that express thinking in this decade. The purpose is to provide "a new way of looking at the world and, equivalently, a new aspect of the world at which to look" (Beauchamp & Paulston, 1996; Liebman & Paulston, 1994; Paulston, 1976, 1993, 1999, 2009, p. 977).

Table 2.3 Comparative focus on author's institutions, sending and receiving countries

	Countries of authors' institution	Sending countries	Receiving countries
Top 3 regions	North America, East Asia, Europe	East Asia, India/Pakistan, Middle East	North America, East Asia, Europe
Total	22 countries	12 individual countries plus multi-country	14 countries
Continental breakdown			
North America	72	1	80
Europe	19	2	22
Australia/New Zealand	13	0	15
East Asia	22	24	26
Central Asia	2	2	0
India/Pakistan	0	5	0
Middle East	7	3	5
Africa	5	0	0
South America	0	0	0

Quantitative Variables

Four variables were selected to understand mobility flows. Table 2.3 shows the countries of author's institution, sending countries, receiving countries, and a continental breakdown of the findings. Table 2.4 provides details on each journal. Table 2.5 shows the levels of study focus. Table 2.6 shows the various keywords used in the articles.

Countries of Author's Institution. Authors came from 22 countries. While most came from United States, Canada, East Asia, and Western Europe, three authors came from Africa.

Sending Countries. 32 Articles focused on receiving students from multiple countries, 13 articles about students from China and multiple on students from East Asia.

Receiving Countries. Articles focused on 14 receiving countries. This is important because it challenges the largely US-dominated discourse of international students. In addition to the U.S, articles wrote on students who study in Australia, China, and the U.K. as well as Taiwan, Turkey, and Malaysia.

Level of Study. Articles mostly focused on undergraduate education. Nine articles focused on community colleges and all were published in community college focused journals. Emerging themes focus on doctoral and post-doctoral studies.

Keywords. 421 keywords were identified, of which 321 were only used once from 2009–2019. Several keywords are specific to journal types.

Table 2.4 Details on each journal type

	Countries of authors' institution	#	Sending countries	#	Receiving countries	#
IE journals continental breakdown	North America	45	North America	0	North America	47
	Europe	13	Europe	16	Europe	15
	Asia	17	Asia	0	Asia	12
	Australia/New Zealand	10	Australia/New Zealand	2	Australia/New Zealand	11
	Africa	2				
IE journals country breakdown	USA	44	NA	53	USA	46
	UK	10	Multiple Countries	14	UK	12
	Australia	8	USA	0	Australia	10
	Korea	5	UK	0	Malaysia	5
	China	3	Australia	0	Turkey	5
	Malaysia	3	East Asian Countries	2	Taiwan	3
	Taiwan	3	India	2	Korea	2
	New Zealand	2		9	China	2
	Canada; Finland; Ghana; India; Japan; Middle East; Northern Ireland; Spain; Thailand; Turkey	1	China; Korea; Middle East; Singapore; Vietnam	1	Canada; Finland; New Zealand; Spain	1
CC continental breakdown		8	Asia	1	North America	8
CC country breakdown	USA	8	NA Multi-countries China	2 5 1	USA	8
HE journals continental breakdown	North America	11	North America	1	North America	25
	Europe	5	Europe	2	Europe	10
	Asia	7	Asia	15	Asia	14
	Australia/New Zealand	3	Australia/New Zealand	0	Australia/New Zealand	4
	Middle East	1	Middle East	1	Middle East	2
	Africa	4	Africa	0	Africa	0
	South America		South America		South America	

(continued)

Table 2.4 (continued)

	Countries of authors' institution	#	Sending countries	#	Receiving countries	#
HE journals country breakdown	USA	11	NA	11	USA	25
	UK	4	Multiple Countries	13	UK	7
	Australia	3	USA	0	Australia	4
	Singapore	2	UK	0	Taiwan	4
	South Africa	2	Australia	0	China	10
	Taiwan	2	East Asian Countries	4	Saudi Arabia	2
	Botswana	1	India	3	Turkey	2
	China	1	EU	2	Finland	1
	Finland	1	China	3		
	Pakistan	1	Korea	1		
	Saudi Arabia	1	Pakistan	1		
	Singapore	1	Cental Asia	1		
	Zimbabwe	1	Taiwan	1		
			Middle East	1		
			Russia/Kazakhstan	1		
			Canadian Aboriginal	1		

Table 2.5 Level of study focus

	IE journals	CC journal	HE journals
Community college	0	8	0
IEP at Community college	0	1	0
Undergraduate	79	0	41
Upper division	1	0	0
Graduate	7	0	2
Doctoral	1	0	2
All levels	1	0	0
Post-doctorate	0	0	1

Qualitative Variables

Very few theories, as well as keywords, are repeated in the literature which speaks to an emerging field. 85 articles did not include a theory or theoretical construct that speaks descriptive rather than empirical publications. Only three theories were cited in multiple journal types: college student departure theory, push-pull theory,

Table 2.6 List of keywords linked to journal types

Keywords	# of cites	Journal types	Total
Total			421
Qualitative	30	all	1
Higher education	21	all	1
Internationalization of higher education	15	IE	1
Adjustment	12	All	1
Globalization; multiple regression; survey	11	All	3
Canada	10	HE	1
Interview	9	All	1
Internationalization; interview-semi-structured	8	HE & IE	2
International students from China	8	All	1
Satisfaction	7	IE & HE	1
China; phenomenology	6	All	2
Identity; international education; T-test	6	IE; HE	3
Competency; doctoral international students; foreign students in Canada; intercultural; quantitative; mobility student experience	5	HE & IE	6
Adaptation; graduate education (international/foreign students); recruitment	5	all	3
Content analysis; focus groups	4	ALL	2
ANOVA; questionnaire; undergraduates (international)	4	IE; HE	3
Decision making	4	IE & CC	1
Engagement; international higher education; study abroad; information source	4	IE	4
Cross-border delivery of education	3	CC; HE	1
Academic administrators/staff; class participation; correlation; foreign students; communication; English-medium instruction; social networking; student services; student satisfaction surveys	3	IE	9
Academic performance; acculturation; achievement; auto-ethnography; colleges; college student; college experiences; complaint behavior; family relationships; graduate students (international); identity shifts; intercultural communication; migration; Internationalization curriculum; online information resources; international students from East Asia; observation; study habits	3	IE & HE	17
Student exchange programs	3	HE	1
Descriptive statistics	2	IE & CC	1
Higher education (US); international students from Taiwan; language barrier; readability; student written narratives; support group	2	HE & IE	6
Funding; Pearson Chi-Square; push-pull	2	CC & IE	3
Higher education (Malaysia); higher education (Canada); interview (semi-structure); multiculturalism; student journals; university (Canada); university (UK)	2	HE	8

(continued)

Table 2.6 (continued)

Keywords	# of cites	Journal types	Total
Cognitive skills development; Confucianism; cosmopolitan learning; equity; information literacy; intercultural sensitivity; international learning; international students from Malaysia; language proficiency; Likert Scales; marginalization; perception; strategic institutional management of internationalization; safe-places; technology influences; undergraduate (US)	2	IE	17
	1	IE	179
Academic adaptation; academic contexts; academic integrity; accent assessment; accompanying spouses; accountability; admission material; adult learner; adult mobility; adult transition; American roomates; analytic hierarchy process; appreciative education; assumptions; attendance; attitudes (students); attitudes (teachers); attitudes (administrators); authority; barriers; behavior (international students); bi-cultural identity; bonding; BBS; brain drain; brain circulation; buddy; campus climate; citizenship; classroom experience; commercialization; communication preferences; community college; competition; comprehension; computer mediated communication; conflict; coping; conflict resolution; counselors counseling; cultural competency; consensual qualitative research (CQR); cross-cultural comparison; critical incident technique; CSSA; cultural adjustment; cultural fit; cultural influences; cultural isolation; cultural pluralism; deep culture; degree mobility; degree programs; dependent visa; destination; dignity; discourse education; DME; distance education; doctoral students (Chinese); EAI; educational environment; educational trends; electronic learning; experiential learning; educational tourism; English as a lingua franca; export readiness; export engagement; facebook; faculty; field experience; F-2 visa; geopolitical economy; government policies; Grades/GPA; graduate teacher education; group dynamics; group relations; health communication; heritage cultures; higher education (China); higher education (small island countries); higher education hubs; higher education policy; homework time spent; host language proficiency; intercultural experience; intercultural relationships; interculturalism; international agents; international branch campuses; international education (China); International English Language Testing System (IELTS); international exchange program; international pedagogy; international student policy; international students from Arab Countries; from Cyprus; from India; from Korea; from Middle East; who are Muslim; intergroup relations; Internet; integration between international and local students; internationalization of teaching; internationalization at home; justice; learning and development; life satisfaction; local students; marketing; memorization; middle-way philosophy; migrant students; motivation; multi-lingual; national policies for internationalization; non-native English speaker; online community; online courses; organizations (groups); outcomes; perceived social support; perceived stress; perception of instructor authority; plagiarism; policy; postdoc appointment; post-graduates; post-graduate plans; post-purchase policy market; Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS); preferences; psychological adjustment; psychological stress; public diplomats; reputation; research universities; rote learning; school-life; school-support; science and engineering; second language learners; self-efficacy; sense of belonging; social class; sense of connectedness; social context; social life; social media; social nationalism; social protection; social psychology; sourcing challenges; statistics; stress; student involvement theory; support services; technology uses in education; technology integration; text persistence; TOEFL; transnational policies for internationalization; tertiary education; tuition/fees; undergraduates (USA); undergraduates (Chinese); undergraduates (Middle Eastern); undergraduate (Korea); university; university support; university identification; value of higher education; vocational education; vocational education and training; World affairs; work experience; work-integrated learning;			
Academic advising; administration of education programs; choice; integration (in US CC); Intensive English Program; invalidation; involvement; persistence; reverse transfer; sense of connectedness; student affairs; validation; world culture	1	CC	13

(continued)

Table 2.6 (continued)

Keywords	# of cites	Journal types	Total
	1	HE	129
Aboriginal students; academic sub-culture; action research; administrator attitudes; admission; agents; ANCOVA; athletes attrition; case study; cognitive decision making; commerce; comparative studies; composition/writing; conduct of life; conflict; coping; course offering; creative thinking; cross-cultural adjustment; cultural understanding; cross-national cultural competency; cross-racial interactions; curriculum; cultural awareness; cultural competency; cultural hybridization; cultural intelligence; cultural isolation; culture bonding; culture of origin; curriculum enrichment; developmental; diverse cultural experiences; diversity in education; economic situation; education brokers; educational background; educational change; educational policy; educational practices; educational psychology; educational resources; educational support services; educational problems; ELEC courses; English language enhancement; employability; enrollment; entrepreneurialism; ESL; ethnography; European Union; experiential learning; FA World Cup; feedback; graduate students (international in Canada); graduate teaching; global curriculum; global education; global learning; higher education (Finland) (Turkish) (UK); humanities; identity negotiations; immigrant students; intercultural identity; integration (in Canadian university); institutional research; Intensive English Program; intercultural adaptation; ICDF (International Cooperation and Development Fund; international research; International Students' Barometer (ISB) survey; international students from Kazakstan; from Pakistan; from Saudi Arabia; International Students' Learning Inquiry (ISLI); international study abroad; interviews of staff; interview (structured); labor market; latent class analysis; learning; learning strategies; learning strategy anxiety; leadership; local/municipal/regional; looping; mentorship; mediation; mixed methods; multicultural competency; multi-institutional study of leadership; peer influence; pedagogy; persistence; perspectives of service users; placement; post-1992 university (UK); postgraduate (international-in UK); professional schools; progress; provincial/territorial (Canada); psychological patterns; public administration; race/racism; reflection; school enrollment; sense of belonging; social capital; social interactionist perspective; social support groups; sociocultural adaptation; statistical analysis; stress; students (American in Canada); students (American in foreign countries); students (American in USA); students (British in Australia); student expectations; student-faculty interactions; student housing; stress(ors); teacher qualification; teacher trainin; undergraduate (Canada); University (Chinese); University of British Columbia; urban schools; value-expectancy; website review; world cultural view			

and U-curve theory. Three other theories were cited twice, but all in the same journal type: input-environment-outcomes model, world culture theory, and transition theory. Table 2.7 categorizes the theories into broader families.

Building an International Student Social Cartography

To make sense of the vast array of theories used to understand international students, we designed a social cartography based on Paulston (1999) and inspired by Stein (2018). In our version, we emphasize four theoretical paradigms and three lenses in which the theories are applied. While there are many narratives that explore education, we found that Humanitarian, Neo-Liberalism, Post-Modernism, and Post-Colonialism were most applicable to the range of theories found in the literature

Table 2.7 Categorization of theories into broader families

Categories of theories	
Student experiences, engagement and adjustment	Academic and social intergration; achievement/motivation; adult transition theory; Bourdieu's notions of habitus; IEO; international student life cycle; online group communication; optimism in conflict resolution; persistence; quality of effort; self-authorship; self-categorization model of stress; self-formation; sense of belonging; social identity; Student integration mode; student involvement; validation theory; value-expectancy
Recruitment and Marketing	agent theory; cognitive decision making; customer loyalty; customer satisfaction; export ready; globalization and internationalization; in-bound international student mobility; international business; international student community college decision model; liberalization of higher education; neo-liberalism; perceived risk theory; push-pull; theory of planned behavior
Faculty and Teaching	formal and informal authority; teaching excellence framework (TEF)
Cultural Lenses	acculturation model; Allport's contact hypothesis; cross-national cultural competence model; cultural competency; cultural differences in cognitive development; cultural hybridization theory; culturally sensitive perspective; double consciousness; Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory; hybrid sociocultural framework; intercultural interactions; model of intercultural sensitivity; sociocultural framework; theory of intercultural adaptation; U-Curve theory; W-Curve theory; world culture theory
Communication and Language	Accent assessment; language of the capability approach metatheme of pretending in conversation; student expectations
Identity	bicultural identity integration (BII) theory; cosmopolitan learning; efficacy theory; personal identity from postmodern view; psychological adjustment; social identity approach; self is pliable and adaptable to external circumstance; student complaint behavior; virtual identify

review. Within each paradigm, we choose three lenses, (1) the international education lens that focuses on the global influences, (2) the systems lens that focuses on institutional changes, and (3) the actor lens that focuses on the actor, mostly, the student. The cartography was built by first identifying the theory used in each article. Second, based on how the author defined the theory, each theory was grouped into a paradigm, noting overlap as well. Third, each theory was then grouped into one of the three lenses. Fourth, we adjusted the map to reflect the various paradigms and lenses. Table 2.8 shows the social cartography in table format and the following section explores the theories that built our cartography.

Humanitarian Narrative. The humanitarian narrative centers on the ideal of the global public good in which higher education serves three purposes. First is to build human capacity through education, which strengthens democracy in the form of global citizenry and secures skills needed for the global knowledge economy. With gainful employment, the national socioeconomic growth supports the Millennium Development Goals as well as securing the future of the student (World Bank, 2009). The second uses higher education to help the disenfranchised. Using the deficit

Table 2.8 Theories on international students social cartography in table format

	International lens	Institutional lens	Actor lens
Humanitarianism	Acculturation theory; Cultural Differences in Cognitive Development Theory; Flat World Theory; Global Citizen Theory; Global Knowledge Economy Theory; Global Public Good Theory; U-Curve Theory of Acculturation; Universal Knowledge Theory	Accent Assessment Theory; Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) Model; Ecological Theory; Environmental Theory; Interactive Problem Solving Theory; Synthesis Model; Social Identity Approach; Student Complaint Behaviour; Social Interactions; Structuration Theory; Sense of Belonging (SB); Theory of Student Involvement; Validation Theory	Acculturation Model; Acculturative Stress Model; Adult Transition Theory; Academic & Social Integration Theory; Accommodation Theory; Bohman International Student Community College Decision Model; Constructing Virtual Identity Theory; Consumer Complaint Behaviour; College Student Departure; Contact Hypothesis; Cross-National Cultural Competence Mode; Discrepancy Theory; Efficacy Theory; Formal and Informal Authority Theory; Face-Negotiating Theory; Holistic Perspective of Self-Authorship; Human Security Theory; Input-Environment- Outcomes (I-E-O) Model; Information Literacy Theory; Integration with a Dominant Peer Culture Theory; international student motivation regarding their mobility; Intercultural Competence Theory; Internaitonalise the Curriculum; Intercultural Sensitivity Theory; Model of Stress; Mismatch Expectations Theory; Model of International Graduate Students Academic Performance; Metatheme of Pretending in Conversation Theory; Optimism Theory
Neo-Liberalism	Career Pathways Theory; Entrepreneurialism Theory; Market Policies Theories; Migration & Diasporic Social Network Theory; Private Good Theory; Push-Pull Theory; Revenue Generation Theory	Customer Loyalty Theory; Commitment-Trust Theory of Relationship Marketing; Export Readiness; Globalization Definition; Internationalization (to attract more international students); International Branch Campuses; Liberalization of Higher Education Theory; Push and Pull Factors	Push and Pull Factors Theories

(continued)

Table 2.8 (continued)

	International lens	Institutional lens	Actor lens
Post-Modernism	Brain Drain Theory; Cosmopolitan Leaning Theory; Counter-Deficit Theory; Critical Race Theory; Critics of Tinto's Student Departure Theory; Ethical Partnerships Theory; Hegemonic Relationships Theory; Multi-Dimensionality and Intersectionality Theory; Social Capital Theory; Social Justice Theory	Cross-Cultural Universals Theory; Comprehensive Internationalization Theory; Culturally Responsive Teaching Theory; Global perspective Theory; Gatekeepers Theory; Social Change Model (SCM) of Leadership Development; World Culture Theory	Appreciated Education Framework; Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) Theory; Cosmopolitan leaning; Cultural Competency in Health Care Theory; Capability-Employment Approach Theory; Capability-Employability Account Theory; Culturally Sensitive Perspective; Critics of College Student Departure Theory; Cultural Identity Theory; Cultural Competency Theory; Criticalist Theory; Cognitive Decision Making Theory; Double-Loop Learning; educational access to economic opportunity & social mobility theory; Grounded Theory of Narrative Paradigm; Hybrid Sociocultural Framework; Migration & Diasporic Studies; Online Group Communication Theory; Push and Pull Factors (also linked to Neo-Liberalism); Psychological Adjustment; Psychosocial and Cognitive-Structural Frameworks; Social Support; Student Integration Model (SIM); Student Expectations Theory; Self-Formation Perspective; Student Involvement Theory; Transition Theory; Theory on the Cultural Differences in Cognitive Development; Theory of Persistence; Theory on Power Distance; Theory of Intercultural Adaptation; Transformational Change; Uncertainty Reduction Theory; U-Curve Theory; W-Curve of Acculturation Theory; Value-Expectancy Achievement Motivation Theory
Post-Colonialism	Access to Learning Theory; Appreciated Education Theory; Capability Approach Theory; Cultural hybridization Theory; Liberation Theory; Mutuality Theory; Notions of Otherness Theory; Privilege Theory; Student Agency Theory	Public Diplomacy Theory	Cultural Hybridization Theory; Cultural Hegemony Theory; Double Consciousness Theory; Integration and Adaptation Theory; Otherness Theory; Personal Identity from Postmodern View Theory; Social Capitals for Acculturation Theory

perspective, aid is applied to those who need it, such as encouraging those from the Global East and Global South to study in the Global West. The third is acceptance of Western knowledge as universal knowledge that links the purpose of education to assist Others to gain Western knowledge.

Applied to International Education Level, the humanitarian narrative uses the concept of the "flat" world to encourage cross- and intercultural learning, improve quality and quantity of mobility programs, increase research collaborations, and diversify internationalized curricular emphasis for internationalization, such as ethnic studies (Castiello-Gutiérrez, 2019).

Applied to Institutional Level, is the obligation of the institution to support the student. Cultural Differences in Cognitive Development Theory shows the degree to which a student copes with transitioning to a new country/culture as dependent upon institutional resources available to them and their utilization of those resources. Interactive Problem-Solving Theory labels campus personal as the ones to help solve student problems. Student Involvement Theory sees student involvement in the university system as positive and examines characteristics that increase student involvement. Structuration Theory links interaction between social structure (faculty & services) and meeting student needs and expectations. Transition Theory links the impact of transitions of student experiences to their success. Finally, Validation Theory links academic and personal validation through positive academic advising.

Applied to Actor Level, targets student characteristics that lead or do not lead to student's success. Acculturation Theory links levels of acculturation to overall success and identifies why a student wants to adapt to another culture, assimilation (choice to adapt), separation (choice to hold onto original culture), integration (interest in second culture, but still want to hold onto own culture) and marginalization (force into the new culture). College Student Departure Theory identifies entry characteristics (prior schooling, family background), goals and commitments (student aspirations and goals), and institutional experiences (academics, co-curricular involvement, faculty and peer interactions) that increase persistence. Communication Accommodation Theory links attractiveness of language/culture to motivation to acquire it. Input-Environment-Outcomes (I-E-O) Theory links external variables to the type of experience a student will have that then affects their cognitive, affective & civic development. Integration with a Dominant Peer Culture Theory shows the importance of learning from domestic students. Metatheme of Pretending Theory shows that students act as naïve in new encounters which then effects future relationships. Social Identity Approach sees the social construction of identities as being based on the extent to which students take or do not take advantage of university programs. Theory of Student Involvement shows that students' active participation in their own learning supports success. U-Curve Theory of Acculturation identifies four stages along a U-curve in which a student becomes acculturated: honeymoon; culture shock; adjustment; mastery stages. Developed upon the U-Curve Theory, the W-Curve Theory includes five stages: honeymoon, cultural shock, initial adjustment, mental isolation, and acceptation and integration. Finally,

Value-Expectancy Achievement Motivation Theory shows that motivation stimulates and sustains goal-oriented behavior which then can explain a student's choice to participate in achievement tasks.

Neo-Liberalism Narrative. The neo-liberalism narrative uses market-oriented policies to support the ideal of the private good, especially in terms of economic gains for the institution. Entrepreneurial programs are encouraged to gain a profit margin. The private good is also realized as students who participate in higher education are prepared with enhanced social capitals and enhanced skillsets to gain employment in jobs that serve the global knowledge economy.

Applied to International Education Level, higher education is a tool for political soft power and market interests to emerge (Castiello-Gutiérrez, 2019). The "export ready" international business perspective links mobility flows to a commercial rationale. On the institutional level, the key motivation for international students is for revenue generation. Revenue generation is likewise the key focus of development programs in which institutions receive payment for people's expertise in recruiting, training, curriculum delivery, and management style. On the individual level, international exchanges are explained in terms of individual benefit: a way of getter a better job, creating networks and enhancing one's resume (Woolf, 2019).

Applied to Institutional Level, is an increase in institutional resources. Push-pull Theory examines motives for decision making to enroll and in turn gain institutional profit. Structuration Theory suggests that the stronger the social structure offered by the institution, the better that student needs can be met.

Applied to Actor Level, links investment of time and resources to success. Agency Theory explains the relationships and conflicts between education agents and Chinese students when seeking guidance to determine an international destination for postsecondary education. Cognitive Decision-Making Theory examines how international students select their institution and highlights how students make that decision. Customer Loyalty Theory and Customer Satisfaction Theory highlight the impacts of customers' satisfaction and loyalty on their purchase behavior in terms of where they enroll, choice to stay on for postgraduate degrees, choice to drop out of the university, and choice to transfer to another university. International Student Community College Decision Model details the students' decision-making process of selecting a community college. Migration and Diasporic Social Network Theory details the complex and contradictory effects that migrant's ethnic social networks have on their labor market trajectories. Perceived Risk Theory examines customers' perceptions of risk and how the "perceived risk" impacts their buying behavior. Finally, Sense of Belonging Theory and Theory on Quality of Effort both connect the amount of time a student spends on the utilization of on-campus services and college activities with the end result of retention and persistence.

Post-Modernism Narrative. The post-modernism narrative questions why educational imperatives in which a single set of knowledge favors Global West are preferred over others (Woolf, 2019). Instead of focusing on student deficits, post-modernism questions the role hegemonic relationships play in creating these deficits and how policies and programs can be designed to build new equity patterns. An emphasis

on social justice work to transform unequal systems and redistribute resources and appreciate knowledge from throughout the world.

Applied to International Education Level, internationalization is seen as not being neutral (Suspitsyna, 2015, p. 24) as it counters homogenization by developing an equity understanding of Others that recognizes international student uniqueness in learning, concern about the repercussions of brain drain, and research collaborations that are based in equity and ethical partnerships (Castiello-Gutiérrez, 2019). In practice, diversification of countries that host and that receive international students promote that equity as does campus environments that students can be problematic rather than simply identifying cultural differences (Woolf, 2019).

Applied to Institutional Level, is the need for the system to build services that fully support all students. Critics of Tinto's Student Departure Theory question why under-represented students must abandon their cultural identities to assimilate to the mainstream campus. Ecological Theory links involvement to opportunities to a particular institutional context that has taken advantage of designing and offering services that meet the equity needs of students. Hybrid Sociocultural Framework links the development of identity through the extent to which students recognize they are shaped by their sociocultural milieu and to call into question the multi-dimensionality and intersectionality that results from the home-host culture discourse. Migration and Diasporic Studies Insights Theory links institutional services to understand the pathways of students.

Applied to Actor Level, is the commitment equity and engage in practices to promote student success. Bicultural Identity Integration Theory shows how lack of awareness for bicultural students is a missed opportunity to help students capture their own perspectives and then to re-evaluate their previous assumptions about student groups. Cross-National Cultural Competence Model illustrates an individual's cultural adoption competences: awareness of his/her cultural worldview and attitudes toward cultural differences and similarities, knowledge of different worldviews and sociohistorical contexts for specific cultural groups and cultural practices, and skills of interact, communicate, collaborate, and engage with others with different cultural activities and practices. Cultural Competency Theory focuses on individuals' knowledge, attitudes, and skills of understanding a different culture and interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds. Hybrid Sociocultural Framework hypothesizes that individuals are shaped by their sociocultural contexts, participate in more than one sociocultural context, have the ability to interact with different sociocultural contexts, and their learning across different sociocultural contexts is mediated by cultural symbols, signs, and tools. Integration Theory and Adaptation Theory identify norms, values, and practices, social and cultural capitals that a student already has that leads to integration or adaptation. For integration, the sojourner is liberated by identity crises. Model of Intercultural Sensitivity describes one's motivation to understand, appreciate, and accept differences among different cultures. Personal Identity Theory sees the self as pliable and adaptable to external circumstances which mandate continual negotiation with who they are and lifestyle choices they make as their traditions are swept away in the form of acculturation. Single-Loop Learning Theory notes that students modify their actions without considering the

reasons underlying the actions while Double-Loop Learning has students questioning the reasons, agencies that influence the choice. Social Capital Theory identifies those social capitals that students already possess which help them adjust to a new culture and that in turn buffers accumulative stress. Theory of Intercultural Adaptation emphasizes on two perspectives of the intercultural adaption: psychological (emotional/affective) and sociocultural (behavioral).

Post-Colonialism Narrative. This lens actively seeks to dismantle hegemonic practices while building liberating ones and has two primary components. First, is recognition of the role colonial narratives play in creating and sustaining inequities in terms of a dominant frame of knowledge, preferred values, privileges extended to a few, interpersonal racism, and transnational initiatives. Second, is the purposeful use of oppressed voices for change to create global solidarity based on ethics and equity. To accomplish such change, a total institutional transformation is needed to alter how staff view students, how students view each other, how the curriculum tells the stories of the privileged.

Applied to International Education Level, is the creation of a new framework based in mutuality that works for ethical and balanced cooperation in planning, mutual respect for each partner's knowledge and ways of knowing, and partnership engagement that is not hierarchal or stratified (Castiello-Gutiérrez, 2019). The "abroad" experience recognizes how privileged students are buying access to this commodity (Woolf, 2019). The focus is made to how international students are marketed and served, how internationalization activities use a mutuality lens to allow a focus on "Other" in their own terms, and to eliminate programs in which the Global North takes advantage of Global South and objectifies non-west international students as financial and symbolic resources.

Applied to Institutional Level, is the promotion of the need for the system to identify and then eliminate hegemonic relationships that disadvantage the student. Access to Learning Theory notes that access to learning is controlled by powerful gatekeepers whose actions international students may not fully understand. Discrepancy Theory links greater academic, social and racial/ethnic diversity involvement to increased expectation to increased student satisfaction. Networks Limitation Theory notes that institutional networks can have negative consequences of limiting ethnic niche occupation that leads to downward occupational trajectories. Network Theory links networks to helping students as they choose to be with those who are like them and get empowerment from their networks. Student Agency Theory shows that student identity is shaped by both their agency and by their experiences and perceptions of structure. Finally, Transformational Change Theory notes that deep transformational change can occur as a result of changing institutional practices so that students are better understood by their peers.

Applied to Actor Level, actively counters beliefs that result from colonial relationships and reforms new identities based on equity. Appreciated Education Framework labels the past experiences as powerful and links them to build positive experiences that then lay the foundation for success. Capability Approach Theory defines the agency and the processes of choice as intertwined. Cosmopolitan Learning Theory involves student construction of knowledge in which they recover their own cultural

merits and identify the ways in which global processes are creating conditions of economic and cultural exchange inequities that give some more privilege than others. Cultural hybridization Theory defines student participation as either choosing to adopt the new context, to be forced into acceptance of the new culture, to act in opposition by rejecting colonial and hegemonic relationships, and to reject the colonial culture. Notions of Otherness Theory show how power and positionality, based on the historic and current presence of inequalities, as well as stereotypes frame experiences of non-dominant people.

Review of Literature Themes

The content analysis literature review examines the articles published in the selected journals from 2009–2019. The review is divided into two sections. The first section examines studies on international students within community colleges and global counterparts. The second section explores the thematic trajectory of topics about international students within the university setting.

International Students in Community Colleges and Global Counterparts

Since 2009, the literature on international students in community colleges and global counterparts spans four trajectories. First are studies that focus on advocacy in which international students are seen as an important component of the community college mission (Raby & Valeau, 2017) and on the CEGEP mission (Eastman, Jones, Bégin-Caouette, & Trottier, 2019). Second are studies that link support services to student success in community colleges in the United States (Lau, Garza, & Garza, 2018). Third are studies that identify marketing strategies for recruitment with the intent to bring in revenue (Brennen & Dellow, 2013; Viggiano, Damián, Vázquez, & Levin, 2017). Fourth are studies that show that international students choose the US community college due to lower entry requirements; lower tuition; smaller class size, and opportunity to transfer (Bohman, 2014; Brennan & Dellow, 2013; Zhang & Hagedorn, 2013). Finally, are studies that link engagement to student success (Budd, Serban, Van Hook, & Raby, 2016; Mamiseishvili, 2012; Slantcheva-Durst & Knaggs, 2017; Zhou & Cole, 2017).

Profiles. Research shows profiles of international students in California (Anayah & Kuk, 2015) in New York (Hansen, Shneyderman, McNamara & Grace, 2018a, 2018b), in post-92 universities in the UK (Barron, Gourlay, & Leary, 2010), and in Hong Kong (Chao, 2018). The majority of articles examine Chinese international students who study in U.S. community colleges (Zhang, 2016a). A composite of these profiles show that international students come from a mixture of different

nationalities, social-class, and college-ready preparation, and yet all are dedicated to their studies.

Personal Problems Experienced. Studies explore six issues that most present problems for international students. First are the typical stressors associated with attending colleges, such as financial constraints, academic pressures, and loneliness (Viggiano et al., 2017). Second are unique stressors of adapting to the culture of a different country (Anayah & Kuk, 2015) and dealing with cultural conflict that can influence mental health issues (Zhang, 2015a), and being marginalized as a result of prejudice and discrimination (Hansen et al., 2018a, 2018b). Third are stressors from learning and using a new language (Hansen et al., 2018a, 2018b). Fourth are difficulties based on language to form new friendships resulting in international students self-segregating with co-nationals or other international students (Anayah & Kuk, 2015). Fifth is the need to learn about new educational systems and practices, teaching styles, expectations placed on students that emphasize self-learning (Hansen et al., 2018a, 2018b). Finally, are poorly trained counselors that give international students incorrect information which negatively impacts on-time graduation (Zhang, 2016a) and when international students are labeled as a privileged group, it skews the services that they receive (Viggiano et al., 2017).

Personal Success Experienced. International students exhibit high academic aspirations that include overcoming the challenges student integration in social experiences, academic preparedness, and familial support all help in student success of community college students (Budd et al., 2016; Rodriguez-Kiino, 2013), and of international students in Further and Higher Educational Colleges and in Post-92 Universities in the U.K. (Barron, Gourlay, & Leary, 2010) and in Australian vocational education and training (VET) (Tran, 2012). Moreover, international students who had positive relationships with faculty and academic counseling had higher persistence and completion (Mamiseishivli, 2012).

International Students in Universities: Undergrad and Grad

Since 2009, there has been vast literature on international students in universities. In this section, a selection of the articles is reviewed that represent various themes. First are reviewed articles that share themes with the community college and global counterpart literature and then articles with unique themes found in universities.

Shared Themes with Community College and Global Counterpart Literature. Most themes found in community college and global counterpart literature are also found in university literature. These themes are: (1) Support services such as counseling (Li, Wang, Liu, Xu, & Cui, 2018), housing services in Canada (Calder, Richter, Mao, Burns, Mogale, & Danko, 2016), and student services in Canada (Liu & Lin, 2016) and in Indian Technical University (Karky, 2013). (2) Recruitment in Taiwan (Lee, 2014) and in the U.K. (Walker, 2014). Recruitment for income generation in the US (Naidoo, 2010), in Canada (Kenyon, Frohard-Dourlent, & Roth, 2012), and in Finland (Cai & Kivistö, 2013). (3) Decision making to choose to study abroad

in the US (McFadden, MaahsFladung, & Mailett, 2012), in the U.K. (Wilkins & Huisman, 2011); for Chinese student in Korea (Lee, 2017); and for Asian students to attend hubs in Asia (Singh, Schapper, & Jack, 2014). (4) integration of international students to benefit domestic students to facilitate learning (Kim, Edens, Iorio, Curtis, & Romero, 2015) and to build positive relationships in Australia (Bennett, Volet, & Fozdar, 2013) and in Korea (Lee, 2017).

Unique Themes for Universities. Eleven themes are found in the literature from 2009–2019.

Adjustment, leading to self-confidence (Lyken-Segosebe, 2017), sense of identity (Richardon & Munday, 2013); and developing coping strategies (Bastien, Seifen-Adkins, & Johnson, 2018; Mak, Bodycott, & Ramburuth, 2015). Adjustment practices of international students in Turkey (Yükselir, 2018), of Arab students (Rabia, 2017); of Pakistani students in China (Su, 2017), and of Chinese students in the U.S. (Tan, 2018).

Satisfaction, of social life (Chu, Lee, & Obrien, 2018), of the university (Ammigan & Jones, 2018), for international students in China (Ding, 2016), in Taiwan (Shih, Tillett, Lawrence, 2012), and in North Cyprus (Mehtap-Smadi & Hashemipour, 2011).

Learning success, strategies (Glass, 2012) of Chinese students in Australia (Zhang & Mi, 2010), of international students in China (Kuroda, 2014), students in Turkey (Günçavdı & Polat, 2016), Taiwanese students in US (Wang, Want, Heppner, & Chuang, 2017), and students in Malaysia (Lam, Tong, & Ariffin, 2017). Related are learning success for intercultural competency (Freeman & Knight, 2011), from faculty sensitivity (Nieto & Booth, 2010).

Difficulties in Learning, for international students in Australia (Yeoh & Terry, 2013) and in Hawaii (Yang, Salzman, & Yang, 2015).

Role of Social Media, to maintain family access (Barnett & Cothem, 2011); to communicate (Ammigan & Laws, 2018); to construct cultural & ethnic identities (Zhu, 2012); and to support learning (Sleeman, Lang, & Lemon, 2016).

International and Domestic Students Interactions, that foster group identity (Hail, 2015), to showcase different learning experiences (Kim, Collins, & Rennick, 2017), and that result in negative perception of internationals by domestic students & faculty (Valdez, 2015).

Discrimination from domestic students (Kim, Choi, & Tatar, 2017), within classroom discussions in the UK (Hayes, 2017), related to race & racism (Mitchell, Steele, Marie, & Yimm, 2017), of students in Korea (Lee, Jon, & Byun, 2017), of Muslim students (Hailu, Collins, & Stanton, 2018), and of sense-making & negotiation of identities to counter stereotypes (Gargano, 2012).

Use of agents, to enhance marketing and recruitment in the UK (Hulme, Thomson, Hulme, & Doughty, 2014), in the U.S. (Hagedorn & Zhang, 2011; Zhang, 2015a; Robinson-Pant and Maygarm 2018) and in Malaysia (Tham, 2013).

Issues related to graduate students in terms of class participation (Yildirim, 2017), level of reading in admission materials (Taylor, 2017), and brain drain of Singapore students studying abroad (Ziguras & Gribble, 2015).

Issues related to doctoral students, in terms of interest (Zhang, 2016b), motivations to get a Ph.D. (Zhou, 2015), spouse experiences (Cui, Arthur, & Domene, 2017), post-graduate plans (Ugwu & Adamuti-Trache, 2017), and choices for employment (McGrath, Madziva, & Thondhlana, 2017).

Post-colonial narratives that view integration as a form of cultural suicide (Yao, 2015) and show various competencies that international students bring with them (Tran, 2012) thus providing students do not lack these skills.

Moving the Discussion Forward

This chapter creates a mapping of theories found in the literature on international students published from 2009 to 2019 to show what has existed in the field and to help facilitate new discourse. Findings indicate three trends. First, the study of international students is an emerging field because it has yet to find shared commonalities. There are a multitude of key-words used to study international students and an equal number of theories used to ground the studies. Because there are so many ways in which authors are treating the topic, there is not a single point of recognition. While authors have been studying international students for decades, the lack of commonality speaks to an emerging level of refinement. Second, most of the keywords are specific to a type of journal. For example, only 15 keywords were found in all journal types and 40 keywords were found in only Higher Education and International Education focused journals. Moreover, five keywords were found in Community College and International Education focused journals while one keyword was found in both Community College and Higher Education journals. This speaks to different theories used for studies that are association focused. Finally, there is a varied focus on author's affiliations, which has the opportunity to represent international perspectives and on the hosting institutions which are not all located in the Global North. To build mutuality, these two elements are of importance as international student mobility is not exclusive to any one country.

Future research can focus on two areas. First, is a comparison of time periods to see if specific theories are time-stamped. Second, is as Stein (2018) and Woolf (2019) notes, the use of existing narratives to deconstruct, challenge, and pluralize and to note absences in thinking. Finally, is to use the International Student Social Cartography defined in this chapter to predict theoretical patterns for the future and to plan for more equity in application.

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Chapter 3
Beyond the Curtains—Global Refugee Crisis and Gaps in Graduate Enrollment: Exploring Challenges and Possibilities

Sylvia Findlay and Shabeer Amirali

Abstract Although the global refugee crisis has gained some attention in global political and social policy discourses, it has not captured similar attention in the higher education sector. This chapter examines and provides insight to the current practice and challenges faced by enrollment management leaders in reaching out and recruiting students for graduate study from war-torn regions of the world which includes Syria, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sudan. The findings highlight what current practices of higher education institutions reflect about their values and leadership approaches. Using snowball sampling and semi-structured interview protocol, enrollment management personnel including administrators, staff, and faculty mentors, the chapter presents new insights on the challenges faced by institutional leaders and graduate enrollment management personnel in reaching out to students from war-torn regions is offered in this study. Then it discusses a few important strategies for accomplishing the task of reaching out to these displaced, refugee students and enrolling them in graduate studies. Our argument is that from a humanitarian and social justice perspective, universities can and should help qualified refugee and displaced students to attain access to higher education, but in order to do so, they need bolder moves and stronger visions at institutional levels that transcend political, economic and social challenges.

Keywords Higher education · Refugees · Graduate enrollment · Recruitment · Integration

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_3

Introduction

Higher education, which was reserved for the elite, is now touching the lives of more and more people. International student mobility has witnessed tremendous changes over the last couple of decades in terms of both magnitude and pattern. The global higher education community is witnessing shifts in students' choices of study destinations, greater dispersion of students across more countries and the movement away from traditional host countries (Bista, Sharma, & Gaulee, 2018). These changes have propelled competition to attract internationally mobile students among nations, governments, and institutions.

Owing to the differences in national contexts, as well as differences in terminologies within and among the international student population, it is difficult to capture the complexities of the emerging landscape. International student migration takes many forms whether the move is for short term, long term, or as dependents of temporary or permanent workers, or even asylum seekers. Most countries consider international students as those entering a country on a student visa. At present, it is unclear on how many international students are pursuing studies outside their home countries as there is no standardized tracking of all those entering on student visas or a common database of all international students. In order to draw some conclusions on the magnitude of international student migration, it is helpful to use the 2015 UNESCO statistics. UNESCO defines international students as "individuals who have physically crossed an international border between two countries with the objective to participate in educational activities in the country of destination, where the country of destination of a given student is different from their country of origin." According to the United Nations, it is estimated that more than four million students traverse the globe to pursue higher education in countries other than their country of citizenship in 2015/2016. This figure has grown exponentially from under one million in 1975 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015).

Countries traditionally sending international students have also experienced a shift in the last decade, with newer countries such as Africa and the Middle East joining the list. Recently, a greater influx of students from the Middle East especially Saudi Arabia and an unprecedented growth of outbound students from Africa. Nigeria, Cameroon, Morocco, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Angola, Ghana, and Algeria has been noticed. African countries have sent around 430,000 international students to France, the U.S, U.K, Germany, Malaysia, Canada, and other countries in 2014 (World Education Services, 2017). Conclusively, global student migration has indeed undergone tangible changes over the last decade or so. These changes to magnitude and pattern of mobile students, their country of origin and their destination countries attest to the growing global shift in needs and motivations of not only the students but various stakeholders including the governments and institutions across the globe.

Amidst the international student population, the refugees and displaced students only occupy a very small share. University world news reported that only 1% of refugees have access to higher education as against a world average of 32%. This yawning gap is gaining traction with the latest Syrian refugee crisis. According

to UNHCR (2015) recorded 65.6 million refugees in 2016, compared to 52.6 million in 2015 and 46.7 million. More than half of those refugees came from Sudan, Afghanistan, and Syria. Syrian refugees totaled around 5 million, while Yemen faced a dramatic escalation in conflict in March 2015 with 2.5 million people internally displaced (IDPs). Similarly, South Sudan recorded 1.8 million IDPs, Democratic Republic of Congo reported 1.6 million, Afghanistan reported 1.2 million, Pakistan and Somalia reported 1.1 million IDPs each. Interestingly, these refugees were resettled in Turkey, Lebanon, Iran, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Countries hosting refugees often don't have strong infrastructure and funding, and their educational set-ups are not built to take on additional burden. Due to lack of courses, faculty, books, and even place to accommodate the enlarging student numbers, the governments in these countries are looking to developed countries to lessen their burden.

The recent changes in immigration laws, the growing differences in the immigration policies towards refugees and asylum seekers have negatively impacted qualified students from accessing American higher education. The shifting views on legal immigration into the U.S. is a case in point. According to Refugee Processing Center in the U.S., around 15, 479 Syrian refugees were admitted in 2016, while the number to plummeted to 3,024 in 2017 to a mere 11 in 2018. These are a direct testament to the U.S. policies and actions. In this context, education for these refugees has inevitably taken a backseat. With the recent executive action by President Trump, the challenges and experiences of university recruiters and refugee students are even more urgent. With the global refugee crisis reaching acute proportions recently, countries worldwide are stepping up to mitigate the losses incurred by the refugees. Resettling refugees is the primary concern for several countries such as Sweden, Germany, and Lebanon.

Why Does Access to Higher Education for Refugees Matter?

A consensus among scholars, educators, and social organizations alike is that education plays an important part in rebuilding a nation. Post-conflict recovery of war-torn regions depends quite significantly on citizens with tertiary education. Rebuilding the economy, resources, social life, and community can be achieved through educating the refugee population by providing them access to graduate education. Hence supporting refugee and displaced students does matter, not only as a humanitarian effort but a step towards peace and security and to save the lost generations.

Furthermore, as a recent policy paper by UNESCO Sustainable development post-2015 highlights, education is a catalyst for development, and low levels of education correlate with conflict, which means that it is critically important to support higher education during and after political disruptions. According to Council of Graduate Education in the U.S., graduate education goes beyond providing students with advanced knowledge and skills: it develops critical thinking skills and fosters innovation. In order to rebuild a conflict-ridden nation, graduate studies could provide necessary skill sets for students to develop their country's future economic and social

growth. UNESCO forecasts a global shortage of 40 million tertiary-educated workers by 2020. Qualified and eligible refugees lack the opportunity to attend a university. According to the Institute of International Education, 100,000 Syrian refugees are university-qualified students.

Current Efforts by Universities

An increasing concern for the enrollment of refugees in higher education had led the United Nations High Commission for refugees to include higher education as a key priority of the 2012–2016 education plan. Acknowledging the crisis, several initiatives were taken on a global scale to accommodate students by sponsoring scholarships and financial aid. The World University Service of Canada (WUSC), IIE Syria Consortium for Higher Education in Crisis, EU Madad Fund, Kiron University, DAAD Germany, Al Fakhoora Program, Scholars at Risk, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, University of York and some Canadian Universities such as The University of Alberta, Western University, in Ontario have all extended financial support to the displaced students from war-torn regions such as Syria and Iraq.

U.S universities have not been actively engaged in reaching out to displaced students and refugees so far. The armchair recruitment model currently being used for international students is not effective for recruiting refugee or displaced students. That traditional approach involves using social media marketing, personalized e-mails, utilizing GRE/TOEFL/GMAT search services, paid agents, and recruitment travel. Since locating and identifying refugee/displaced students is challenging, these recruitment activities yield little or no result.

Sporadic announcements of activities in certain universities to enhance the campus life for refugees can be seen. According to the Lisbon Convention, 2019, Section 7, displaced people without documentation should be given a fair assessment of their qualifications. Both Canada and the U.S. are signatories of the Lisbon Convention. Hence, U.S universities could lend a helping hand to the refugee students and provide them with the much-needed access to graduate education.

Barriers to Access

Current scholarly literature on assessing student experiences in gaining access to higher education is very limited (Amirali & Bakken, 2015). Only a few organizations such as IIE and UNHCR are involved in assessing the challenges faced by these students. Even rarer is research pertaining to the challenges facing administrators in admitting students into graduate studies from these war-torn regions. Few to no published papers on the perspectives of graduate enrollment professionals reaching out to these refugee students from war-torn regions exist ever.

With the growing conflict in several regions, qualified students are being left behind being unable to pursue graduate education. Reaching out to these students amidst conflict and war is challenging for universities. The subject of enrolling refugees and displaced students in graduate studies in higher education institutions has not been addressed sufficiently. In order to enter the U.S. as a student, the refugees must be able to prove that they can speak English, obtain admission to a higher education institution, provide proof of finances to cover the educational costs and obtain a student visa. Access to higher education in the U.S. is indeed challenging as a refugee student, given their living circumstances.

In this context, understanding the challenges faced by graduate enrollment professionals and their perspectives on reaching out to students from war-torn regions is important. In addition, recommendations on improving the outreach would benefit institutions, higher education leaders, and policymakers in devising workable solutions. In-depth interviews with enrollment management professionals in a public institution, a private university, and a community college in Illinois highlighted several key challenges.

Although the importance of education for refugee students is acknowledged by scholars and educators, several barriers do exist to achieve this goal. The first barrier is the cost of bringing a refugee student to enroll in a higher education institution. Access to higher education by refugees from Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey are hindered by financial challenges, high tuition costs, living, and travel costs (Watenpaugh et al., 2013). Reports from the Institute of International Education (IIE) and UNHCR highlight the significance of global academic institutions intervening to enroll the refugee students in graduate studies Syrian young people as only 2% of the Syrian university-age population has enrolled in Turkish universities.

Credentialing

Refugee and displaced students, while fleeing their country, may not have had the chance to carry their official documents that attest to their educational qualifications. Several refugees are subjected to disruptive periods of educations, may have only provincial copies of their diplomas or have even attended schools without accreditation at refugee camps. Institutions operating in war-torn regions may have been destroyed or closed down. In addition, contacting an institution, even if it is open, may cause unnecessary issues for the students and could even be life-threatening. Hence any unofficial documents presented by these students may be both unverifiable or unavailable for verification.

An important part of enrolling refugee and displaced students in graduate education is verifying their credentials. A challenging task for enrollment professionals and is a primary deterrent for universities from engaging in recruitment activities in war-torn regions. Several questions and concerns exist among enrollment professionals on assessing the credentials of students who aspire to study in the U.S. Several

scholars have attested that this poses challenges for both students and administrators equally (Felix, 2016; Loo, 2016; Streitweiser & Taylor, 2016; Tobenkin, 2006).

Although refugees and displaced students often do not carry the documents when they leave their country, this is not the sole issue administrators have to deal with. Each country has their own form of educational document and therefore the lack of uniformity complicates the verification process. Evaluating degrees obtained in Syria or Turkey or Libya are considered challenging among admission officials in U.S. higher education institutions. Not many are trained to evaluate foreign credentials and it is exceptionally challenging if these are in foreign languages like Arabic, Turkish, or French. The Director of Graduate Admissions of a private university mentioned that it is a time-consuming and labor-intensive process. Furthermore, he added that cases like these are referred to credential evaluation agencies. However, most credential evaluation agencies have not had much experience in assessing degrees from these regions.

Policy and Logistics

The primary concern in recruiting refugee or displaced students is access. How to contact these students? How to communicate? Where to find them? Although Internet and social media are available, it is no guarantee that these students have access to the internet. Even mailing the documents is challenging. Usually, the students reach out to the university staff or faculty first. It is never the other way around. Students from war-torn regions such as Iran, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, and so on have applied to the universities themselves. One student from Iran mentioned, "*I searched for schools in Illinois*, *applied and got admitted. Several of my friends are still in Iran. Some of them do not even know that universities accept students.*"

Another student from Syria said, "*I have not seen any US university coming over to recruit students. There are no materials nor brochures to learn about the courses. I contacted an agent who applied for me.*"

Such instances bring out the recruitment deficit in our institutions. Several students are still unaware of the possibilities of life-changing higher education experiences. The graduate enrollment professionals feel overwhelmed by the current international student recruitment that spending time and resources on reaching out to war-torn regions often takes a back seat.

Spending resources on recruiting refugee and displaced students become a business decision. The administrators are pressured to choose between the high return on investment rather than social justice.

> Should I spend on 1 or 2 students from war-torn regions or on 10–20 students from other regions? I have to choose wisely as enrollment numbers are important—Director of Marketing and Recruitment.

> This more of a policy issue and less of resource issue—Director of International Admissions.

> Recruiting students from war-torn regions is not in my job responsibility. It has to come from the University President—Director—International Studies and Programs.

Clearly, policies and leadership in institutions affects refugee student enrollment. It takes strong leadership to set institutional priorities and policies that favor refugee student recruitment. It is evident the leadership is key in empowering enrollment professionals in reaching out to refugee students.

Safety is a valid concern that most administrators voice out as they do not feel safe to travel to war-torn regions or even neighboring countries to recruit displaced students. With political instability, constantly changing conditions, women administrators feel even more insecure to travel. Institutions consider it a liability for personnel to travel to war-torn regions. With airstrikes and bombings, travel to these regions is not favored by institutions.

Visa/Immigration

Admitting an international student in any higher education institution requires English Language certification. For refugee students, language barriers pose critical issues. With Arabic and Turkish language fluencies, it is challenging for even for qualified students to gain admission. Nonetheless, even if they are willing to take the Standardized English Tests such as TOEFL or IELTS, living away from their home country provides distinctive problems in terms of finding testing centers and even providing identification documents.

Security concerns arise when students apply for visa. To an extent, U.S. embassies on foreign soil accept visa applications from refugees. Still, the anti-terrorist sentiment lurking at the backdrop hinders a successful visa application.

The challenges of immigration are rightly summed up by the Dean of Graduate school who points out the changes in immigration laws have affected international student recruitment.

> Admitting students is not a challenge. We are flexible and accept copies of the required documents when originals are unavailable. We will then contact the schools to verify the documents. The real challenge is the visa. With the new immigration policies in the U.S. even recruiting international students from India and China have become a challenge, let alone war-torn regions—Dean of Graduate School.

Research Insight

Despite the Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights urging American institutions to support qualified refugee students, the complex and dynamic political landscape challenges graduate enrollment professionals to reach out to regions away

from their comfort zone. The study revealed issues that face enrollment professionals in recruiting refugee students for graduate studies. In order to expand the access to higher education for refugee or displaced students in conflict regions, we suggest four strategies. Firstly, since connecting with the refugee or displaced students seems unachievable for higher education institutions and security concerns prevent administrators from travelling to these regions as well, partnering with nongovernmental agencies (NGOs) such as UNHCR, IREX, NAFSA in countries hosting refugee or displaced students opens up opportunities for institutions looking to enroll these students. Being largely cut-off from access to education, contacting refugee and displaced students is important. NGOs can act as matchmakers for both students and higher education institutions and for-profit agencies such as INTO, Quad Learning, Shore light Education, and WES do offer enrollment management partnerships and credential evaluation services for higher education institutions.

Secondly, instituting a webpage where motivated students can post their interest and information could offer the much-needed access for higher education institutions to help these students realize their educational dreams. Moreover, institutions might offer their programs, scholarships, and opportunities as well. Establishing a common platform to connect students, higher education institutions and scholarship opportunities would be an easy and simple solution to connect the various concerned parties. Several scholarships exist for refugee or displaced students. Scattered around the globe, students and institutions remain unaware of these opportunities. Consolidating the data on scholarship opportunities is likely to mitigate the most common financial barrier for refugee/displaced students.

Thirdly, administrators can engage potential students by offering conditional admission and English language courses once they enroll. Since institutions do offer these to international students from India, China, and Middle East, this policy should offer the consolation for refugees seeking graduate education. However, visa and immigration issues require intervention from higher education leaders. Collaborating with visa officials, conducting webinars and issuing reports on immigration requirements for refugee/displaced students may potentially alleviate the visa issues for students. Furthermore, organizations such as IIE and NAFSA offer ample resources on immigration as well. Offering potential students right information and advise on approaching visa applications is the need of the hour.

Finally, with regards to document verification and credentialing, admissions officers could resort to online verification resources such as ECE, EducationUSA, compare documents from university archives, consult refugee centers for authentication, and use best practices from other countries. Notably, several European countries have instituted processes to establish the authenticity of educational documents. The European Network of Information Centres in the European Region (ENIC)—National Academic Recognition Information Centres in the European Union (NARIC) was set up in collaboration with the European commission, the Council of Europe and the UNESCO. Using the ENIC-NARIC, admission officials in the U.S. could evaluate the credentials of refugee/displaced students. Such initiatives in the U.S. could be undertaken by the U.S. higher education department to assist university admissions officers

while admitting refugee/displaced students. While verifying credentials, administrators should be aware that each applicant is unique and that university practices must be adapted to accommodate these unique applicants. Being flexible to offer campus placement tests or interviews to determine the qualification of students without any documentation is yet another way to work around the issue. College prep courses at community colleges would be an alternative for those students who have little or no documentation or have taken courses at unrecognized universities. Clearly, American higher education institutions should devise policies to work with students who apply with unavailable or unverifiable documents.

Although enrollment professionals are willing to reach out, the institutional, state and Federal policies render it challenging to offer refugee students access to higher education. They work under immense pressure to increase the enrollment numbers while equity, diversity and social justice suffer. The culture of viewing students as a commodity must change. Rightly put by an Assistant Director—International Studies, "*Recruitment is not the right word to help war-zone students.*" Moving away from "business" decisions, reaching out to deserving students who are suffering, can help bring change not only to them but their families and community. We need leaders who are bold, compassionate and strive for social justice. Transformational leadership that can transform the scene and open doors is the need of the hour.

Conclusion

This chapter was able to provide insight on the refugee population, barriers to identity the refugee population and to recruit them in U.S higher education institutions. Secondly, the research was able to compare armchair recruitment implemented to enroll international students and how optimization of arm chair recruitment could be implemented to identify and enroll refugee students. Finally, recommendations were provided, which could be implemented by U.S higher education institutions to engage and enroll refugee students. If these, recruitment tactics were implemented, we believe that we could be able to help them access quality higher education and develop new future leaders and innovators.

Global refugee crisis is real. The situation shows no sign of alleviating in the near future. With increasing political instability, trauma, and destruction, qualified refugee/displaced students deserve the much-needed respite and hope to build their lives. Higher education must not be a dead-end to this motivated generation. Although riddled with significant challenges, losing homes, loved ones, and their livelihood, these students possess the power to regenerate a new world. Several countries such as Germany, Sweden, and Canada have done tremendous changes to their current educational systems to integrate the refugee students. Resettled refugees in other countries such as Lebanon, Turkey, and Uganda have had less than satisfactory experiences in higher education institutions. Notably, these countries have sought to provide interventions to the best of their ability. Still clear pathways to their higher education remains a dream for refugee students. Disparate efforts to lend a helping hand to

these refugee students, to enable them to return to their countries and rebuild them has been ongoing among several actors including charity organizations, academicians, entrepreneurs, and nongovernmental and governmental organizations. We hope to mobilize these efforts, gain a common understanding of the current efforts, provide the necessary toolkits for higher education institutions to reach out to these refugee students. Our hope is to add to the current efforts of augmenting the access to higher education for the qualified refugee students who deserve it the most.

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Chapter 4
The Accessibility of Global Mobility for Disabled Students

Armineh Soorenian

Abstract As the Western world continues to grapple with the political consequences of Brexit and the rise of right-wing, anti-globalisation politicians such as Donald Trump, creating extreme ideologies that threaten to limit individual and collective freedoms of people to study across borders, there has never been a more urgent time for Western universities to consider how they shape the experience of international students. Especially for disabled international students, the opportunity to spend an extended time residing and studying a wide range of courses in a different country is a valuable life experience. Yet, in the current political and social climate, students who have a greater set of disability or impairment-related needs but have access to limited support are generally overlooked in the university sector, more than they are in auspicious times. This chapter examined and documented the intersectional experiences of a group of 30 disabled international students in British universities. The focus of the project was the interaction of disabled international students' multiple identities, addressing questions such as which barriers are encountered by disabled international students' based on one of their single identities, and which other obstacles are grounded in the multiplicity of their identities. The research demonstrated that disabled international students face many of the same barriers as their disabled domestic peers and non-disabled international counterparts as well as some unique difficulties specific to disabled international students. The chapter will specifically focus on social experiences of this group of students in their university environment.

Keywords Disabled international students · University social activities · Intersectionality · Barriers · Inclusion

Introduction

Set against the background of increasingly negative and dehumanising public dialogue on immigration (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013), instead of making international students feel welcomed guests of higher education (HE) system, they are

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© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2020

U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_4

often made to feel different and suspect. In this hostile policy environment, international students may internalise policy narratives, which construct them as ‘not good enough’, establishing a binary category which opposes ‘the brightest and the best’ against undesirable, risky immigrants unworthy of access to the UK’s social resources such as accommodation, healthcare and travel infrastructure (Lomer, 2018). Being considered a legitimate immigrant, it is expected to ‘contribute’ to society, and not simply drain public resources.

The political context around migration continues to present uncertainties in the area of internationalisation within the Western HE sector in general. Ideally, internationalisation is understood as the integration of international and intercultural dimensions into a range of research and pedagogical projects effectively leading onto an expanded range of international activities for students and academic staff between universities and other educational institutions (Robson, 2011). It is viewed as a means for maintaining global relevance, through both teaching and research, and it has, in fact, become one of the critical objectives for most universities worldwide.

Despite this, restrictive British immigration policies signal a message that international students are not welcome, that national borders are barriers and walls, making access and mobility for all international students difficult. There have been reductions in demand for undergraduate study following the referendum vote, with applications from EU students for entry in 2017 falling by 7% compared with the previous year (UCAS, 2017). The general UK migration policy, as the political manifesto of the Conservative government, has been to drastically cut overall net migration by the tightening of immigration regulations (Lomer, 2018). Following the Brexit vote, in 2016, then the Home Secretary Amber Rudd suggested that student visa numbers could be further restricted (Rudd, 2016). These hostile views towards international students are reflected not just in restrictions on their number, they are also mirrored in highly negative media and public discourses on immigration. Regulatory changes similarly convey national hostility towards international students, triggering fear of discrimination, racism, and limited opportunities to integrate in the host society.

The presence of international graduates in host countries is considered to be only a notable economic advantage. Even as the world becomes more connected and countries more interdependent, nations are not exchanging educational opportunities for one another’s citizens, nor their educational institutions are driven by a desire to contribute to broader global goals of education. Universities increasingly approach internationalisation as business opportunity, a considerable source of income (Graf, 2009) with high financial incentives, which may be promoted to fulfil the desire for precious revenue, whilst raising their attractiveness for ‘the brightest and the best’ students. But economic incentives evidently trump social and humanistic goals, especially because public institutions receive dwindling financial support from public funds.

In relation to internationalisation ideals, disabled and other minority student groups face the brunt of inauspicious political times. The Western HE sector today is largely interested in attracting financially able students who have minimum support needs. Thus, the dangers of blind spots regarding disabled international students are being created or magnified by certain aspects of today’s political climates in

major destinations of international education, as well as the emerging economies of international education that mirrors the lack of humane concerns in that climate.

Although documentation on the specific barriers experienced by disabled international students in British universities is limited, my doctoral research indicated that disabled international students face many of the same barriers as their disabled and international counterparts as well as some unique difficulties specific to their own group. This is set against a background of the HE sector, which is largely interested in attracting financially able students who have minimum support needs.

The term 'disability' is defined here through the social model lens. 'Disability' is considered to stem from the categorisation of disabled people in relation to dominant social and cultural 'ablest' norms, as well as environmental barriers. The concepts 'impairment' and 'disability' are differentiated by recognising that the former term is interpreted as a biological experience, whereas the latter is defined as societal discrimination and prejudice related to a larger injustice issue (Holden & Beresford, 2002). Routed in the individual medical interpretation of disability, British disability scholars argue the phrase 'students/people with disabilities' denies the political or disability identity, which has emerged from the 'Disabled People's Movement' similar to 'Black' and 'Gay' political identities (Barnes, 1992). When used in this context, the term 'disability' refers to a student's medical condition rather than the disabling educational system and/or society at large, confusing the crucial distinction between disability and impairment. Having used the social model epistemology throughout the chapter, I will deploy the language and terminology related to this perspective on disability when discussing the challenges that the international HE system may pose for disabled international students.

For most students, disabled or non-disabled, international or domestic, transition to university life can be a vital move towards forming an independent personal and social identity. That said, compared with their non-disabled counterparts, disabled students have a much more complex nexus of social relations to manage during this transition period. This stage is significantly more important for disabled international students who often have to deal with additional uncertainties regarding an inaccessible new cultural and academic environment.

For disabled students generally, the information and application packs received pre-enrolment may not necessarily be in their preferred format, which inevitably will have an adverse effect on their choice of university and course of study (Madriaga, Hanson, Heaton, & Kay, 2010). The inaccessibility of written material as a major barrier may persist through university life, where information on specific support services, lecture handouts, and exam papers are concerned. International students also face a range of practical challenges, including provision of appropriate information provision (Pringle, Fischbacher, & Williams, 2008). In addition to experiencing these common barriers in accessing general information, the accessibility of specific information and advice on travel and life abroad for disabled international students, and the opportunities for this specific group to participate socially are scarce (Soorenian, 2013).

Most international students experience a degree of culture shock. They are often confronted with problems related to settling in, different forms of communication,

different pedagogical processes, and different relationships with their surrounding community. Disabled international students not only experience this type of differences, but often experience cultural variation in understanding ‘disability’, the level and type of disability-support required and provided, and physical and informational accessibility, which can significantly affect a successful study period (Conway & McDow, 2010).

For students who require high levels of support in their home country, additional financial and personal burdens associated with this support can make the transition even more difficult (McLean, Heagney, & Gardner, 2003). These students may initially feel they must cope on their own without assistance, thus choosing not to disclose the details of their impairments. It must be noted that in the British context, there are no specific governmental grants available for disabled international students’ support needs, who are only allowed to remain in the UK on the condition that they make no recourse to public funds, including such welfare benefits as Disabled Students’ Allowance (DSA) (Soorenian, 2013). Disabled domestic students receive DSA to pay for equipment: specialist hardware/software and specialist furniture; non-medical helpers: sign language interpreters or mobility enablers; and general items or services (Directgov, 2018). This type of discrepancies present in current policy and practice, arguably contributes to the creation of additional barriers and the problematisation of disabled students’ participation in globalised HE. It is, therefore, important to concentrate on practices and structures that ensure participation for a diverse array of students to achieve quality experience and satisfaction. The rest of this chapter will focus on disabled international students’ social life.

This discussion is informed by the findings of a project conducted for my Ph.D. research. Based on my first-hand experience of being a disabled international student in British universities, I conducted a qualitative study with 30 disabled international students in the UK. The difficulties participants faced in their HE settings based on their multiple identities of ‘disabled’, ‘international’ and often ‘mature’ and ‘postgraduate’ students were thus examined.

Method

I used a snowballing method through networking and chain referral techniques in a several national educational organisations to recruit participants. Thirty mature participants with a range of impairments in 11 British universities were recruited. Three of the participants were from Africa, four from Asia, six from the far-East, six others from North America, and 11 from Europe.

To begin with, I used the collective data generation strategy of a focus group with five participants to stimulate and refine topics for the semi-structured interviews. The practical and explorative data collection strategy of semi-structured interviews (three telephone, 12 face-to-face, and 15 email interviews) was chosen because of the

investigative nature of the study. Participants shared their stories about a range of academic and non-academic experiences associated with being a disabled international student in their universities.

During the transcription and analyses of interviews, I deployed pseudonyms to ensure anonymity throughout. To avoid invention or misinterpretation of interviewees' accounts, participants were asked to read the transcripts through and make any changes, additions or exclusions, as they saw fit. I then read the transcripts several times and coded them based on lists of themes and categories, derived from reading previous research findings and reflecting on theory. Data was matched with each theme carefully and double-checked to ensure accuracy.

Analysing disabled international participants' experiences evidenced that their disability-related concerns were often amplified due to various linguistic and cultural needs. The data showed that at times participants experienced discriminatory treatments on the grounds of their single identities of disabled, international, and mature students. They often experienced difficulties due to the intersection of these identities. Yet, isolating a single contributory cause for their marginalisation was difficult, since their disadvantages were seemingly so simultaneous, intertwined and intersectional. By using participants' interview extracts related to their social life, a complex interaction of multiple identities will be explained next, how being 'disabled' and 'international' student, sometimes in isolation, and other times in combination disadvantaged them in a university social setting, which is created often without their needs in mind.

Friends and Acquaintances

The availability of a social network with both staff and students to support individual students is an important factor in their physical and psychological wellbeing, challenging negative effects of stress on health (Jones & Bright, 2001). Sawir, Marginson, Deumert, Nyland, and Ramia (2008) advocate for the creation and sustaining of interpersonal relationships with peers and academic staff through opportunities to socialise in the new culture and allowing international students to rewrite their own cultural map as a beneficial means to combat loneliness. Away from their familiar surroundings and support structures, usually provided by their family and community, friendships are especially significant for all international students, but more so for disabled international students.

However, King (undated) discusses how non-disabled students' attitudes towards their disabled peers can potentially impinge on developing personal and social relationships, specifically with the opposite sex. Whereas integration into the academic sphere may be dealt with, participating in social activities presents more complications, due to variables such as disability-related support needs, inaccessibility of social venues, and interpersonal issues.

Participants talked about the friendships they had formed with both disabled and non-disabled students, and the benefits gained from such relationships. Friends were

an essential support network, assisting participants with specific disability-related needs as well as more general issues. Five participants talked fondly about their closest friends and the everlasting friendships they had made during their studies in the UK. Linda identified the common grounds between her international classmates: ‘I liked the fact that it was culturally diverse, in that sense, I got a feeling from classmates, there was some level of sympathy, and empathy that we were all in the same boat to some degree, more or less’.

Even though participants had friends with a range of nationalities, they talked about their limited opportunities to make friends with British students. They felt that if they wanted to get to know British students, they were obliged to take responsibility for making the friendships work. Graham (2012) reports that international students have difficulty socialising, especially with local students, which can lead to isolation, contributing to such mental health issues as depression. On this subject, according to Equality Challenge Unit (ECU, 2012), for fear of ‘getting it wrong’ and being seen as prejudiced or insensitive, British students are said to find it difficult to discuss matters of ethnicity, religion or cultural differences with their international peers. This was also reflected in the important theme that emerged from Harrison and Peacock’s study (2009), showing lack of interaction and integration between international and UK student populations, which can have a negative effect on international students’ experiences, inhibiting the possibility of cross-cultural learning and interaction, and therefore undermines the potential benefits associated with living and studying on a multi-cultural campus. Especially focusing on today’s global political environment and shifting socioeconomic dynamics, participants considered connections with local communities as yet another means of overcoming loneliness and establishing more stable social networks in order to assist them with learning the local culture and customs.

‘Peer Support’ as a means of receiving encouragement and guidance from other disabled people has afforded disabled people the necessary empowerment to combat negative social attitudes towards their group as well as developing their self-belief and has been recognised as one of disabled people’s ‘Seven Needs’ (Hasler, 2003). When interacting with disabled peers, participants felt a sense of cultural belonging, which enabled them to face their disabling university environment. Vasey (2004) considers one aspect of disability culture to be the shared skills and common interests that disabled people develop in order to live well and communicate with others. Reflecting on this, Ned was able to share the commonalities of disability with his disabled international friends, whilst exploring some cultural differences.

When interacting with their non-disabled peers during the limited opportunities available, participants felt the dynamics at work were nevertheless complex and contradictory. Generally, the non-disabled world holds various paternalistic attitudes towards disabled people, which at best encompass feelings of shame and pity, and at worst include objectification and resentment (Charlton, 1998). Mary experienced this range of attitudes, including being treated as ‘pitiable’ and pathetic, yet inspirational but sometimes she felt being resented. Alice observed that non-disabled students were uncertain how to interact with her: ‘At first, there was some awkwardness… for example, walking down the street and them feeling uncomfortable with the reality

that, as part of its function, my white cane touched things. They thought that when the cane detected an obstacle, that was the same as me "running into it"'.

Barnes (1992: 12) highlights non-disabled people's voyeuristic attitude as 'lewd fascination'. This was demonstrated in Domenic's experience, where he talked about the feeling that non-disabled students were fascinated by his impairments. Five other participants had mixed views on their interactions with non-disabled students, including thoughts of being a burden on the one hand, and as having superhuman, almost magical abilities, on the other, a point discussed by Barnes (1992: 12).

Joseph was affected by different set of attitudes from his non-disabled coursemates, he explained: 'Rather from a distance. Not keen on making contact. Literally keeping distance and not sitting next to you or keeping small talk very restricted'. Other participants with visual impairments were explicitly dissatisfied with these relationships, tentatively suggesting that it was easier for non-disabled students to relate to and befriend students with mobility difficulties than those with other impairments who may have different barriers to overcome. A similar finding was evident in Lee's (2011: unpaged) study, indicating that perhaps treating someone who is as similar as possible to non-disabled people is 'easier or less imaginative than treating someone in relation to their differences'.

Leisure and Social Activities

On a larger scale, the role of leisure in disabled people's lives is the 'essential part of a satisfying life and a primary pathway to love and intimacy in the most meaningful way' (Howard & Young, 2002: 114). Despite this, as a consequence of access, attitudinal, economic, environmental and social barriers, disabled people's ability to participate in recreational pursuits, establishing social contacts and relationships is also severely restricted (Murray, 2004). Here I will document participants' social experiences, including the possibility of their involvement in the university International Student Office (ISO) and Student Union (SU) activities, and the accessibility of the student events, participating in which is central to students' personal and social development.

International Student Office (ISO)

The general role of the ISOs in UK universities is to provide specialist immigration advice along with welcome and orientation support specific to international students' needs (ISO, 2018). Overall 24 of my research participants used the ISO, with most visiting the service mid-way through their stay. The reasons for their visits included seeking advice on immigration issues and obtaining general information about the city. Iris described how the ISO helped her to call the police, when her purse was stolen, as she did not feel confident speaking in English on the phone.

Six participants (one Asian, two European, and three North American) thought the ISO staff were unhelpful. Complaints revolved around the failure to provide specific

advice and support during their stay. Carol (North American) thought the support for international postgraduates was poor and the ISO in her university was mostly equipped to support undergraduate students.

Four participants took part in the social activities organised by this office. Whilst Carol did not approve the way, she was talked down to instructed what time to be back for the bus on a day trip, Norman was satisfied with his visit to the ISO: 'I contacted the ISO to attend a trip to another city that they had organised. Also, I visit the ISO nearly every week for an event. It's a social gathering for international students'.

Nonetheless, as several participants explained, provision of opportunities and the possibility to seize them did not always equate. Two participants with visual impairments did not find the ISO buildings accessible. Due to its complicated layout, Ed mentioned that he needed to be accompanied by a support worker to the building. As Murray (2002: 28) explains the presence of a support worker not only inhibits friendships but also on occasions can cause resentment. Furthermore, the lack of accessible toilets and lifts was a key barrier for students with mobility impairments. Although Tina (wheelchair-user) was happy with the old-fashioned lift installed outside the ISO, she felt awkward ringing the bell for assistance with the lift every time she needed to visit the ISO, which helps to explain why Tina did not visit the ISO on a frequent basis compared with other venues like the SU, discussed next.

Student Union (SU)

The SU organises events and activities, helps students and gives them the opportunity to get involved by volunteering. Similar opportunities include becoming a member of different teams such as the Student Advice and Support Team, or students can set up and run various clubs and societies (SUs, 2018). Twenty-three participants mentioned visiting the SU more than once throughout their university life for shopping, participating in societies, bars and clubs, and obtaining information and advice from the Welfare Centre. When talking about the range of activities in SU, Patrick had a satisfactory experience, he discussed the extent of his involvement: 'The SU is fantastic, it really is good. I volunteered in green action. I did student television—'film society', and then I did the odd thing, like caving, which I wouldn't otherwise have been able to do. I went to theatre productions'.

Yet, similar to ISO, access barriers were also present in the SU. Six participants were critical of the access levels to their SU, which restricted their involvement even in the Disabled Students societies. Murray (2004: 22) describes similar disadvantages: '… environmental obstacles range from outright prevention to the kind of "second-class" access that ensures not only lower levels of enjoyment but also, yet again, reduced opportunity to relate to other… people…' Due to accessibility issues, Kate (with a mobility impairment) was unable to socialise in the SU. She therefore had to modify her social life so that her social activities revolved around venues in a nearby town, outside her university city. This meant that she missed out on participating in university organised activities. Whilst three participants with mobility impairments

complained about narrow and broken lifts, three participants with visual impairments discussed how they were unable to visit their SU independently due to complicated operating lift systems, and fast-moving revolving/heavy doors.

As also identified by Sachs and Schreuer (2011), for six participants (five with physical impairments, and one with a visual impairment), time and energy levels were significant barriers to social life. For these reasons, balancing social life and study was problematic; some had to focus on the studies alone. Lack of disability awareness was another key barrier identified by some participants, five of them discussed the need for the SU staff to receive disability awareness training.

Participants' additional dissatisfaction with the levels of their involvement in the SUs related to their other non-traditional status as 'international', 'mature' and in two cases, 'research postgraduate' students. No gender-related barriers in their social activities were identified. From an international student's perspective, Janet felt that her university SU promoted the binge drinking culture, which she was not part of. Instead she spent most of her time in the coffee shops, studying and socialising. Participants were of the opinion that British students' penchant for the pubs and clubs as the basis for socialisation was not necessarily of interest to many international students. They thought this particular cultural difference made integration and socialisation with local students more difficult.

For these reasons, international students feel that SUs do not provide for their needs and are largely interested in accommodating the traditional, white, undergraduate domestic students' needs (NUS, 2008). Seven mature participants (two African, two Asian, one European, and two North American) felt that for cultural and age-related reasons, they did not belong to the student life and therefore did not wish to get involved in the SU. It appeared that when social activities are focused at younger participants, mature students are deterred from getting involved. For Jenny maturity resulted in stronger study ethics and less social focus.

Though postgraduate students have more flexibility and a degree of control over their time and work (Thomas, 2003), Alice and Angela referred to their general social experiences as isolated. Lack of opportunities to socialise meant that they were invariably relying on random meetings, which was not an ideal way of striking up friendships. This, Angela felt, partly stemmed from the self-directed nature of her Ph.D. studies, and partly because of not having opportunities to be introduced to the other research students when in England.

Given the high cost of living in the UK, lack of funds for socialising, left participants like Iris, Olivia and Patrick, unable to engage in social activities. The significance of this was more than the immediate effects of missing out on 'good times' (Murray, 2004: 21). To have opportunities to build close relationships with other students appeared to be more important for participants like Tanji: 'Due to isolation and no one to take me out, I have started to lead a very lonely life'.

Although participants' social marginalisation discussed thus far appears to be mainly based on their single identity as 'disabled', 'international' or 'mature' students, had they in fact been able to partake in social life, these opportunities may have presented additional barriers based on their other identities. Conversely, participants like Margaret, Ned and Toney's double marginalisation in, or by, their social life is

more relevant here, because this is caused by the confluence of their 'disabled' and 'international' identities.

For Margaret, not only were the physical structures of some social venues inaccessible, but also as an 'international' student, she could not relate to most cultural activities prevalent in her university environment such as the clubbing culture. If either of these barriers were removed, it is unclear whether or not Margaret would have felt more comfortable in facing the next set of barriers. Similarly, communicating in English in a social context was more difficult for Ned due to the unpredictability of topics discussed, and also the excessive usage of slang amongst the student population. This was an additional barrier for Ned, who already faced physical access issues in entering the social venues in SU with his wheelchair.

In today's Western sociopolitical environment, whilst being responsible for their specific cultural adjustment and coping, and acculturation process generally, international university students can encounter discrimination, prejudice and exclusion from the mainstream host society. For Toney, the additional layer of being an 'international' student reinforced the attitudinal-related difficulties he faced as a 'disabled' student in a social context.

Social life is quite bad actually, because if you are a disabled student, it is always hard anyway. But then if they see that you are an international disabled student, they shy off even a lot more, thinking probably you are different.

Being a student entails more than attending lectures and meeting deadlines. With a chance to meet a wide range of students, university life is an ideal opportunity to partake in a wide range of social and cultural activities. Disabled people's access and involvement in leisure have been long considered as one of the main ways of developing acceptance and inclusion in society (Devine & Lashua, 2002). Yet, all the general barriers (e.g. the design, accessibility, layout and location of social facilities) discussed in this chapter reinforced and added to the participants' feelings of social isolation caused by their 'disabled' status. Most dissatisfactions related to barriers in receiving appropriate advice, physical access and staff attitudinal issues present in their ISOs and SUs. Whereas these problems can be generalised to all 'disabled' and 'international' students, six participants experienced unique difficulties, only concerning 'disabled international' students. The cultural and linguistic exclusionary practices in Sus based on the current specific sociopolitical timeframe, as well as difficulties including participants' hesitancy to speak in English, constrained their efforts to be sociable, despite overcoming physical access and attitudinal barriers.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed a range of barriers to disabled international students' social life based on the multiplicity of their identities that an internationalised HE can present. In principle, the study experience abroad should not be seen as a challenging one but as an explorative journey to learn and grow personally, culturally and socially. Considering the significance of social interaction for all students, but specifically

more so for disabled international students, in the current politically hostile environment, there is an urgent need for HE and disability policy makers and practitioners to work towards ensuring that policy and practice on social spaces provided by the internationalised HE ensures accessibility and inclusivity for disabled students.

Universities may, for example, consider providing accessible, inclusive and culturally sensitive social spaces to which a wide range of students, with diverse needs are welcomed and encouraged to be involved in activities that suit their interests, needs and backgrounds. The sports and leisure facilities must similarly be accessible. The ISOs need to provide support and advice for a range of international students including English speaking, postgraduates and/or disabled students. The SUs have to ensure that disabled and international students' needs are better represented, through relevant sabbatical officers, within SU and associations. UK students should also be given opportunities to develop their awareness of diversity issues and understanding of different cultures.

These steps can challenge the irrelevant, discriminatory and exclusionary features of current policy and practice, and bring us closer to promoting advocacy for international social mobility in HE. The effects of improving disabled international students' physical and cultural accessibility needs have direct ramifications for a diverse array of students with a range of minority backgrounds who would benefit from inclusive internationalised practices in education. When students with diverse backgrounds and learning styles interact with 'traditional' students, valuable skills and experiences can be developed and morally driven international education discourses created and reinforced. Ultimately it is in this context that communities are given space to enrich themselves by understanding, respecting and celebrating each other's differences, which is key to our fragmented world.

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Chapter 5
Rethinking Borders: Mobility Learning Participation in the Anglo-Saxon Model of Higher Education in Albania

Indrit Vuçaj

Abstract This inquiry explores learning mobility and integrative participation of graduate students across developing segments in the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education system in Albania. The empirical analysis reveals varying participation factors compared to internationally accepted norms of teaching and learning in Anglo-Saxon model of education system. Two major pillars, (1) fostering research skills for personal and national empowerment and (2) continuous promotion of teaching and learning excellence, inform student participation and learning mobility across cultural contexts. Six clustered themes emerge to provide a framework of cross-examination and help discern similarities and differences for its agents. Contextual settings are delineated, practical implications are discussed, and suggestions for policy are provided.

Keywords Albania · Higher education · Comparative education · Anglo-Saxon · Learning mobility

Introduction

Globalization has presented many challenges for educational institutions, and these differences are especially characterized by the fundamental cultural differences found between the Western and the Eastern education systems. Numerous studies (see Biggs & Watkins, 1996; Liu, Liu, Lee, & Magjuka, 2010; Robinson, 1999; Zhang, 2007) describe the Eastern education systems as based on group work, dominated mainly by the teacher, and centered pedagogically around examinations to define performance without any relevant questioning or challenge to the teacher's authority. On the contrary, the Western education systems foster students to challenge the teacher's knowledge and encourage dialogue and interaction in the learning process. In the realms of globalization, the mobility of students and workers across geographical areas in search of advanced learning and employment opportunities has offered an opportunity for higher education institutions worldwide to seek new education

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_5

models responding and addressing these challenges accordingly in order to remain competitive in the education sector (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016).

Consequently, higher education institutions are reforming college curricula with global-minded perspectives. The new developments of strengthening education institutions with global-minded perspectives stem from the belief that high-quality education is the answer to the ever-changing and unpredictable economic challenges (Eissel & Grasse, 2001). Specifically, Eissel and Grasse (2001) refer to these developments as the links between national education and training systems that enhance cultural knowledge of other cultures and improve general language proficiency. An evident case of similar attempted developments in reforming the national education and training system is Albania; specifically, its continuing pursuits to overcome the chaotic changeover from an Eastern to a Western education and training system in the past 20 years since the fall of Communism in the early 1990s (Vuçaj, 2017, 2018). In pursuit of strengthening the links between multicultural knowledge and language proficiency, higher education institutions around the globe, including those in Albania, are either developing new programs or expanding existing ones to increase mobility and competitiveness of national and international students in ways that help students achieve cultural and language competency. The impact of cultural and language differences among national and international students is particularly significant in graduate education. Liu et al. (2010) suggest that culture plays a major learning role in graduate education, and to help mitigate this issue, instructors need to redesign courses in ways that help remove potential cultural barriers that affect overall learning performance. Thus, learning in a globalized education sector varies in perspective and substance, such as the perceived perspective of benefits toward an education system, and the substance offered by education systems in the monetary terms in the labor market.

Current university education in older economies is helping the expansion of existing and the development of new education mobility programs by replicating newly emerging nations (Castle & Kelly, 2004), and European countries are prioritizing the need for global education (Bista & Saleh, 2014; Vuçaj, 2018). Toward this end, adoption and/or adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon model research practices in university, or at least application of some of its instrumental elements, has become a common practice for many countries (Teichler, 2009; Wang & Wanger, 2011). Albania is one of the countries that has elected to implement a combination of Anglo-Saxon model for its higher education system and a vocational approach for its alignment with the labor market (Vuçaj, 2017). Particularly, since the 1990s, Albania has made remarkable progress in reconfiguring and consequently attempting to modernize its education model in alignment with the Western educational models and practices (Vuçaj, 2018). Despite the progress, Albanian higher education institutions remain largely incapable to compete effectively in the global education (Vuçaj, 2018). It is possible that a deficiency of knowledge transference and a lack of skills mobility positions Albanian students at a serious disadvantage and may have contributed to the inept effectiveness of the education system in the global education arena. As a result, a study investigating the role of Anglo-Saxon model of education system is warranted as it sheds light in understanding how well the Anglo-Saxon model of

education is applied in Albania, and consequently the extent of its perceived success. An examination of this nature reveals its true effectiveness in relation to education systems in Western societies such as Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (U.S.), which is largely considered an international standard of Anglo-Saxon education model to emulate for others (Vuçaj, 2018). If Albanian education and learning institutions are indeed fully capable to successfully implement readily available models from Western nations, it is logical and highly likely to attribute the schism between democratic progress and educational attainment to a lack of comprehensive understanding of the application and the world perspectives offered by the global education.

Generally speaking, strong analytic skills and varying perspectives are the keys of graduate education to succeed globally (Bista & Saleh, 2014). Global education posits a view of promoting a wide range of thinking capable of leading to actionable change (Quittner & Sturak, 2011). The promotion of perspectives leading to actionable change appears to be applied uniquely to Albanian educational institutions. According to Quittner and Sturak (2011), actionable change occurs upon obtaining a wide range of thinking capabilities, which is indicative of learning taking place. In this respect, knowledge acquisition is the genesis to an effective and competitive global education. Thus, provided that global education in Albanian educational institutions is currently subpar to the global education sector (Vuçaj, 2017), it is reasonable to predicate an educational perspective schism between the global developments and the local impact. In light of this notion, the impetus of this study begins by studying the fundamental mobility principles of Anglo-Saxon model of education system in graduate education with Albanian students participating in institutions engaging in global graduate education.

The operating apparatus of Anglo-Saxon model of education system in Albanian is distinctively discerning. The contextual foundation of this study's premise situates Albanian education and training system into an emulating position of the Anglo-Saxon model of education system, and the mobility of students during the reformation reconfiguration of the national education system. The transitional period of communist regime into a democratic society failed to sustain its education and training system, and it produced a series of serious issues in the economic system (Vuçaj, 2017, 2018). As a result, in the past thirty years, Albania has been reforming its education system with borrowed elements from countries with effective education and training models. Consequently, this study positions Albanian education and training system in a continuum of development with borrowed elements from the Anglo-Saxon model of the education system.

Re-examining Knowledge Mobility of the Anglo-Saxon Model of Education System

The Anglo-Saxon model of higher education is vaguely constructed, and it lacks empirical and theoretical foundation support (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016). According to Arthur and Little (2010), the Anglo-Saxon model places low emphasis on the vocational education and focuses mostly on broad educational content with less skills-related content. The success of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university is especially illustrated in countries such as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia that are characterized by liberal market economies (LMEs) and the labor markets are dictated by the competition of employers to attract the most skillful and competent workforce (Vuçaj, 2018). Under this premise, the Anglo-Saxon model of skill formation in LMEs offers and encourages its participants to acquire skills that are marketable and transferable across disciplines (Culpepper & Thelen, 2008; Graf, 2013; Vuçaj, 2018). Generally speaking, countries with a high degree of market coordination are prime examples of implementing the Anglo-Saxon model of education system with a high degree of success. Additionally, they have a series of distinct structural features that discern the effectiveness of preparation of the workforce for the labor market.

The most distinct feature of the Anglo-Saxon model is its unique stratification process of four-year undergraduate degree followed by a two-year master's degree. In light of the literature fissure, Wanger, Azizova, and Wang (2009) and Wang and Wanger (2011) propose a conceptual model representative of the Anglo-Saxon model of education system. This model takes stock of common elements shared among various universities in the Anglo-Saxon countries. This model is particularly successful in the U.S., and it is considered a model of replication for other countries (Vuçaj, 2017). Among many of those shared elements, the following five pillars emerge to present a model constituting the Anglo-Saxon model of research university in higher education: (1) use of English as the lingua franca, (2) a fixed structure of academic programs (*three tier*), (3) curriculum flexibility and stratification of program/institutions, (4) autonomous and decentralizing of higher education, and (5) integration of research in higher education. In 2016, Apanecatl-Ibarra expands the model to include the following sixth element: understanding knowledge as a national capital. This is especially relevant since the cultural approach of learning between Western and Eastern societies differs in substance and context (Vuçaj, 2017, 2018). As a result, the investigation of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university and its impact in Albanian national human capital provides a new dimension of inquiry that takes into consideration not only the original effective elements of Anglo-Saxon model of education system, but also its relationship with the cultural context it is applied.

One of the most prominent models most closely associated with the Anglo-Saxon education model is the inception of the Bologna Accord in 1994 by the European nations (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Vuçaj, 2018), which used the Anglo-Saxon research model for its base in attempting to harmonize and homogenize higher education

systems across Europe (Verger & Hermo, 2010). Other efforts of similar nature have also been documented in Asia (see Havaj, 2008), Central America (see Salgado & Parthenay, 2013), Latin America (see Montoya, 2004), and Africa (Fioramonti & Kotsopoulos, 2015). For the purposes of this study, the definition of Wanger et al. (2009) is taken into account to measure the perspectives of participating stakeholders.

The Albanian Context of Higher Education in Universities

Albanian education system has experienced transformational changes in the past two and a half decades of democracy (Vuçaj, 2015a). Originally stemming chaotically from a communist regime with a coordinated-market economy to a democratic republic with a liberal-market economy, Albania reformed its approach to educational preparation in alignment with the Western societies, influenced heavily by the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education. Despite attempts of drawing best practices from Western societies with successful blueprints of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university, there is no documentation as how well it has fared thus far (Vuçaj, 2017). Additionally, literature supporting the effectiveness of the transition between a coordinated market economy (CME) to a liberal market economy (LME) is largely absent and fairly unknown. Thus, the observation of transitioning factors for Albania is relevant in terms of understanding how its contextual understanding has progressed under the original intended goals of reforming higher education with the Anglo-Saxon model of research university. Although Albania's journey to a successive implementation of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university is long and arduous, one particular landmark gave policymakers a pathway to orient its higher education system in alignment with the Anglo-Saxon model principles.

Most notably, the agreement to join the Bologna system in 2003 pivoted Albania's educational system to align with the European and the international standards. The effectiveness of the Albanian education system joining the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) drew mixed and speculative perspectives. Specifically, Kume and Dhamo's (2013) study suggests that graduate students possessing a graduate degree under the Bologna process are not considered more qualified than candidates who possess similar degrees from a different system. Additionally, Kurti (2012) finds no efficiency or practicality in employing the Bologna system. Lastly, Vuçaj (2015b) maintains that the choice to join the Bologna process may not be indicative of educational intents but rather a political forgiving of good faith to join the European Union as a member-state of the union. Speaking broadly, there is a general consensus that the contextual implementation of the Bologna process in Albania under the Anglo-Saxon education model is nonetheless not only incomplete in terms of understanding its impacts, but rather incapable of fully delivering on its much-praised promise of high-quality mobility excellence.

Other researchers show different findings. For instance, Celo and Dumi (2012) attest to the European accreditation of qualifications international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model as the gold standard to mobility of teaching and research in

higher education. Qefalia and Totoni (2012) show an attempt of strong correlation of the accreditation under the Bologna system and the quality improvement in teaching and research in higher education. Although the aforementioned studies demonstrate different results, it is widely—and consensually—accepted that in spite of progress, Albanian education and research institutions are far from the European and international standards (Mora, Ferreira, Vidal, & Vieira, 2015), but well beyond its first steps toward an Anglo-Saxon-based educational journey. The perspectives of the students pursuing studies and mobility of learning in these institutions are further investigated in this study.

Globalization of Knowledge and Mobility of Learning in Anglo-Saxon Education Model

According to Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016), globalization is making a mark in global higher education. More specifically, an increased competition, larger diversification, focus on knowledge production, stratification of programs and a growing need for student mobility are among some of the globalization impacts in higher education (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016).

The past two decades have produced an abundance of literature addressing issues facing higher education. At a theoretical level, Aboites (2010) and Koirala-Azad and Blundell (2011) address globalization issues from a comparative of national and international perspectives. At the empirical level, studies focusing on the effects of globalization in higher education remain largely unexplored (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016, p. 18). Regardless of the approach, de Wit (2011) encourages researchers to address globalization issues facing higher education. In this regard, this study remains important in addressing certain perspectives that otherwise are empirically unexplored, especially situated in an Albanian education system that is reasonably inferior in quality and competitiveness.

Weber and Duderstadts (2008) and Porter and Vidovich (2000) have noted that globalization is not merely affecting what is being taught but also what is being researched. Research shows that what is researched is an instrumental element of a research university in higher education institutions and for its participating students at varying capacities (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016). Although numerous works address theoretical perspectives of globalization on higher education, a unified stance of institutional approaches addressing practices in higher education institutions is long overdue and yet to come (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016).

Even though literature review suggests a failing higher education system to students' needs that merely addresses the globalization issues in higher education institutions, "many countries… are increasingly taking the Anglo-Saxon model of the research university as a referent model… in becoming global" (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016, p. 21). In a system that seeks to address students' needs for educational purposes, according to Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016), there is a substantial lack of evidence

of the students' perspective regarding mobility and educational shifts in higher education institutions in the Anglo-Saxon education model in higher education. As such, this study aims to generate evidence to supply a glimpse of the perspectives in educational shifts that global knowledge plays in the mobility of learning for students attending higher education institutions.

Transcending Mobility and the Purpose of the Anglo-Saxon Education Model

Despite the widespread literature rhetoric and the referent standpoint for other institutions and programs around world (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016), the Anglo-Saxon education model is surprisingly under-researched from students' perspectives. Besides studies showing some sort of mimicking of certain elements and practices of the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education, Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016) finds no studies that address the students' perspectives on the model itself. Additionally, Vuçaj (2017) finds that the implementation process of the elements of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university in Albania are largely ignored and plainly misunderstood. Hence, this study sheds light and gain insights on the subjectivity of Albanian graduate students on the perceived value of the key elements of the Anglo-Saxon education model in higher education. The research questions guiding the exploration process are (1) *How do Albanian graduate students situate mobility in/and Anglo-Saxon education model in higher education,* and (2) *To what extent does the understanding of Anglo-Saxon education model assist understanding the characterization of participation in the Anglo-Saxon education model.*

The first question seeks to explore the perspectives of Albanian graduate students participating in an Anglo-Saxon model of higher education institution relevant to the Anglo-Saxon model of the research university. The second question seeks to uncover and corroborate and, or potentially, contrast comparatively the Albanian graduate students with international standards as expressed by the perspectives of American graduate students regarding their participation in the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education.

Theoretical and Methodological Approach

This systemic inquiry explores the perspectives of Albanian graduate students participating in the Anglo-Saxon higher education model in Albanian education institutions. A meaning-construction theory fully addresses these personal perspectives. According to Crotty (1998), meaning is constructed in the constructionist view. Toward this end, this study employs constructivism as its guiding paradigm and a constructivist conceptualization to shed light on students' perspectives for the exploration of

subjective meaning toward the Anglo-Saxon model of the research university. Constructivism, according to Tobin and Tippins (1993), allows the discovery of a reality that is known only in a personal and subjective way. The application of a constructivist perspective explores the perceptions of the model in relation to participant's sociological aspects (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016). Among the sociological aspects, this process seeks to uncover are national origin, graduate education context, and the intent of schooling in pursuit of an educational graduate degree. Hence, the conceptual framework guiding this study is the conceptual framework provided by Wang and Wanger (2011) and Wanger et al. (2009), and later expanded by Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016) in which a proposed set of elements conceptually confined as the Anglo-Saxon higher education model. These elements are:

1. Use of English as lingua franca—this element refers to the increasing use of English language as the primary language of academic instruction and publishing research materials (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Hevey, 2013; Smit, 2012; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).
2. A fixed structure of academic programs—this element indicates the structure of academic program whereas bachelor programs incorporate three or four-years, master's programs two-years, and doctoral programs three to five-years (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Leake, 2013; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).
3. Curriculum flexibility and stratification of programs/institutions—this element denotes to flexibility of curriculum in graduate education, enhanced institutional flexibility for student transfer between and to programs and/or institutions, and the rise of university rankings affecting student's decision in pursuing a program to a particular institution (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Davies & Zarifa, 2012; Knutson et al., 2014; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).
4. Autonomous and decentralization of higher education—this element is indicative of students' autonomy to own learning and the ability of universities to grant degrees and deliver educational services with minimal government interference (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; O'Donnell, Chang, & Miller, 2013; Overall, Deane, & Peterson, 2011; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).
5. Integration of research in higher education—this element empathizes the production of knowledge and the publication of scholarly research (Aboites, 2010; Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Leake, 2013; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).
6. Understanding knowledge as a national capital—this element characterizes understanding and knowledge in higher education as a private and public good (Apanecatl-Ibarra, 2016; Sellar & Lingard, 2014; Taylor & Judson, 2011; Wang & Wanger, 2011; Wanger et al., 2009).

As it pertains to the methodological approach, this inquiry seeks to understand what perspectives Albanian graduate students hold pertinent to the Anglo-Saxon education model in the higher education system in Albania. In addition, this study seeks to examine and discern differences and similarities in participation considerations. Participants of this study attend graduate programs in the field of education in

teaching and research universities in Albania. The university selected for this study is categorized as state public university and comparable in educational activity as in the classification guidelines laid out by the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education framework. The selection of a university in similar strata and status with similar characteristics compared to its peers on a global scale, not only ensures, at minimum, institutional representativeness for study purposes, but also increases the credibility and the validity of population sample on an institutional level.

The population sample selection of the participants is consistent in criteria and equal in size. Participants are selected using a convenience sampling strategy in which they are enrolled in a graduate education program in Albania, have completed an undergraduate degree, are fluent English speakers, and attend large teaching and research public university. The selection criteria are particularly relevant for Albanian students since Albania's native language is Albanian and English is an acquired language. This posits a limitation and an advantage. The advantage is that students that possess English language skills are likely to understand and accordingly participate more widely than their peers who do not possess such skills. The ability of possessing English skills is particularly advantageous in increasing the credibility of participant responses, and consequently provide more reliable and meaningful data points to compare. A disadvantage of selecting only those Albanian students that possess English language skills may disregard other participating members in research university and may not fully represent accurately the desired population. Despite this limitation, however, the Anglo-Saxon education model of higher education suggests the use of English as the main language of participation in academic and research settings. Thus, it is reasonable to take into consideration as accurate more likely than not students who possess English language skills over those who do not.

Participants were asked to answer a total of 42 items. Data is collected using a Q set instrument containing 36-item statements (ranked on a Likert scale 1 = Least Likely to 5 = Most Likely) that represent six core elements of the Anglo-Saxon model of research education as aforementioned earlier in this work. Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016) developed the instrument by utilizing a Q methodology design and granted permission for use in this study. In addition to the main instrument, 6 items asked participants to self-identify common demographics for an enhanced description of the data during the analysis process.

The survey instrument was administered with prior appropriate permission. An approved consent form asked each participant to provide permission to partake in the study. Only participants that provided a consent form were able to participate in the study. Data was collected from a convenient sample size population for analysis purposes. While the convenience sampling technique is limited only to those participating graduate students, it is nonetheless a credible and highly useful technique in similar studies, especially when participants attend institutions of similar categorization and with similar characteristics to their peers around the world. The survey was administered on paper due to a lack of technological infrastructure that permits large data collection. Data was collected and secured in accordance with granted permission guidelines. Jeffreys' Amazing Statistics Program (JASP) was used to analyze

the quantitative data. The instrument's internal reliability of the 36 items measuring the perspectives of students was checked to reinforce the reliability of the scale. The instrument's Cronbach's alpha was found to be 0.92 as observed by the collected data. The instrument had a mean of 3.43 ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.52$). The instrument aimed to explore the perspectives of Albanian graduate students participating in the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education and identify patterns of converges among their perspectives. The exploratory factor analysis played an instrumental role in identifying these perspectives. The use of this analysis approach allows researchers to explore unknown areas of perceived differences and similarities and report them as such, which is the intent of this study altogether. Additionally, descriptive statistics provided the means to integrate with a one sample *t*-test analysis to help identify statistically significant differences and the extent of these differences. Moreover, a methodological approach of this nature allows the exploration of a variety of subtle differences that otherwise would not be possible to discover. These differences are explored numerically and provide empirical foundation to understanding how the perceived education model plays a role in their ability to pursue further education. The data analysis progression is described, explained and provided in the following section for discussion and interpretation purposes.

In terms of limitations, the methodological approach of this study may overlook a series of perspectives and factors that are discoverable qualitatively and otherwise ignored numerically. Despite this limitation, the study focuses narrowly in examining the role of already established perspectives, and consequently, does not seek to reveal unknown ideas pertinent *to* the model itself, rather than *for* the model that is already existent in place. Additionally, a potential limitation is the correlation and causation approaches to data interpretation. However, the results of this study are interpreted carefully by inferring claims that are meaningful and supported empirically from the data analysis process. Subsequently, relationships are cross-examined and cross-compared among the participating groups. This process is not only documented in details, but it is also cross-examined extensively, including each individual relationship. Although these methodological limitations present a challenge, the methodological approach is nonetheless geared toward its aims of investigating the domain under inquiry, and ultimately respond sufficiently to the research questions in this study. The following section discusses the results of this inquiry and attempts to answer the research questions, which is the main purpose of this study.

Findings and Interpretations

The study commenced with unassuming relationships. Thus, data collected from the Albanian students was treated independent and without biases. In this respect, the analysis process originated exploratory in nature. The approach to the analysis process began as exploratory intending to provide a valid and reliable account of participants in ways that are understandable and storytelling to the reading audience.

Hence, an exploratory analysis process followed with factorial analysis and interpretation in combination with basic demographic data. Data was analyzed to produce usable results that help answer research questions. The collected data provided a narrative pertaining the graduate research education in the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education system. The analysis began with basic demographic data, and then factorial analysis attempted to shed light on the factors associating relationships, and ultimately perspective variances within those perspectives.

The Characteristics of Participants

Basic demographic data was categorized to provide an overall picture of participants as well as their demographic background. A total of one hundred and twenty-five participants ($N = 125$) completed the survey. The population sample comprised of 69.6% females ($F = 87$) and 30.4% males ($M = 38$). Thirty-seven (29.6%) participants were over 35 years old, twenty-eight (22.4%) participants were between 26 and 35 years old, thirty (24%) participants were between 23 and 25 years old, twenty-seven (21.6%) participants were between 18 and 22 years of age, and no participants under 18 years old. Three (2.4%) participants chose not to disclose their age range. In regard to discipline orientation and enrollment in graduate education, fifty-seven (45.6%) participants are enrolled in education degrees, four (3.2%) participants in natural sciences, fifty-seven (45.6%) participants in social sciences, three (2.4%) participants in other disciplines, and there were no participants in information technology (IT). Four (3.2%) participants declined to provide a discipline orientation. As it pertains to marital status, forty-five (36%) participants marked married, sixty-seven (53.6%) participants marked single, eight (6.4%) participants marked divorced, zero marked widow, and two (1.6%) participants marked other. Three (2.4%) participants left their marital status unmarked. The data on marital status was collected to explore any potentially unknown relationships between married students as part of enhancing data credibility and its reporting. No relationships were found among students on this particular category. In terms of racial identification, two (1.6%) participants identified as African American, one hundred (80%) participants identified as white, five (4%) participants identified as Asian, four (3.2%) participants identified as Hispanic or Latino, and ten (8%) participants identified as other. Four (3.2%) participants declined to identify racial identity. It is important to note that Albania is homogenous in great lengths, thus, the racial identity of Albanian graduate students is greatly overrepresented as white (100%). While this may not be a concern in relation to the perspectives of the participants expressed, it is relevant to point out in attempts of data integrity. In relation to employment status, forty-four (35.2%) participants recorded salaried, six (4.8%) participants recorded self-employed, seven (5.6%) participants recorded out of work and looking for work, two (1.6%) participants recorded out of work and not looking for work, sixty-three (50.4%) participants recorded full time students, and there were no records of retired or unable to work students. The employment status for three (1.6%) participants is unverified. At the

time of participation and expressed in mobility terms, all Albanian graduate students resided in Albania, which means they are participating purely in the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education as implemented by their institution.

The Perspectives of Participants

After a series of analysis, a narrative of perspectives of the Albanian students emerged to explain participant perspectives. An account of differences between groups is provided to help discern the differences and similarities between the international standards and the Albanian students. The conceptual framework of this study confines the elements of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university. These elements are (1) use of English as the primary language, (2) a structure of academic programs, (3) curriculum flexibility and stratification of programs/institutions, (4) autonomously operated and a decentralized system of higher education, (5) integration of research, and (6) understanding knowledge as a national capital. The data gathering instrument used in this study is built around this conceptual confinement, which means that instrument items collect information pertaining to each pillar of the framework. In essence, a series of items either correlate or contribute substantially in understanding a particular aspect of the perspective presented by the participants. Thus, it is only logical to assume correlation between variables and perform an oblique promax rotation of the factor analysis. The analysis of two research questions is performed using an oblique promax rotation. The following first research question warrants an answer explaining the perspectives of Albanian graduate students in Anglo-Saxon model of research university.

RQ1: How do Albanian graduate students situate mobility in/and Anglo-Saxon education model in higher education?

The first research question is best answered by exploring the perspectives of Albanian graduate students in emerging themes as evidenced by an exploratory factor analysis. A parallel exploratory factor analysis is conducted, and the results are presented in Table 5.1.

The exploratory parallel analysis revealed that Albanian graduate students hold two main perspectives toward the Anglo-Saxon model of research university; one, acquiring research skills for personal and national empowerment, and two, the model of a research university promotes mobility of learning and teaching excellence. Specifically, it appears that Albanian graduate students conceptualize the Anglo-Saxon model of research university as: (1) an autonomously operated and independent hierarchical-structured apparatus, free of government intervention with a strong emphasis on developing and evidencing competitive research skills through academic publications that ultimately fosters individual empowerment at an individual level and economic competitiveness at national level; (2) a flexible and effective generator of learning, occurring in English-spoken and written curriculum by using dynamic teaching modes culminating with the generation of new knowledge as documented

Table 5.1 Component loadings expressing the perspectives of Albanian graduate students

Items	Research for personal and national gain	Promotion of learning and teaching excellence
A dissertation is required in all doctoral programs	–	0.738
A low number of hierarchical levels in the institutions makes functioning easier	–	0.592
Academic reading and writing in English is required	–	–
Contributes to the national economy	0.727	–
Creates new knowledge	–	0.627
Degrees are awarded without government interventions	0.561	–
Distance education is a common practice	0.710	–
Due to the diversity of programs and institutions there is great competition among them	0.721	–
English as a second language for foreign individuals is required	–	0.685
English is the language of publication	–	–
Generates personal and social empowerment	0.600	–
Getting a degree implies having experience in research	–	–
Grants degrees following a hierarchy	–	–
Has a higher emphasis on research than on teaching	0.513	–
Has an effective way of teaching	–	0.808
Institutions are stratified by academic excellence	0.729	–
Institutions foster students' research skills	0.804	–
Institutions operate in a highly decentralized decision-making environment	–	0.547

(continued)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Items	Research for personal and national gain	Promotion of learning and teaching excellence
Instruction is given exclusively in English	–	0.674
Integration of theory, research and practice is common in teaching	–	–
It is easy to transfer from on institution to another	–	–
Learning of languages other than English is not encouraged	–	–
Legal regulations are minimal	−0.558	–
Multidisciplinary academic work is a common practice	–	–
Programs include required and elective courses	0.696	–
Promotes autonomous learning	–	0.531
Promotes higher education as a launch platform for job market	0.513	0.530
Promotes publication of research	0.791	–
Provides dynamic ways of teaching and learning	–	0.650
Provides high levels of autonomy	0.833	–
Reading materials in languages other than English are not included	–	–
Research is incorporated in all teaching activities	0.630	–
The academic structure is very demanding	–	–
The curriculum is flexible because it has no prerequisite	–	0.507
The hierarchical structure of degrees takes too much time	0.524	–
There is no significant difference between undergraduate and graduate levels	–	–

Table 5.2 Perspectives of Albanian graduate students toward the Anglo-Saxon model of research university

Fosters research for personal and national empowerment	Promoter of learning and teaching mobility excellence
Contributes to national economy	Requires dissertation in doctoral programs
No government intervention	Easier hierarchical functioning
Foster distance education	Helps create knowledge
Diverse and competitive	Requires english for foreign-language speakers
Generates personal and social empowerment	Effective teaching
Emphasizes research over teaching	Decentralized institutional decision-making
Institutionally stratified	Exclusive instruction in english
Fosters research skills	Promotes autonomous learning
Few legal regulations	Education as preparation for labor market
Inclusive of required and elective courses	Dynamic means of teaching and learning
Promotes education for the labor market	Flexible curriculum
Encourages publication	
Autonomous	
Incorporates applied research	
Degree structure is time consuming	

by writing a required thesis or dissertation. Table 5.2 delineates the factors that are characterized by two previously mentioned factors.

In essence, the Albanian graduate students find the Anglo-Saxon model of research university dynamic and integrative of teaching and research to both learning and the labor market. The following research question seeks to explore in more depth the participation in the Anglo-Saxon education model.

RQ2: To what extent does the understanding of Anglo-Saxon education model assist understanding the characterization of participation in the Anglo-Saxon education model.

Understanding more succinctly the characterization process of participation reveals a greater comprehension and doing so requires analysis of the population characteristic means. That is, the comparison of means at 95% confidence level allows to infer statistically significant differences on relevant perspectives of the

Anglo-Saxon model of higher education. Generally speaking, an independent sample *t*-test analysis suffices. However, the analysis presented here goes into more depth by analyzing the mean of each variable and compare it to a separate set of data collected in a U.S. teaching and research university under different set of circumstances and it intends to serve as the international standard of Anglo-Saxon education model of the application of the Anglo-Saxon model of education system (a.k.a. "the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model"). An analysis process of this nature not only enhances the credibility of data and the validity process of measurement, but also ensures the reliability of data measured as a whole (pair to pair) and individually (variable to variable). This process is repeated thirty-six (36) times independently and manually by employing thirty-six (36) one sample *t*-test analysis for greater details and enhanced interpretation purposes. Although this process is tedious and laborious, the results provide a comprehensive understanding on each particular perspective.

Generally speaking, one sample *t*-test analysis reveals that the perspectives differ significantly. The analysis presented the following support for this claim. The following results provide a statistically significant understanding of each construct and suggest the depth of difference as delineated in the following six clustered themes.

Understanding of Knowledge as National Capital

The following Table 5.3 presents the data one sample *t*-test analysis differences of Albanian students compared to the test value of international standards.

Table 5.3 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	*p*	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
Creates new knowledge	6.559	50	<0.001	0.772	3.881	4.354
Has an effective way of teaching	6.413	50	<0.001	0.682	3.845	4.272
Promotes higher education as a launch platform for job market	8.303	50	<0.001	1.114	3.77	4.309
Provides dynamic ways of teaching and learning	3.724	50	<0.001	0.476	3.488	4.002
Contributes to the national economy	8.273	50	<0.001	0.898	3.586	4.022
Generates personal and social empowerment	7.522	50	<0.001	0.941	3.788	4.291

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

As it pertains to creating knowledge, one sample *t*-test analysis suggests that the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university are statistically significant of producing more knowledge than Albanian students by approximately 0.8 scoring level point. Stated differently, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model have firmer perspectives on knowledge creation. In terms of teaching, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model show that teaching is statistically significant more effective by approximately 0.7 scoring level point, which indicates that teaching is more effective in the educational institutions that the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model are accordingly applied compared to the educational institutions that Albanian students participate. In the labor market, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model foster skills for the labor market by a statistically significant approximate 1.11 scoring level. In this aspect, this is a particularly significant difference by over one scoring level suggesting that the Albanian students may view education purpose other than in service of employment and usable skills for the labor market. Scoring differences are also reported for dynamic ways of teaching and learning, whereas the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model hold statistically significant differences with the Albanian students by approximately 0.5 scoring level, suggesting that learning in Albania may be significantly less dynamic and consequently less effective. In regard to contributions to national economy, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model show the Anglo-Saxon model of higher education as an important contributor to national economy by approximately a 0.9 statistical significance scoring level. This is ancillary to the previous differences in which the Albanian students value less education system as a means of acquiring skills useful in the labor market that help contribute to the national economic system. Lastly, in attempts of generating empowerment, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model are in statistically significant contrast with the Albanian students on the perceived effects of generating personal and social empowerment statistically significant by 0.9 scoring level less for the Albanian students. In drawing a broad conclusion of understanding knowledge as national capital, data suggest that the Albanian students tend to value less than normally accepted international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model relating to knowledge acquired in the Anglo-Saxon model of research universities more likely by a statistically significant 0.82 scoring level average mean ($M = 0.82$). In sum, the Albanian students perceive the intents of graduate education as a lower contributor to the national workforce.

Use of English as the Lingua Franca

Table 5.4 presents the one sample *t*-test analysis of the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model measured against the test value of the Albanian students.

Table 5.4 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	*p*	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
Instruction is given exclusively in English	17.74	50	<0.001	1.813	4.344	4.754
Learning of languages other than English is not encouraged	0	49	1	0	2.29	3.03
English is the language of publication	16.32	50	<0.001	1.504	4.462	4.832
Reading materials in languages other than English are not included	7.036	49	<0.001	1.227	3.55	4.25
Academic reading and writing in English is required	16.49	50	<0.001	1.422	4.513	4.86
English as a second language for foreign individuals is required	9.806	50	<0.001	1.171	4.172	4.652

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

In classroom instruction, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model show a higher statistically significant score of 1.8 scoring level than the Albanian students. This means that the Albanian students see instruction of the Anglo-Saxon model not *strictly* instructed in English. As for learning a language other than English, the Albanian students appear to reconcile with global norms as there is no statistical significance showing difference of perspectives. In terms of publications however, the Albanian students score lower on the perspectives of the language of publications by approximately a statistical significance of 1.5 scoring level, a suggestion that scholarly work can occur in languages other than English. There is a statistical significance on the exclusion of reading in a language other than English. Specifically, the Albanian students score lower than international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model by approximately 1.2 scoring level. Such scoring level provides insights to the variety of language exposure for the Albanian students to other languages except English. Furthermore, there are statistical significances between the Albanian students and international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model requiring academic reading and writing in English. Specifically, the Albanian students score lower than the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model by approximately a 1.4 scoring level, suggesting that the Albanian students believe less in English as the required academic reading and writing language. Finally, the Albanian students appear to perceive English *not* as a language requirement for graduate studies by approximately a statistically significant 1.2 scoring level. Data

reveals that the statistical significance of the mean average of the international students of compared to the Albanian students is approximately 1.35 scoring level ($M = 1.35$). Practically speaking, this is an expected observance knowing that English is the official language of the Anglo-Saxon model of the education system as well as the commonly spoken and written language in the Anglo-Saxon countries, whereas the Anglo-Saxon model of education system in Albania uses Albanian as primary language.

Structuring of Academic Programs in 3-Tiers

Table 5.5 introduces the data resulting from the one sample *t*-test analysis for the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model measured against the test value of Albanian students.

The Anglo-Saxon model of research university has a different configuration compared to other unique higher education models. The differences vary in this aspect as data suggests. There is a statistical significance between the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model and the Albanian students in granting degrees based on a hierarchal scale. Compared to the Albanian students, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model suggest degree granting following a hierarchy by

Table 5.5 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	*p*	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
Grants degrees following a hierarchy	3.393	50	0.001	0.535	3.35	3.983
Programs include required and elective courses	18.08	50	<0.001	1.703	4.36	4.738
The academic structure is very demanding	10.57	49	<0.001	1.311	3.831	4.329
A dissertation is required in all doctoral programs	8.977	49	<0.001	1.064	4.222	4.698
There is no significant difference between undergraduate and graduate levels	−4.917	50	<0.001	−0.636	1.525	2.044
The hierarchical structure of degrees takes too much time	0.651	50	0.518	0.116	2.701	3.416

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

a 0.5 scoring level. This is attributed to fewer years of attendance for the Albanian students attending studies in higher education. Statistical differences are also found in programs with required and elective courses accompanying the granting degrees. The Albanian students score statistically significant lower by a 1.7 scoring level compared to the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model. In terms of institutional structure demands, there is a significant difference of 1.3 scoring level between international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model and Albanian students, suggesting that the Albanian students see the structure less demanding than the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model in pursuing studies at an Anglo-Saxon education model university. This is unsurprising knowing that data suggest that Albanian students do not view dissertation as a requirement for doctoral studies by a 1.1 scoring level. In pursuit of undergraduate and graduate studies, there is a sharp and statistically significant contrast between the Albanian and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model. The Albanian students view graduate and undergraduate studies as no significantly different by a 0.6 scoring level. Ultimately, the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model and the Albanian students have no statistical differences about the time required in hierarchical structure of degrees. The statistical significance means for the Albanian and international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model is 0.68 scoring level ($M = 0.68$). The significant statistical difference between international standards and the Albanian students is 0.68 scoring level, suggesting that the Albanian students hold weaker perspectives of likelihood of structured 3-tier academic programs.

Flexibility of Curriculum and Growing Stratification of Programs/Institutions

Table 5.6 presents the findings stemming from one sample *t*-test analysis measuring perspectives of the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model as tested against the perspectives of the Albanian students.

Curriculum flexibility and growing stratification are discussed here as there is statistical difference between the two groups in this category. In terms of curriculum flexibility, there seems to be a statistical significance by approximately 0.5 scoring level, suggesting that the Albanian students seem to believe in the rigidity that curriculum offers due to no prerequisites compared to the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model that suggest curriculum may offer flexibility in part of the lack of prerequisites. Institutional mobility appears no statistically significant for the Albanian students. Distance education however seems statistically significant for the Albanian students by a 0.4 scoring level compared to international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model, suggesting that the Albanian students view distance education in less likelihood than suggested international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model. Stratification of institutions by academic excellence appears also to be statistically significant. The Albanian students seem to identify the likelihood of institutional stratification of academic excellence by an approximately 0.5 scoring level compared to the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education

Table 5.6 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	*p*	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
The curriculum is flexible because it has no prerequisite	−3.543	50	<0.001	−0.549	1.924	2.546
It is easy to transfer from on institution to another	−1.127	50	0.265	−0.182	2.402	3.049
Distance education is a common practice	3.279	50	0.002	0.392	3.191	3.672
Institutions are stratified by academic excellence	3.918	50	<0.001	0.549	3.444	4.007
Multidisciplinary academic work is a common practice	2.23	47	0.031	0.313	3.031	3.594
Due to the diversity of programs and institutions there is great competition among them	3.975	50	<0.001	0.494	3.417	3.916

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

model, suggesting that academic excellence prioritizes less institutional approach to stratification and the way meritocracy is delivered beyond students. In terms of multidisciplinary academic work, the Albanian students seem to consider multidisciplinary academic work less as a common practice statistically significant by a 0.3 scoring level compared to the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model, suggesting that Albanian students may be less likely to integrate academic work with common practice than the suggested international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model. In regard to diversity and competition, there is a statistical significance whereas Albanian students are less likely to identify diversity of programs with great competition by an approximately 0.5 scoring level than suggested international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model, thus offering insights on two dimensions: one, that the Albanian students are less likely to see diversity of programs valuable, and two, the diversity of programs generates less competition. This is hardly surprising knowing the homogeneity composition of Albania. The statistical significance mean for curriculum flexibility and program/institution stratification is approximately 0.17 scoring level ($M = 0.17$). Summarized briefly, the Albanian students see the Anglo-Saxon model of research university less likely to mirror a flexible curriculum with a growing stratification at the program and institutional level.

Promotion of Autonomy and Decentralization of Higher Education

Table 5.7 delineates the measuring results of the Albanian students' perspectives against the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model.

Generally speaking, the Albanian students seem to view the autonomy and the educational decentralization along the same veins of thoughts. In terms of autonomy levels, there is no statistical significance between the Albanian students and commonly accepted standards. However, in terms of degrees being awarded with no government intervention, there is a statistical significance by an approximately 0.6 scoring level, suggesting that the Albanian students seem to view degree award far more dependent on government intervention requiring government intervention. Additionally, there is a statistical significance between two groups in perceived legal regulations, in which the Albanian students view minimal legal regulations by an approximately 0.4 scoring level as less likely occurring in Anglo-Saxon model of research university. This data suggests and is congruent with perspectives that fewer regulations make common sense in producing less intervention from the government. In regard to decentralization of decision-making, data suggest no statistical significance between perceived perspectives on institutional decision-making. Conversely, promotion of autonomous learning seems less in the agenda of the Albanian students. Specifically, there is a statistical significance of an approximately 0.7 scoring level for

Table 5.7 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	p	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
Provides high levels of autonomy	2.001	48	0.051	0.266	3.345	3.88
Degrees are awarded without government interventions	3.728	49	<0.001	0.62	3.286	3.954
Legal regulations are minimal	2.848	49	0.006	0.412	2.829	3.411
Institutions operate in a highly decentralized decision-making environment	0.42	50	0.676	0.059	2.68	3.242
Promotes autonomous learning	5.501	49	<0.001	0.742	3.509	4.051
A low number of hierarchical levels in the institutions makes functioning easier	0.998	48	0.323	0.155	2.707	3.333

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

the Albanian students suggesting that the Albanian students believe at a weaker rate that the Anglo-Saxon model of research university promotes autonomous learning. As for operational intents, there is no statistical significance. In essence, all students view the low number of hierarchical levels as contributors to easier functioning institutions. Despite large shared perspectives on the role that the Anglo-Saxon model of research university plays in promoting autonomy and decentralization of higher education, the Albanian students favor less the perspectives on this topic by a statistical significance mean of 0.35 ($M = 0.35$), suggesting that the Albanian students share mostly similar perspective in the global arena with their peers, yet the Albanian students believe slightly less on the impact of the likelihood model.

Integration of Research into Higher Education

In Table 5.8, data shows the results of a one sample *t*-test analysis comparing the perspectives of the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model as measured against the test value of the Albanian students.

Research and its integration into the higher education model is not an important aspect for the Albanian graduate students. There is strong evidence suggesting that research remains fundamental in teaching in particular and in higher education in general. In incorporating research in all teaching activities, the statistical significance

Table 5.8 One sample *t*-test mean comparison of the perspectives between Albanian graduate students and the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model

	t	df	*p*	Mean difference	95% CI for mean difference	
					Lower	Upper
Research is incorporated in all teaching activities	2.512	50	0.0015	0.393	3.117	3.746
Institutions foster students' research skills	4.626	50	<0.001	0.608	3.54	4.068
Promotes publication of research	6.209	50	<0.001	0.927	3.759	4.359
Has a higher emphasis on research than on teaching	6.277	50	<0.001	0.947	3.501	4.107
Getting a degree implies having experience in research	4.219	50	<0.001	0.632	3.581	4.183
Integration of theory, research and practice is common in teaching	5.98	50	<0.001	0.739	3.732	4.229

Note Student's *t*-test. For all tests, it is specified that the actual population mean is different from each respective expected mean

suggests that the Albanian students rate the likelihood of research in teaching by an approximately 0.4 scoring level lower than international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model, indicating that the Albanian students find it less likely for the Anglo-Saxon model of education to integrate research and teaching. Institutional perspective is also statistically significant. Specifically, the Albanian students find the model less likely to encourage institutions foster students' research skills by a 0.6 scoring level lower. In addition, the Albanian students are statistically significantly less likely to find the Anglo-Saxon model of research university promote publication of research by an approximately 0.9 scoring level. Corollary to the same view, the Albanian students view a lower emphasis on research than teaching compared to the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model by a statistically significant 0.9 scoring level, presenting evidence that the Albanian students may rely at a smaller rate on research than their peers. Furthermore, the perceived view of degree and research experience appears to be statistically significant by a 0.6 scoring level, demonstrating that the Albanian students view the model as less likely to consider a university degree as a research experience. Lastly, there seem to be a statistically significant difference by an approximately 0.7 scoring level between the international standards of Anglo-Saxon education model and the Albanian students viewing integration of theory, research and practice in all teaching activities. The difference in perspectives signifies that the Albanian students are less likely than their peers to associate theory, research and practice in teaching at an Anglo-Saxon model-oriented research university. The statistical significance mean for the integration of research into higher education is approximately 0.68 ($M = 0.68$), proposing that the Albanian students view the Anglo-Saxon model of research university less likely to integrate research in higher education.

In summary, data analysis finds differences in perspectives between the Albanian students and the international Anglo-Saxon norms as expressed below in six emerging clustered themes. These differences are attributed to perceived perspectives of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university. These differences and the statistical significance value of each clustered theme is presented visually in the following Fig. 5.1.

Generally speaking, the perspectives of the Albanian graduate students differ from the perspectives of their peers as evidenced in international standards by application of U.S. graduate students in each measured clustered theme category at varying rates. The least statistical significance difference occurs in the Flexibility of Curriculum and Growing Stratification of Programs/Institutions category, which indicates that the Albanian graduate students largely perform at par and agree upon the likelihood of flexibility and the stratification that the Anglo-Saxon model of research university offers to students. The most statistical significance difference appears to be on the Use of English as the Lingua Franca, which indicates that the Albanian students are far less likely to identify English as the essential language for the Anglo-Saxon model of education system. This result is certainly acceptable to a certain degree provided that Albania's primary and official language of instruction is Albanian, and English is considered an acquired language in the curriculum. The following section

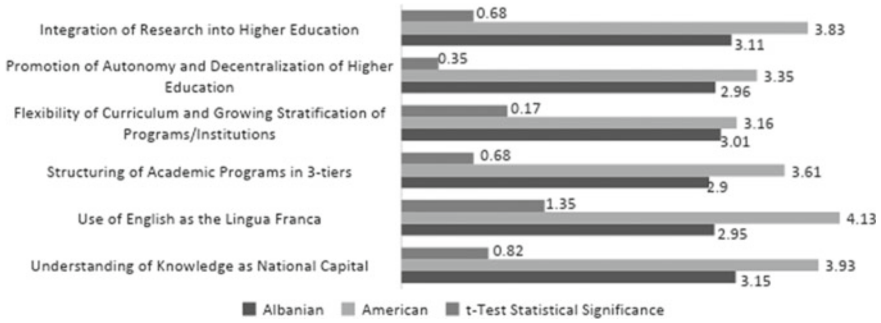

Fig. 5.1 One sample *t*-test of mean differences for international standards and Albanian graduate students

discusses the importance of these findings and provides further contextualization for the findings as well as it provides further research direction.

Conclusion and Discussion

The study aimed to explore the perspectives of the Albanian graduate students participating in the Anglo-Saxon model of education system in Albania. Despite the lack of empirical studies comparing the perceived perspectives of the Anglo-Saxon model of research university, the findings of this study are congruent with categorized findings in Apanecatl-Ibarra (2016) emphasizing the preeminence of the key elements proposed by Wanger et al. (2009) and Wang and Wanger (2011). Additionally, the findings of this study reiterate the importance of perceived global education being gradually incorporated into the curricula of other higher education institutions around the globe (Bista & Saleh, 2014). The Anglo-Saxon model of education system remains a referent model for educational institutions around the world that intend to join the global educational shifts.

The analysis revealed differences and agreements in ways Albanian students perceive the Anglo-Saxon model of education system. Two pillar factors are attributed to the Albanian students and their relationship with participation in the Anglo-Saxon model of education system. The Albanian graduate students seem to perceive the Anglo-Saxon model of research university as a system that (1) *fosters research skills for personal and national empowerment,* and (2) *promotes learning and teaching excellence.* Additionally, data suggest that Albanian students appear to perceive the Anglo-Saxon model as a public and private pursuit aiming to become a communal contributor to the participating economic system. This finding is particularly relevant for policymakers to assess the role of research university and its intents. Specifically, this finding should inform the development of policies to enhance and expand research work conducted in research universities in areas that inform acquisition of

skills that contribute at a larger scale on the labor market. The Albanian graduate students emphasize an approach that helps individuals empower an educated citizenry for national gain. While this approach is laudable, policymakers must consider commissioning informing studies to develop policies to *bridge* personal learning with the necessary skills demanded in the labor market. Otherwise, it may diminish the role of preparing an educated citizenry capable of competing effectively in the global labor market. Additionally, the Albanian students tend to see the impact of Anglo-Saxon model of research university through overall lenses of promoting excellence learning and teaching in ways that assist participants gain the necessary skills capable of contributing to a greater self-empowerment and the national economic system. In the Albanian context, excellence in teaching and learning is an attribution to educational endeavors, as formalized by structured degrees from educational institutions. By a default extension, policymakers must devise policies and encourage career pathways that begin with structured tiers and lead to the labor market, otherwise, a structured degree with no preparation for the labor market is, at best, skill-less.

Although results provide a picture of self-perceived value of the Anglo-Saxon model of education system, a number of considerations address several gaps requiring further examination. Most notably is the use of English as the lingua franca in educational institutional. One possible explanation of the difference between the Albanian and peer students is the language differences between two groups. Largely true, except a few minor communities, the English language is the main and most commonly spoken language of instruction in educational institutions in the Anglo-Saxon countries, whereas the Albanian language presides as the official language of instruction in Albania. In this regard, it is logical to assume that the Anglo-Saxon model of education system can provide instruction in a language other than English, as is the case of utilizing the Albanian language in the Albanian educational institutions. In this context, a significant difference is expected and consequently observed. Subsequently, policymakers may consider educational policies requiring learning and use of English in elementary and secondary schooling. A policy of this nature would ensure early access to English, and consequently prepare students to participate in the Anglo-Saxon model of research university with no language skills disadvantages.

In another instance, the Albanian students see similarities in flexibility of curriculum and the growing stratification of programs and institutions. One explanation could be that a more flexible curriculum and stratification of programs stem from the current changes as a sign of departing a national unified and centralized curriculum across all programs and institutions. In this regard, while decentralization is a sign of progress, there are distinct reasons for discerning differences. The Albanian students may view curriculum flexibility as a foundational shift to their education system. A move of this nature for graduate students is expensive and time-consuming. In response, policymakers may develop a transferability system between professions and programs to ensure that prior learning is not only considered as learning, but also counted toward new learning for an easier and more applicable lateral movement. Thus, in many aspects, context provides the means for which to understand the differences and the similarities. Although this study provides comparative perspectives

stemming from two uniquely different perspectives with distinct features of each participating cohort, the evidence suggests that the Anglo-Saxon model of education system continues expansion in varying capacities. In essence, it is gradually becoming a widely accepted international standard of Anglo-Saxon education model to join the global education community and the competitive labor market.

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Part II
Dimensions for Rethinking

Chapter 6
What Motivates International Students for Higher Education: Insight from an International College in Thailand

Joe Bulmer

Abstract Studying abroad is one of the best ways students can acquire global skills and open up personal and professional opportunities. The world of Higher Education is now a global stage, very few subjects influence and effect such a diverse landscape from students to parents, employers to politicians, academics to a visiting countries indigenous people. This brief chapter looks at the key motivational factors for Higher Education choice for International Students within an International College in Thailand. It is a snapshot of the push/pull destination motivational factors/drivers that influence student choice. The internalisation of education has led to a Global Industry built on revenue and volume, but the market cannot ignore the human factors be it socio-economic, cultural proximity, domestic and international job prospects, family influences or even the apathy for a student's home country's educational institutions.

Keywords International · Motivation · Push/pull · Student mobility · Employability · Higher education

Introduction

Studying abroad for millions of higher education students is seen as essential to future employability, earnings potential, and the economic well-being of students. Globalisation is changing the way the world looks at higher education, and employers are increasingly looking for workers who have cross-cultural competence and have had exposures to distinct cultures, viewpoints, languages and teaching methods. International student mobility involves students leaving their country of residence to undertake study in another country. This study analyses inward and outward mobility of student's study in an international higher education institution within Thailand. After creating the questionnaire and collecting the answers of the respondents the study moves on to the task of interpreting the scores for each question and discussing their outcomes.

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_6

The reasons for studying abroad and its outcomes are multifaceted. The worldwide evolution of educational marketing has put education on a global scale, shrinking the world and giving students an explosion in choice. International students contribute more than academic job opportunities and monetary gains to employers and employees in the host economy. They bring global perspectives into the host cultures. To benefit from and to give benefits to international students, as well as to build sustainable international student recruitment strategies, higher education institutions (HEIs) need to diversify the markets from which they recruit. Instead of simply looking for the largest "markets", they must both take advantage of future growth potential from emerging markets and reduce dependency on a limited number of localised or longstanding cross-country connections. Academically, international students can call for higher standards due to the competition they may create for greater academic attainment; therefore, international higher educational institutions might need to update their curriculum and pedagogy. However, international education is also a lucrative, highly prestigious market for the global educational "industry" which often ignores quality of education at its own peril. As such, as this chapter argues by using a qualitative study, instead of focusing excessively on the economics of international education, international higher education must become more responsive to the needs and demands of other stakeholders, including students and parents, employers and politicians, academics and indigenous people. The main questions I asked in this study are: *What are the main motivations for choosing an international education? Do students feel studying at an international college will enhance their future employability?*

Literature Review

Some have interpreted student mobility as the outcome of individual decisions reflecting personal characteristics such as gender, socio-economic background, language competence and personality (Dreher & Putvaara, 2005; HEFCE 2004).

Academics have put forward the case that International student mobility has been structured not only by social class, in other words, the students socio-economic background, but also by the internationalisation of aspects of the education system (Teichler, 2004; Yang, 2003), by the rising economic competition for global talent (Kuptsch, 2006), and by the geographies of cultural capital (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002; Ong, 1999; Waters, 2006). international student mobility brings rewards not only to the individual student but to a burgeoning global economic knowledge market.

It appears that the internationalisation of higher education has proceeded alongside increased global differentiation of the university system resulting in greater value being attached to degrees from particular places (Yang, 2003). First is the reputation of the higher education institution and second is recognition of the degree in the home country or international labour market (Bourke, 1997; Park, 2009). Other factors which are also important for students include safety, weather multiculturalism and the friendliness of those who live in the country (Bourke, 1997; Park, 2009).

One important study outlining how supply and demand relationships within student mobility are formed was the push-pull model (Li & Bray, 2007). This analysis has become preeminent as a theory on his subject. “Altbach (1998 cited by Li & Bray, 2007, p. 793) presented what is the push–pull model for international student mobility. Through this model, he pointed out the reasons for studying abroad that some students were pushed by unfavourable conditions in their home countries, while others were pulled by scholarships and other opportunities in countries of destination”.

Some host countries don’t welcome foreign students, particularly when those students get benefit from the host governments. However, others have welcomed foreign students dramatically. Many countries have realised that absorbing foreign students is both an economic investment and a way of expanding the horizons of domestic students. As Davis argued (1995 cited by Li & Bray, 2007), the pull factors of the host countries included many factors, such as research institutions; social, economic and political environments and international classmates. However, the push factors can be concluded as an interest in overseas education. There are always preconceptions and background influences that filter rational choices. Hemsley-Brown (1999), Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) identified “push and pull” factors in the international student destination choice. Push factors are those that drive students to leave their country, such as poor economic conditions, lack of quality higher education choice domestically, lack of career opportunities, etc. Pull factors on the other side are prospects for future employment, high quality of education institutions, access to funding, or safe and pleasant environment.

Method

For this study, the qualitative aspect, though a questionnaire, was used to find and gain an understanding of the main motivations and reasoning behind destination choice for students and to provide an insight into the issue and attempt to uncover prevalent trends in opinion. The data analysis is derived from three participating student groups, including Thai Students, ASEAN Students and outside ASEAN, with each category including a random sample size of twenty-five students per group. In total, seventy-five students completed the questionnaire, with the random sample being selected from students studying at Dhurakij Pundit University Bangkok, Thailand. The questionnaire encompasses eight questions that adopted a Likert scale approach, with a five-point scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” on one end to “Strongly Agree” on the other. A Likert item represents a statement that in this case the student was asked to evaluate by giving it a quantitative value on a level of agreement/disagreement being used for this study.

Findings

The highest scores within the total answers (Thai Students, ASEAN Students and outside ASEAN) Table 6.1 below shed some light on the more conventional reasoning behind choosing to study in an International College as well as "studying abroad". The push/pull factors regarding the role of cost are reflected in the score of 37 (Agree) in Table 6.1.

If cost is a major factor for study destination choice, namely in this case cheaper for Thai students to stay in their home country to avoid higher living costs abroad and conversely non-Thai students being attracted to the perception of a cheaper standard of living within Thailand, then another major factor for the students asked was the feeling future employment opportunities will be/are, enhanced by being educated within an International College-37 (Agree) 23 (Strongly Agree). Another strong influence often cited is the role of the family in the educational decision making. In Table 6.1 a high score of 28 is recorded we shall see later in this study that the influence of family within Thai and ASEAN student choice far outweighed their non-ASEAN counterparts.

Table 6.1 outlines the total scores attributed to all the students, Thai, ASEAN and non-ASEAN as such the results can look contradictory without the knowledge of where the students came from. The answers to the question "Do you feel Thailand Education is of a higher standard than education in your home nation?" can be interpreted in several ways as can the question referring to Thai culture and indeed the bottom question on the table regarding being challenged academically within higher education in Thailand. To understand in more detail the reasoning behind this disparity in results from Strongly Disagree/Disagree to Neutral/Agree as answers for the same question we need to look at analysing separately the Thai, ASEAN and non-ASEAN student answers.

Table 6.2 outlines the answers from the Thai domestic students. These on the face of it look somewhat inconsistent with certain answers seemingly contrary to

Table 6.1 Collective Scores from all student participants

Questions	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Would you say studying in Thailand will improve your job prospects?	3	7	32	26	7
Would you agree that Thailand offers more opportunity than other ASEAN countries when it comes to higher education opportunities?	2	19	22	27	5
Do you feel Thailand education is of a higher standard than education in your home nation?	11	25	19	17	3
Did money/cost influence your decision to study in Thailand?	4	5	15	37	14
Do you feel studying at an international college will improve your employability prospects in the future?	3	1	11	37	23
Did family have an influence in your decision to study at an International college?	8	15	13	28	11
Was learning Thai culture and other cultures a reason for why you chose to study in Thailand and at an International college?	11	17	29	15	3
Do you feel challenged academically in higher education in Thailand?	10	20	24	16	5

Table 6.2 Thai students

Questions	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Would you say studying in Thailand will improve your job prospects?	2	6	16	0	1
Would you agree that Thailand offers more opportunity than other ASEAN countries when it comes to higher education opportunities?	2	5	11	6	1
Do you feel Thailand education is of a higher standard than education in your home nation?	1	10	10	4	0
Did money/cost influence your decision to study in Thailand?	1	0	4	15	5
Do you feel studying at an international college will improve your employability prospects in the future?	2	0	4	14	5
Did family have an influence in your decision to study at an International college?	2	1	5	12	5
Was learning Thai culture and other cultures a reason for why you chose to study in Thailand and at an International college?	1	5	13	5	1
Do you feel challenged academically in higher education in Thailand?	3	4	9	8	1

other answers given by the same students. Out of the 25 students asked none agreed that studying in Thailand would enhance their employment prospects, however 14 students felt studying within an International College within Thailand would improve job prospects. These conflicting answers quite possibly relate to the feeling that it is the "internationalisation" of the study that will enhance the international student's employment prospects, the domestic country in this case Thailand plays second to the perceived kudos from gaining a degree at an international college thereby gaining admiration within the domestic job market as well as the wider global workplace.

Thai students also scored high with reference to the cost of higher education being a factor in their reasoning to study domestically within an International college. Perhaps also not unsurprisingly within a culture that has a strong family ethos, the role of the family in making any decisions surrounding where and when higher education would be undertaken is seen to have importance with the Thai International Student.

Table 6.3 outlines the responses from the ASEAN students. Overall these

Table 6.3 ASEAN students

Questions	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Would you say studying in Thailand will improve your job prospects?	0	0	8	15	2
Would you agree that Thailand offers more opportunity than other ASEAN countries when it comes to higher education opportunities?	0	7	4	13	1
Do you feel Thailand education is of a higher standard than education in your home nation?	1	2	7	12	3
Did money/cost influence your decision to study in Thailand?	1	1	7	13	3
Do you feel studying at an international college will improve your employability prospects in the future?	0	0	4	10	11
Did family have an influence in your decision to study at an International college?	1	2	4	13	5
Was learning Thai culture and other cultures a reason for why you chose to study in Thailand and at an International college?	1	8	9	6	1
Do you feel challenged academically in higher education in Thailand?	0	7	10	6	2

answers are very positive regarding International Higher Education and as non-Thais extremely pro Thailand or at least the concept of travelling away from their homeland to gain further education. No ASEAN student disagreed with the question "Would you say studying in Thailand will improve your job prospects". Thailand also scored very high as an educational host with ASEAN students (13 Agree) that Thailand offered higher educational opportunity than other ASEAN countries, and in fact (12 Agree) that the Thai standard was higher than their own individual home nation within ASEAN.

Table 6.3 also shows that for ASEAN students, finance and the influence of family were key to decision making when determining the International College destination choice, much more of a factor than in an interest in Thai Culture or whether the ASEAN student felt academically challenged within a Thai International College, but overall the ASEAN students felt studying in an International College in Thailand would improve their employment prospects.

Dhurakij Pundit University's International College has students from outside ASEAN Table 6.4 below outlines their answers to the eight questions.

Students from outside ASEAN in answering the questions had similar answers to their student counterparts from Thailand and ASEAN but also several answers diametrically different to what has been covered before. The standard of higher education in Thailand against the non-ASEAN students scored poorly in comparison to their home countries, as did the feeling by these students that overall, they didn't feel challenged academically. The role and influence of the family in the decision making scored poorly with 22 of the 25 students asked strongly disagreeing or disagreeing so 88% of the 25 asked.

Where the students from outside ASEAN did score highly and were in agreement was the concept of International education as a factor for enhancing employability prospects here only 2 out of those asked either disagreed or strongly disagreed. Studying in Thailand it was felt would improve their job prospects and again it was felt like the other tables that "cost" was a serious consideration in the choosing of

Table 6.4 Outside ASEAN

Questions	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Would you say studying in Thailand will improve your job prospects?	1	1	8	11	4
Would you agree that Thailand offers more opportunity than other ASEAN countries when it comes to higher education opportunities?	0	7	7	8	3
Do you feel Thailand education is of a higher standard than education in your home nation?	9	13	2	1	0
Did money/cost influence your decision to study in Thailand?	2	4	4	9	6
Do you feel studying at an international college will improve your employability prospects in the future?	1	1	3	13	7
Did family have an influence in your decision to study at an International college?	8	12	1	3	1
Was learning Thai culture and other cultures a reason for why you chose to study in Thailand and at an International college?	9	4	7	4	1
Do you feel challenged academically in higher education in Thailand?	7	9	5	3	1

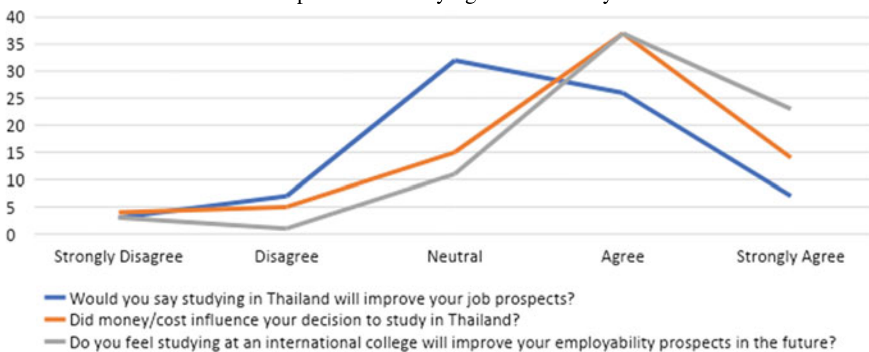
higher education within a Thai International College as opposed to perhaps another destination or staying and being educated within their home country.

Discussion

Although this study is a small snapshot of the international higher education, the students participating in this study overwhelmingly exhibited the attraction of studying outside of their home-land, reinforcing the first key issue about international education. Similarly, ninety-five percent of the students interviewed felt that studying in an international college improved their employability prospects. The students further highlighted that having demonstrable experience of living and learning in another culture will be prized by employers, especially international companies. Globalisation has, in theory, made the world economically smaller. The most talented international students can choose their career path within the developed or emerging economic world, multinational companies the world over invest in student talent, students and international educational establishments now see a potential dual economically beneficial trade-off here going forward.

Table 6.5 shows the positivity from most of the students asked with reference to studying "Internationally" and studying in Thailand. Cost was also a constantly agreed upon issue this could be due to the Thai students being fearful of a higher priced standard of living outside of their home country and those students from outside Thailand believing that the costs of living, accommodation and travel are/were cheaper in Thailand. For International Colleges the world over an appreciation of the role of finance in the choice of a student to study abroad has been important and key in what can be for an International College a lucrative market. Scholarships, exchange programs, loans, help with tuition fees and living costs, can ensure foreign student uptake. Interestingly, for this study, the perceived economic draw of the entire country, in this case Thailand helped with the economic choice of the student.

Table 6.5 Factors deemed as important for studying internationally



The prevalence of the role of the family and their influence regarding destination decision making shows two completely different results. The Thai and ASEAN students agreed strongly overall that family had a voice and therefore influence on the decision to study at an International College and consequently the country that the College was in. For students from outside ASEAN the family effect was very minimal, and they disagreed with some of them strongly that family influence had any bearing on their chosen route for higher education.

In a recent work on international student mobility, Bista, Sharma, and Gaulee (2018) have noted that "Given that the most dominant driver of global student mobility is financial, its greatest regulator political, and its most significant educational force cultural assimilation in one form or another…" (p. 8). The authors highlight that several other crucial factors that play their part within the decision-making process for International Student Mobility. In agreement with the above, finance plays an integral part in student choice, however the cross-section of students felt it was very beneficial studying within an International College for future employability prospects, this ranked very high with students from outside of Thailand who obviously had travelled from their home nation to study within an International College, the Thai students also felt the importance of being educated within an International College, interestingly they were less in agreement about the uplift in their job prospects from remaining in their home nation as opposed to the very positive result from the non-Thai students who were using Thailand as the "host" nation for their studies and employment advancement.

Cross-cultural integration and learning is an inevitable consequence of studying within an International College. However, the draw of the "host" culture in this case Thai had little bearing on student destination choice within this study, the overriding conclusion amongst the students questioned was that studying within an International College has an overall positive impact on the development of a wide range of job skills, expands career possibilities, and has a long-term impact on career progression. Let us return to the original questions posed:

> What are the main motivations for choosing an international higher education host country? What factors are more significant than others? Do students consider studying at an international college will enhance their future employability?

This brief study has shown that the students questioned felt studying in an International College enhanced their potential and future well-being. The Thai students felt the kudos of attending an International College albeit within the country of their birth and reported the major influences of family and cost as did the ASEAN students in choosing destination for studying. Cost was an important factor for the non-ASEAN students but not family influence. Question two receives no ambiguity in its answer studying in an International College will certainly enhance and improve the employability prospects of the students it was overwhelmingly felt.

Recommendations

The number of students who choose to study at a university overseas has grown dramatically in recent decades. This study is a very small snapshot in analysing the main drivers for this global phenomenon. The first recommendation would be a call for more studies on this subject, internationalisation of higher education is multi-faceted the subject contains a multitude of conflicting arguments, strategies, approaches, conclusions globalisation of higher education poses many questions for domestic and international nations it influences politics, socio-economics, culture, employment it is the global interaction and integration of the higher education student world it deserves and needs robust and detailed study and analysis.

This present study outlines through a Likert Scale Questionnaire the reasons why seventy-five students in an International College in Bangkok Thailand chose their higher education destination. The study being on such a small scale has limitations; there are several recommendations that would enhance this research.

- A greater number of students questioned would give the study perhaps more weight—for instance all the students at the college questioned.
- Those questioned split by gender may have illustrated different perceptions and answers for the study.
- ASEAN countries named, and non-ASEAN countries named by the questioned student would have outlined a more thorough analysis.
- Break down those questioned by subject area—does a particular faculty record different answers.
- Change the questions—Did the marketing of the International College help decide on the destination. Did the reputation of the subject area within the International College help determine destination?

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Chapter 7
Educational Mobility in the Global South—A Study of African Students in China

Yi Sun

Abstract China's extraversion ("invite in" and "go out") does not only reflect in the field of trade and investment but also in the education field. As knowledge economy impacts on China's domestic development, the nation's foreign policy toward South–South cooperation is influenced by the policy. Especially with the establishment of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in October 2000, China's engagement with African countries has gradually extended from commercial to social and cultural related sectors. This chapter examines African students' experiences in China, new trends in educational mobility within the global South, China's role in international education, and both opportunities and challenges which the African students and the Chinese society face in the changing dynamics of global education. Through interviews with 20 African students in a Chinese university, the study analyzes African students' motivations, opinions about living in China, and plans after graduation. The findings show various trends in international mobility through higher education exchange and cooperation, evaluate current China–Africa relations, and provide suggestions for future implementations at different levels.

Keywords China–Africa · China's model · International education · South–South cooperation · Student mobility · Globalization

Introduction

In the past twenty years, China's "invite in" (引进来 or inflow FDI) and "go out" (走出去 or outflow FDI) strategies have been influencing both its domestic and foreign policies. Although the two terms were initially understood in the commercial realm, the concept behind the strategies represented China's willingness to cooperate with the world and its eagerness to accelerate modernization. China's extraversion does not only reflect in the field of trade and investment but also in the education field; since China's opening-up policy in the late 1970s, the use of both "invite in" and "go out" have gradually extended from commercial to social and cultural related

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_7

sectors. In this sense, “go out” echoes the Chinese government and higher education institutions’ encouragement for Chinese students to go overseas to learn skills, and “invite in” is China’s invitation to international students to come to study at Chinese universities. Specifically, from the beginning of the 2000s, with the establishment of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation[1] (FOCAC), the Chinese government started to offer various scholarships to African countries. Thirteen years later, China’s One Belt One Road[2] (OBOR) initiative invited students along the Silk Road countries also come to study in China. Nowadays, international students are ubiquitous in different Chinese cities, and it is common to observe self-financed students choose China not only as a destination for pursuing advanced degrees but also a place for living and seeking various opportunities.

This chapter uses China’s strategy of extraversion and South-South theory as theoretical background and examines how China’s international higher education development goes together with its national developmental strategies. It also inquires how China’s higher education cooperation and partnership serve to strengthen its relationship with African countries and help African students to realize their personal dreams. In order to achieve these goals, this study will not only present current trend in educational mobility within the global South (in this case, Africans in China) but also attempt to explore how does this type of mobility create new opportunities and challenges for local Chinese communities, higher education institutions, African students themselves, and beyond.

Compared to traditional donors, China’s new role as a developmental partner in Africa has always been viewed differently. In the higher education realm, for example, some Western scholars argue that China used education and culture as a means to practice its soft power. However, this study argues that the new trend in African students’ mobility tie to global circumstances, China’s foreign policy, and economy and investment opportunities. In addition, international mobility also generates potential pressure and intention between the cultural insiders and outsiders, such as community relations and business competition. Unlike many related studies which tend to exemplify China–Africa relations only on the policy level, this study suggests not to neglect the voices of African students in China.

The chapter is divided into five sections: The first section introduces the research methodology and presents both research site and population. The second section

[1]The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is an official forum made up of the People’s Republic of China and all African countries (with the exceptions of Burkina Faso and Swaziland). There have been five summits held to date, with the most recent meeting having occurred in 2015 in Johannesburg. For more information, please visit http://www.focac.org/eng/.

[2]The One Belt One Road (OBOR) was unveiled by Chinese President Xi Jinping in September and October 2013 during his visit to Kazakhstan and Indonesia. It focuses on connectivity and cooperation between Eurasian countries that are geographically structured along six corridors, including countries such as Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Russia, Turkey, Myanmar, and Mediterranean countries. The belt and road includes the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the ocean-going Maritime Silk Road (MSR).

examines how China's knowledge economy development influences its policy-making on South–South cooperation, especially looking into China's higher education engagement with African countries. The third section reviews past studies about African students in China. The fourth section uses my own field research at a Chinese university to analyze African students' motivations, plans, and opinions about learning in China. Based on the findings of the field research, the last section evaluates current China–Africa higher education cooperation and provides suggestions for future implementations.

Method

The data used for this study is collected during my six-week fieldwork through May to June in 2014 at a Chinese key provincial university, namely the Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU). The university is located in Jinhua, a city in the eastern coastal area of Zhejiang Province. It is about two hours from Shanghai, one hour from Hangzhou (the capital city of Zhejiang province), and 20 min from Yiwu by high-speed trains.

As one of the "20 + 20"[3] China–Africa higher education partnership universities in China, the Zhejiang Normal University has well-founded partnership relations with many African higher education institutions since the 1990s; such as Université de Yaoundé I and Université de Yaoundé II in Cameroon and University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. During my visit at ZJNU, I saw African students travelling to different academic buildings to take classes and different dining commons to have meals. I also took classes with them to experience their learning as foreign students. And sometimes, I was invited to their casual gatherings to experience their lives outside the academic settings. My relationship with many of these students built through formal and informal activities led them to trust me enough to share both their positive and negative experiences. Therefore, all of these experiences with the African students at ZJNU not only equipped me with solid research foundation for building new knowledge of China–Africa higher education engagement but also added much valuable information to the study that will enhance the future planning of China–Africa knowledge exchange.

[3]"20 + 20" China-Africa higher education partnership program is also known as "20 + 20" Cooperation Plan. It was launched in 2009; the initiative was developed by China's Ministry of Education. 20 + 20 formulated partnerships between China and 20 African universities in 17 African countries. In 2011, UNESCO became the third party of the initiative; the UNESCO-China-Africa Tripartite Initiative on University Cooperation aimed to facilitate university partnerships, which benefited the production of knowledge that fostered mutual understanding between China and African countries and the cultivation of top-level citizens who could work effectively across borders. For the full list of selected universities in "20 + 20," please visit http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/higher-education/international-university-cooperation/unesco-china-africa-tripartite-initiative-on-university-cooperation/university-partnership/.

The study primarily relied on qualitative research methodologies, including class observations, semi-structured interviews, and a small-scale survey. The major research part was the interview; 20 African students enrolled in ZJNU in 2014 have been interviewed. In order to provide the interviewees with a comfortable conversational environment, the semi-structured interviews took place in various university settings, including the library, the dormitory, the café, and the playground by the choice of each interviewee.

The participants in the study were either graduate-level African students who have chosen their majors or pre-graduate-level students who were studying the Chinese language at the School for International Students. They were twelve male and eight female students and ranged in age from 20–35 years old. Participants were asked to complete a question-based survey before the face-to-face interview. Based on the survey form information, I developed conversations based on their initial responses to the survey; it helped me to focus on the unique side of each individual in order to start and maintain a natural conversation. All interviews were conducted independently by myself.

The interviews were conducted in multiple languages, primarily Chinese and English, and partially French. I transcribed Chinese and French into English after the interviews. Qualitative analytical software NVivo was employed for data management and analysis, and content analysis was used to interpret the responses as well as what may have been inferred from or implied in the interview.

China's Knowledge Economy and Discourse on China–Africa Cooperation

Since 2000, the cooperation between China and Africa has reached a new level. This advance has been most noticeable since the inception of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation; this forum has gradually become an "effective mechanism for the collective dialogue and multilateral cooperation" (*Xinhua News*, September 2, 2018, p. 2) between China and African countries. In its principles, FOCAC aims to establish "an important framework and platform for a new type of China-Africa partnership featuring long-term stability, equality, and mutual benefits" (*Xinhua News*, September 2, 2018, p. 2). By 2015, FOCAC had held six summits during which time the cooperation had been largely expanded and developed with a resultant deepening of relations between China and African countries; the policy papers in support of cooperation were also becoming more expertly detailed. It was gratifying that each change or improvement strived to support the cooperation between China and Africa on the bases of respect, equality, and mutual benefits that sought peace and common ground for better development.

Utilizing both tangible and intangible resources helps to quicken the progress of industrialization and modernization (You & Chi, 2012). In the context of China–Africa cooperation, tangible resources refer to agriculture, infrastructure, and trade

and investment, and the intangible resources refer to various aspects of social development, such as to promote people-to-people interaction, cultural exchange, and human resource building through education. In the past decade, China's assistance prioritized the improvement of Africa's tangible assets—the concept of prioritizing industrial and economic growth was borrowed from China's own developmental experience. In 2016, at the Seminar on China–Africa Business Cooperation,[4] public and private companies from China and Africa signed more than 40 business deals totaling about $17 billion dollars; cooperation areas covered infrastructure, processing and manufacturing, finance, energy, investment, and so on. Because of a prolific alliance in the past, China–Africa cooperation has designated industrialization as its developmental priority for the next ten years (*FOCAC Latest News*, May 19, 2016). Within the context of the deepening of cooperation, the greatest concern of China–Africa cooperation is whether the resources in Africa can be more effectively developed; thus, how to make better use of resources has become the new goal of China–Africa cooperation (*Africanews*, July 29, 2016).

An understanding of the methods of cooperation between China and Africa in the use of their intangible resources is relatively new territory that requires an ongoing exploration of the comparative advantages and points of interest for both sides. As Africa's current largest trading partner but also a developing country itself, China's government and society value the idea that economic success is largely based upon the effective utilization of intangible assets such as knowledge and skills. Looking back at China's own development path after 1949, the Chinese government learned that economic growth and human resource development are inseparable and that higher education should be a top priority for the nation's effective and sustainable development. In 1977, the Chinese government resumed the use of the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE); in spite of a low acceptance rate, this policy allowed hundreds of thousands of young Chinese intellectuals who were sent down to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution to return to the city and study in higher education institutions. In the following years, the nation began its economic reform program, shifting from a planned economy to a market economy with Chinese characteristics, effectively adopting and applying new knowledge and a variety of new technologies (Zeng & Wang, 2007). As a result of these changes, in the 1950s and mid-1960s, China had begun to establish a favorable educational system as a primary intervention to reduce illiteracy (Lin & Wang, 2017). As a tangential positive offshoot of the country's educational progress, between 1978 and 2004, after the resumption of the NCEE, the population living in poverty in (mostly) rural areas of China was greatly reduced from 250 million to 26.1 million (Zeng & Wang, 2007). Therefore, at the Sixth FOCAC in 2015, the Chinese government released the second *China's Africa Policy Paper* (the first policy paper was released in 2006), which indicated that China–Africa partnership relations should focus more on building

[4]China–Africa Business Cooperation is also called China-Africa Business Forum. It is a seminar designed for high-level Chinese and African officials and business representatives to discuss and plan for infrastructure projects and public-private partnership financing, as well as to improve China-Africa economic integration. For more details, please visit https://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx_4/jmhz/t1591172.htm.

human capacity, including higher education exchanges, STEM teacher training, and knowledge sharing for the sake of Africa's sustainable development.

As can be seen in the statistics of China's economic growth, higher education has been one of the primary tools for promoting the nation's development (Zeng & Wang, 2007). Based on this fact, the Chinese government believes that China–Africa higher education cooperation could also help develop a general African expertise, improve African countries' abilities to more productively analyze their problems, strengthen their domestic institutions, serve as a model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution, and respect for human rights, and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars (Fredua-Kwarteng, 2015).

As an alternative to the more traditional North-South foreign aid programs, China's engagement with African countries presents a new donor-recipient model in international relations not only because China's policy toward African countries help with their direct economic growth but also because it provides a long-term strategy for the younger African generations to develop their capacities and skills to create more independent, inclusive, and sustainable societies. China–Africa's higher education exchange and cooperation helps to transfer knowledge among the countries of the global South and aims to bring in a more egalitarian form of cooperation and common prosperity for both sides.

Chinese University as a Study Destination for Africans

Nowadays, higher education institutions in China started to attract more students from the global South to come to study. Many African students who choose to study at Chinese universities believe that China has better higher educational opportunities and that both academic studies and professional training can help them improve their capabilities in different fields (Interview notes, 2014). More importantly, they believe that receiving a degree from a Chinese university is a means of gaining social capital (Brown, 2012); most African students in China expect that the value attached to a foreign degree will give them an advantage in the national labor markets in their home countries (Haugen, 2013). At the same time, China itself also offers a learning experience for African students by promoting a welcoming policy and giving them generous scholarship opportunities. Besides, in order to adapt to the trends in the globalization of higher education, China determined to improve its international higher education and has written the same in the National Plan for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development (2010–2020). One highlighted part of the National Plan declared that China would achieve a world-class education system and establish more world-class universities by 2020 (Zhou, 2017). With improved international education quality and a welcoming policy, African students either see China as an excellent place to pursue their academic aspirations or as a new place to explore career opportunities.

Despite China–Africa's long historical partnership relations, the process of cooperation has not always been smooth. According to several reports prior to the 2000s, African students were dissatisfied with their experiences in China due to factors of political control, a lack of a favorable climate for international education, limitations on the free flow of ideas (Dong & Chapman, 2008; see also Chen, 1965; Cooley, 1965; Hevi, 1963), discrimination and sociocultural stress (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). However, the disparity over the living expenses and conditions reported by Scott (1986, June 26) included the fact that the Chinese government had been offering African students a monthly stipend of 180 Yuan (RMB) while at the same time Chinese students were only receiving 23 Yuan (RMB) per month.

Along with the deepening higher education cooperation between China and African countries after the 2000s, an increasing number of African students in China not only brought up new challenges to Chinese higher education institutions but also changed the cultural dynamics of both the university systems and the society. Few empirical studies conducted in the 2000s evaluated the perception of African students who study at Chinese universities. Gillespie's (2001) pilot research involved interviews with Chinese professors, administrators and government officials, and twelve African students from six different countries who were studying at Tongji University in Shanghai. This study provided a first-time, comprehensive analysis of African students' lives in China, from both a Chinese and African perspective. Haugen (2013) studied African students' lives in Chinese universities after 2010, showing that the discrimination phenomenon found to be present at the time of the earlier study had decreased slightly and that the current African students were generally satisfied with their experience at China's universities. Yet even with this finding, there was also data that pointed to the fact that their feelings about the quality of their learning remained uncertain. Many African students merely appreciated the funding the Chinese government provided but still did not feel properly integrated academically within the school communities due to cultural and language barriers; these students who had received scholarships and had enrolled mainly in language programs at Chinese universities usually with weak links to research (Haugen, 2013).

While an in-depth study of the complete picture of China's higher education might be too lengthy to present here, it is factual to say that the significant increase of national and international competition and diversification in the higher education sector have created an incredibly rich variety of program and degree offerings in Chinese universities (Müller-Böling & Federkeil, 2007; Shen, 2011). That African students come to study in Chinese universities with Chinese government scholarships is a reflection of the evolution of China's worldview in the context of globalization and a gauge of its foreign policy orientations (Gillespie, 2001). Statistically, by the end of 2006, African students made up only 2% of the international student population in Chinese universities, but since that time, there has been an increase in the number of African students in China's higher education institutions (Huang & Qi, 2012). Especially between 2012 and 2013, the number of African students in China increased from 27,000 to 35,000. If this is accurate, there may have been more African students studying in China than in the United States (Round, 2014).

With all the facts mentioned, although China's discourse on its higher education engagement with African countries presents a new model of donor-recipient relationship and an alternative approach for Africa to enhance the human capacity building, China's modern educational system incorporates Western educational patterns and the learning approaches are also different from the norms in African institutions. Therefore, it can be assumed that it might take some time for African students to adapt. In addition, even though some of the African students felt that they had received an education in China and had become fluent in Chinese, and had had years of living experience, they still found it difficult to find a job in China because of the discourse of othering and employment limitations for foreigners within Chinese society (Gillespie, 2001).

The next section is based on my visit to Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU). As one of the "20 + 20" China–Africa partnership program universities, the ZJNU is a pioneer for China–Africa's higher education cooperation and development. Due to geographic location, economic level, teacher resource, and many other factors, each Chinese university provides different experiences to its students, and students' satisfaction toward each university can be different. Writing this chapter after almost twenty years' higher education cooperation between China and African countries, by examining African students' learning and living in China, I hope this study can provide some valuable insights and a better understanding of current China–Africa partnership relations.

African Students in a Chinese University

It was a beautiful summer afternoon in 2014, I was walking on the campus of the Zhejiang Normal University (ZJNU), Jinhua city, China, and my cell phone rang. It was an unknown number, but I picked it up.

> "Nihao, wo shi Didi, ni xu yao wo bang zhu ma?" ("Hello, I am Didi, can I help you with anything?")
>
> "Oh, hi Didi, shi de, wo zai deng ni de dian hua. Wo men ke yi jian mian shuo ma?" ("Oh, hi Didi, yes, I've been waiting for your phone call. Can we meet and talk?")
>
> "Dang ran ke yi. Wo men zai tu shu guan jian ba." ("Of course. We can meet in the library.")

The phone call was made by a Cameroonian male student, who was a second-year graduate student in ZJNU. One day ago, I got his contact information and texted him that I would like to meet some African students on campus. In this phone call, I could not even tell Didi's first language was not Chinese; I told him I thought he was from the Southern part of China just with a little bit of accent.

I waited for Didi in the entrance hall of the library, and he came on time, by riding his electric motorbike. Interestingly, for anyone who knows the current Chinese society moderately, the electric motorbike is one of the major transportations in many Chinese cities, which was not commonly seen in the West. I was sitting in the back seat of Didi's electric motorbike while he was showing me around the dormitories of

international students and telling me that most of the African students were staying here. After about one hour, Didi had to leave for another meeting; therefore, we had to schedule another meeting the next day.

After Didi left, I decided to walk back to the dormitory buildings and take a closer look. These dormitories were comparatively new, each room was equipped with four beds, with air conditioning, ensuite bathroom, and internet access. Shared kitchens with refrigerators and washing rooms were equipped on each floor. Two African female students passing by saw me taking pictures and asked me if I needed any help in Chinese. After they realized that I came to the university for research, they started to ask me some questions. Therefore, we also scheduled a time to meet again.

On the way back to my hotel room, many things were going through my mind; I have met three African students already in less than two hours, and they told me invaluable personal stories. All of these made me even more curious about their lives in the Chinese university and China in general. I wish I could know more about their living and studying conditions, opinions about Chinese society, as well as their motivations and plans about choosing China as their study abroad destination.

In the next six weeks, I visited and interviewed the other 17 African students from different countries. This section would not be able to cover all interviews with each student; however, their motivations and expectations for studying in China, plans after graduation, and opinions about their living and learning experiences are analyzed.

Among these 20 African students, all of them were graduate-level students, 12 of them mentioned about the length of their stay in China, and almost all of them had been in China for more than half a year. Most of them have only studied at the ZJNU, and Jinhua was the first city in China that they had lived. Although they had not yet visited any other cities, they all had friends or relatives who stayed or were staying in China for various reasons. Two major purposes for their friends or relatives to stay in China were either to get academic degrees or to practice business ideas. Only two students noted that they had visited other cities such as Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Hangzhou in China before they came to Jinhua.

Since the Zhejiang Normal University has long-term exchange programs and Confucius Institute (CI) programs with several African universities such as Tanzania and Cameroon, seven African students participated in my research were from the Université de Yaoundé I and II in Cameroon who have learned some Chinese before coming. Among these seven, two of them passed a certain level of the HSK test (the Chinese Language Proficiency Test), two of them have majored in the Chinese language in college back in Cameroon. Besides, there were six African students who had no Chinese language skills before coming and also had limited knowledge about Chinese university and Chinese society. Although academic Chinese was quite difficult for them to master, after several months' stay in China, two of them mentioned to me that they could use some basic sentences to order food, take a taxi and ask for directions. Three of those six students studied in the International Business School of ZJNU, and all of them were self-funded. Most of these interviewees received the Chinese Council scholarships, and a few of them received the Zhejiang Provincial scholarship or the university scholarship for international students.

Motivations and Expectations

From the data generated by this portion of the study, there are at least nine major reasons why the interviewed African students choose China as their study abroad destination. And this study also evaluates their expectations for this Chinese degree.

Reason One: **China's rapid economic development**. China has a great deal of influence in Africa due in large part to the development of China's economy. In the past decade, China has been helping Africa build infrastructure, internet facilities, railways, and so on. Many consumer items imported to Africa are manufactured in China (e.g., clothes, shoes, toys, textiles, etc.). Half of the interviewees mentioned China's fast development and the huge impact it has had on their daily life. Five interviewees' opinions are extracted from my interview notes:

> I came to China because China has been developing so fast in recent years.
>
> China is very big. Many Chinese people are working in my country or are establishing new companies in my country.
>
> China has a much better economy compared to Africa. Everything here seems to develop well.
>
> As an African, I think China has been developing pretty well. China would be the future of the world.
>
> "People in my country [Nigeria] love stationery that is made in China, and everyone knows China" (Interview note).

Reason Two: **Learn Chinese language and culture**. Because of China's influence in Africa, the benefits of knowing how to speak the Chinese language, of understanding Chinese culture and understanding how to communicate with Chinese people have become more notable and significant. As two of the African students noted:

> I believe that the biggest barrier to learning about China is not language, but in how much you could understand the Chinese culture and the way that Chinese people are doing things.
>
> "The development in China is fast and speaking good Chinese will help me a lot in the future. I found that many people are studying Chinese in Cameroon and China's universities." (Interview note)

Reason Three: **Family or Friends' influence**. Almost half of the interviewees stated that they came to China because of their families' or friends' support or encouragement. Five students mentioned that they had siblings who were also studying the Chinese language or had come to visit China before. One student in the business management program was influenced by his Chinese friend who had been doing business in China; another male student, in the same program, was encouraged by his friend who worked at the Chinese embassy and who told him that China would offer him more business opportunities in the future. One female student in the Chinese language program was encouraged by a friend who worked for the United Nations and who told her that the Chinese language would be very important to learn. Another female student's uncle, who worked as a professor in a Cameroonian university, even applied to this program for her. Since China had been offering various scholarship

opportunities for African students, her uncle thought that it would be great for her to earn an advanced degree without paying tuition fees.

Although many of the African students and their families understood the value of getting an advanced degree, three male African students' families initially did not support their decisions to study in a foreign country where they are unfamiliar with. One said that because of his home culture, his parents did not want their inexperienced young son to leave the family, and they believed that the outside world was full of dangers. The other two students explained that because their families did not know about China, their parents had no idea about how life would be there. They finally agreed because receiving a scholarship provided a great opportunity and China did not seem too dangerous to them. One student said, "I always text and call my parents and tell them about my daily life here. Now they're all reassured" (Interview note).

Reason Four: **Overseas experience is valuable**. Five of the African students interviewed thought that gaining overseas experiences was very important. As one male Cameroonian student said, "My family all believe that personal experience is very important; it is better to explore a new world in China than to just stay in Cameroon for a lifetime." Another female student from South Africa said, "I think I have many options right now, because my eyes have opened. My opportunity does not only exist in one country. I belong to the world." When I asked her to define the word "opportunity" from her own perspective, she further explained, "My opportunity comes from my future job; I majored in international economics and investment, so I want to do something about China–Africa relations; many international organizations such as the South Africa International Institute and other multinational companies have branches in China and South Africa, and I want to find a position in these organizations" (Interview notes). Nowadays, many multinational organizations look for international experience as they have need for expanding overseas operations or develop potential international partnerships that are driven by world economy. Those organizations value their employees who have overseas experiences because they are seen as more independent, adaptable and open-minded. In this sense, with a strong cultural and social understanding of a different country, the African students who have a learning experience in China will be more attractive to these organizations, and more effective in developing solutions to many issues between China and Africa.

Reason Five and Six: **Help to gain better positions and social capital**. Some of the African students came to China because of their home countries' needs, as well as looking for better-paying jobs or stable positions once graduated. For instance, Zhejiang Normal University shares several collaborative programs with Cameroon's government. One of the educational cooperation programs trains Chinese language teachers from Cameroon; most of these teachers had majored in Chinese and received a bachelor's degree in Chinese literature or in a related, foreign language pedagogy in Cameroon. Teaching is a government job in Cameroon, which makes it very stable and well paid. As one Cameroonian student said, "This program guaranteed that I would get a teaching job in Cameroon, a civil servant job, and when I'm done with this program, I want to get a stable job" (Interview note). Another Cameroonian student noted, "African students come to study in China because they believe China is an

open country, and Africa has many Chinese people. Because these Chinese people do not speak the local languages very well, with our new ability to speak Chinese, we can go back and become translators or interpreters for Chinese companies or the companies who do business with China" (Interview note).

For those government scholarships recipients enrolled in ZJNU from African countries other than Cameroon, many of them mentioned that African students choose agriculture, architecture and technology fields in following the developmental needs of their home countries, and that the Chinese government indeed offers more scholarship programs in these fields to satisfy Africa's current development trends. As one student from Botswana said, "The government sent us to China to learn because they wanted us to contribute more when we go back; we are not only learning the Chinese language, but also its culture, new skills and new concepts of development" (Interview note).

Some students also told me that the most valuable experience for them while studying in China was to gain social capital and land a better job in the future, no matter whether they decided to go back to their country, stay in China, or go to some other country later on. However, if their particular scholarship program was funded by the government, and they had signed a contract to go back once they finished studies, they understood that they had chosen to serve their countries and were obligated to fulfill their home countries' development needs.

Reason Seven: **Scholarship opportunities in China**. Many African students come to China because they have received a Chinese government scholarship. Fourteen of the interviewed African students at Zhejiang Normal University said that they chose to come to China because the Chinese government promised to pay for all of their tuition and living expenses. As one Cameroonian female student said, "I didn't choose to go to China and study. I came because I had received the scholarship from the Chinese government" (Interview note). Another male student, also from Cameroon, said, "If I didn't receive the scholarship, I would probably not come to study here; because my father is a college professor, my mother doesn't work and I have four siblings at home, my family has no money for me to study overseas, even though a college teacher does earn quite a good salary in Cameroon." He further explained, "My friends all received scholarships, and we believe that if we have overseas experience, it will be easier to find good jobs when we go back to our countries, thanks to China." (Interview note).

As seen from the interviewees' responses, receiving a scholarship greatly influenced their decisions to attend ZJNU. And this sentiment was shared by other students. As the need for scholarships increases, especially with the growing numbers of Africans in Chinese universities, receiving one of these scholarships has become more competitive. For example, a female student from Université de Maroua in the north of Cameroon said, "Locally, we need to pass the HSK test before we can qualify to apply for the scholarship; the Confucius Institute (CI) offers scholarships only to five or six sponsored candidates each year, although there are always more than 20 applicants; it is somewhat competitive to get" (Interview note). In addition to the university partnership program, a few Cameroonian students who came to study at

the ZJNU had applied for a scholarship through the Université de Maroua, which is affiliated with the Confucius Institute at the Université de Yaoundé II and is certified to offer Chinese language degree education. Similar to the teacher training program mentioned above, students who receive a scholarship from this program will have a higher chance of securing a teaching position upon their return, thus it attracts many students who want to become teachers. As in the other cases, Chinese language proficiency is required for this program; qualified candidates need to pass a certain level of the HSK test to compete.

Reason Eight: **Look for business opportunities**. Some of the African students came to ZJNU for the purpose of pursuing a career in business. Among the twenty total students, three were business major students, nine had business ties or had some small business in China, and six of them were not majoring in business but showed a strong interest in business for the future. The motivation for studying and at the same time doing business in China is yet another "big push" behind the influx of African students studying in China. As one South African student said, "The business exchange between China and South Africa is increasing. China and South Africa need each other, so the future is promising. I want to do business" (Interview note). A student from Ghana said, "I worked as a chief marketing officer at an international technology company in Ghana, which was one of the Middle East and African branches of an American company. However, the production department of the company was in China. This made me wonder why I shouldn't come to China" (Interview note). Except for three self-sponsored African students studying for a business management degree in the Zhejiang Normal University China–Africa International Business School, three students from South Africa, Ghana, and Cameroon in non-business tracks were also paying for their own tuition and living expenses. All these three non-business track students showed personal interests in business.

Reason Nine: **Seek better education quality**. African students come and study in the ZJNU because they believe China has a better quality of educational and rich resources, especially in the science and technology fields. Many of the African students and their families valued an advanced degree from China. A Cameroonian male student said, "I'm getting my master's degree in chemistry here, and it is the same major I did in college. I feel the courses here are similar to my country, but the choices about applying materials are different. Chinese universities have more materials and more options. For example, in environmental materials, I study nanometer technology and environmental protection. Having expertise in water treatment issues is very important for the development of my country" (Interview note). Another Cameroonian female student said, "My major is educational technology. Courses cover curriculum design, educational psychology, general pedagogy, online education, mobile education and so on. In Cameroon, we don't have this major" (Interview note).

According to all 20 African students' responses regarding their learning motivations, we can conclude that there are at least nine major reasons for them to choose a Chinese university as their study abroad destination. Many African students and their families value an advanced degree in China because they see China's current

economic success as a learning model and because China has comparatively rich educational resources and better university facilitates to offer them. At the same time, affordable tuition and living expenses plus scholarship opportunities make China's higher education opportunities become quite compelling in the global international higher education market. For those of the interviewees who had future plans to do business with China, they wanted to accumulate the knowledge and experience about how to deal with problems in a Chinese way—in this sense, knowing how to make connections and learn the language and culture were extremely significant. And the African students who had received Chinese scholarships and signed contracts with their home countries felt that the overseas experience would broaden their global views and secure them a stable teaching position once they finished their studies in China. Moreover, they expressed that an advanced degree, study abroad experience, and new language skills might also help them gain social capital and improve their personal capability and competitiveness in the global job market.

This information is consistent with China and Africa's actions since the establishment of the FOCAC. China's higher education cooperation with African countries has been developing rapidly and the Chinese government has promised to increase its scholarship programs and exchange opportunities with African countries. Based on the enthusiasm being generated by African students studying in Chinese universities, fulfilling its promises will only serve to increase the number of students benefiting from its programs, which in turn, will benefit the African countries.

Plans and Opportunities

In terms of human capacity building, it is important to research African students' plans after graduation, including whether they would go back to their home country or stay in China.

Six African students who planned to go back to their home country after graduation were Cameroonians; five of those six wanted to be Chinese teachers or interpreters. Only one Cameroonian male student said the political situation in Africa was not good, and that although he was currently a teacher, he wanted to eventually be a politician. Another male from Cameroon also explained, "I think I came to China to study was aimed at helping my country better develop in the future; if I stay in China afterward, it's kind of lost meaning for me to study overseas" (Interview note).

Eight interviewees indicated that they wanted to stay in China after graduation; they could either start their own businesses or work for a local Chinese company. Four interviewees' responses are extracted from my interview notes:

> I am planning to do some business when I am done with my coursework here, but I am also planning to work for a big Chinese technology company.

> I want to stay in China for ten years or twenty years, study or work, whatever, after my graduation.

> I want to work in a Chinese company after graduation, or if I can find a job related to language, I would love to stay in China.

> After graduating, I wish to work in one of the Chinese construction companies, learn from them and then open my own company.

The rest of the six African students had not decided what they would do after graduation. Two were thinking of getting a Ph.D. in the near future in China or in some other countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States. One student said that he was not sure if the degree would help him reach his goal (he was not sure what his goal was yet), but that he wanted "to learn something new first and give it a try" (Interview note). Another three students wanted to do business, but they also felt that it was too early to decide. Two of the three were interested in government and organizational jobs and did not prefer one country over another, but said that if they ended up working for a Fortune Global 500 company that would be great as well.

To conclude this section, I will quote one interviewee's words, "Opportunity is the reality. If one has an opportunity, one should seize it. If not, one should try one's best to make an opportunity. Don't just stand there and wait for the opportunity to come to you" (Interview note). Noticeably, studying in China significantly influenced these African students' educational and occupational decisions about their future. They indicated that no matter where they go right after graduation or years later that China had opened a door for them, especially for those who had no financial ability to pay for their stay but had come with Chinese government scholarships. This was even true for the members of the group who had received advanced degrees from other countries' universities already; they saw this learning experience as a new opportunity for their own interests and personal development.

One area of concern raised by their responses was that since there were only six interviewees who made it clear that they would go back to their home countries, the influence on social mobility that study abroad might also cause problems in the form of a potential brain drain from African countries. Yet even with that in mind, I believe that for those who have business plans in China or Africa, the higher education cooperation has added to the engagement of the global South, which brings both social and individual benefits and thus contributes to the common good.

Perceptions About Living and Studying in China

Although the Chinese scholarship programs give both social and individual benefits to African students, African students' experience in China is still worth exploring. An evaluation of their experiences includes many aspects, such as economic status, social and cultural adaptation, and educational environment. Therefore, as some scholars such as Haugen (2013) and Dong and Chapman (2008) argued, only if the visiting African students gain positive study abroad experiences are they likely to appreciate the scholarship programs as well as to adopt the values of their host countries.

In this section, the study examines African students' living and studying in ZJNU by evaluating their monthly living expenses, perceptions about being a cultural outsider, and perceptions about learning in China's higher education institutions. A total number of fourteen African students participated in the survey.

Opinions About Living Expenses

The African students gave a variety of answers about their living expenses. However, the average expense for students who stayed on campus was between $108 and $154 per month. For those who stayed off-campus, average living expenses were much higher, between $262 to $462 per month, including food and accommodation (Table 7.1).

A few students complained that the scholarship provided by the Chinese government was insufficient. They also noted that China does not allow them to work while studying. One business major male student from Ghana said, "It is very expensive to stay here even with a scholarship. They don't give us enough money, and they don't allow us to work in the country. One of my friends was arrested and put into jail because he worked here. I know it is a policy for foreign students, but if they don't give us enough funds while also not allowing us to work, our life in China can be quite tough" (Interview note). Similarly, another male student from Cameroon said, "We are not allowed to work here, so although we have government scholarships, we still need to make budget plans. Otherwise, it would be hard to live here. Although it is not legal [to work in China as a foreign student], I know some of my African friends who are doing business in China and they are making a lot of money" (Interview note).

In contrast, some students told me that although it was a little more expensive to stay in China, they did not need to worry about living expenses because they had scholarships. Even more, they could start to save money while they were in China. One female student from South Africa said, "I have a scholarship, so I don't need to shell out anything from my own pocket; I have savings now, and I will have more opportunities to travel" (Interview note). Most of the African students who had scholarships assured me that they did not need to worry too much about their living

Table 7.1 Living Expenses

$N = 14$	
More expensive than their home countries	7
About the same or less expensive	7
Living expenses on campus (average per month)	RMB 700–1,000 ($108–154)
Living expenses outside of campus (average per month)	RMB 1,700–3,000 ($262–462)

since the expenses in Jinhua city were comparatively low among the other cities in Zhejiang province. If the students decided to stay on campus, the university helped by providing complimentary accommodations on campus. As one Cameroonian student said, "I think it is not very expensive to live in China; it's about the same as living in Cameroon" (Interview note). Similarly, another student from Botswana said, "The living expenses in China are pretty much the same as in Botswana, so it's okay for me to stay in China" (Interview note).

For these scholarship recipients, the Chinese government also pays for their health insurance. As one male student said, "If I get sick in China, I will get an 80% reimbursement from the Chinese government, and it usually takes just one month to get my money back" (Interview note). For those students who do not receive scholarships, they either receive financial support from their families or have business ties in China. Another Cameroonian student said, "My family provided me with some economic support. I don't think Jinhua is an expensive city to stay in; Guangzhou and Hangzhou are all quite expensive. It's about the same living in my country. Now I need RMB 1,000 to support my monthly expenses" (Interview note). A female student majoring in translation from Cameroon also said, "My father is a professor in medical school, and my brother studies medicine too, but he works in the government. Although we're not permitted to work while studying, my parents give me money. I want to be economically independent though, so I bought some small commodities in Yiwu and Canton and have sold them in Cameroon" (Interview note).

The students' perception of living expenses and work opportunities in China is a topic worth examining further. It appears that some African students come to China not only to pursue an advanced degree but also to look for business opportunities. As one Ghana male student said, his initial thought about coming to China came about because when he was working as a chief marketing officer at the international technology company in Ghana; he thought that in the future, he might be able to work for the production department of the company, which was located in China. Another female student from South Africa whose father ran the largest local taxi company said that as the commercial exchange between China and South Africa had been increasing, China and South Africa needed each other; she also expressed her wish of being a business person in the future.

In summary, most African students in this study who had come to study in China with Chinese government scholarships felt satisfied with their learning environment and living conditions. A few students said that they thought that living in China was about the same cost as living in their home countries. Since the scholarship could cover their living expenses in China, they did not need support from their families.

Perceptions About Chinese Culture, Otherness, and Being a Cultural Outsider

Many of the African students in this study found the Chinese culture interesting to learn about and said that their process of adapting to a new culture was an invaluable experience for them. After several months or years in China, the students had begun

to compare the Chinese culture with their own cultures; and in the interviews, many of them expressed a strong sense of cultural awareness and noted how their degree of tolerance and understanding toward Chinese people had increased.

In the interviews, many of the students mentioned that when they walked on the streets, people asked them why they were so dark. One student said, “People call me ‘black’. I don’t like it, but I start to ignore it after several times” (Interview note). Another student added to this, “Chinese people are curious about us; they have many questions for us. They follow us and take pictures. If they want to take a picture with me, they can tell me” (Interview note). Some African students explained that these types of situations happen more often in small cities rather than larger cities like Shanghai and Beijing. However, the African students who stated these issues also indicated that they still liked the Chinese people and believed that they were not discriminating against them on purpose, but rather that the Chinese people just did not know much about Africa and cultures outside of China.

Although a lack of knowledge of each other creates cultural barriers between Chinese and Africans sometimes, however, they are still learning from each other’s culture through daily interactions. It is worth pointing out that at least half of the African interviewees said that there were similarities between the Chinese culture and their home countries’ culture. Some of them thought that the Chinese Confucius cultural values of “piety” and “modesty” were significant for them to learn about. They said that they like the family-oriented culture, as both African and Chinese cultures are family-oriented, and also that both cultures valued education. In the interview, one male student from Ghana also told me a famous, traditional Chinese story entitled “Men Mu San Qian”: The story depicts how Chinese parents were willing to move several times to avoid bad influences for their children’s good. Similarly, another student from Cameroon believed that Chinese parents and even grandparents would sacrifice many things for their children. He said, “In China, if the married couple doesn’t have time to take care of their kids, their [grand]parents will come to help. We don’t have this culture in Cameroon, but I liked it very much” (Interview note).

In addition, a few interviewees discussed Chinese education and the ideology behind it. One male Cameroonian student noted that he was surprised that although most Chinese people do not have a religious belief, they have a strong sense of morality. He said, “In my country, if children don’t go to school, they will study religious principles. Religion is education. The most direct connection between religion and education is about moral education because it is about interpersonal relations. But in China, it seems like people believe that connection among people is very important” (Interview note). Although these African students felt that it was not too difficult for them to live in a Chinese manner, and that their Chinese classmates and teachers had treated them well and always helped them out, there were three interviewees who mentioned that they were unsure if the other Chinese people outside of the campus would also treat them in that same manner.

In spite of at times feeling like “cultural outsiders,” most of the African students interviewed seem to have positive attitudes toward studying and living in China, noting that socially and culturally, the people they had met had been kind and thoughtful

to them. On the one hand, many of the students indicated that they saw the Chinese people as their "learning model" as they felt that China was a highly cultured society. For instance, one interviewee said, "I think the Chinese people are my 'learning model'; they have 'Chinese spirit.' And the Chinese people, especially teachers, are very nice and helpful. Chinese students are hardworking" (Interview note). On the other hand, even though many of these interviewees admired the culture of China and tried to adapt to it, they also believed that no culture is better than another: they are just different, and that the learning process was an eye-opening experience for both sides.

Some of the students who had some knowledge of Chinese history recognized that China was still a developing country. Based on this way of looking at the issue of culture, some could see similarities in the lifestyles. As one female African student noted, "I personally do not see many differences in lifestyle here [in China]; if I want to watch a movie I can go [to the cinema]; if I want to listen to music I can listen—nothing special or different" (Interview note). At the same time, these students also noted that China had changed a lot after its opening and reform in the late 1970s, and that as a result, as they had learned, the social and cultural atmosphere in China had become more diverse. For these young African students experiencing life in China over 40 years later, they felt that although there were cultural differences between the Chinese and Africans, and that indeed, the language barriers were a challenge to communication, their lifestyles were close.

To conclude this section, it was clear from some of the interviewees' responses when addressing the subject of culture that while members of the younger generations in China and Africa have different life experiences, they learn and share similar values which they would not necessarily have experienced without learning in China. In the interview, many interviewees showed their tolerance and patience as cultural outsiders, as they believed that China and Africa needed more time to learn more about each other and that the higher education cooperation was proving to be a good starting point.

Perceptions About Studying at ZJNU and China's Higher Education

China presently has abundant higher education institutions and educational resources mostly in urban cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and some of the other more economically developed cities in the south. For foreign students, China's welcoming policy, comparatively low living expenses and business opportunities are the major attractions that encourage them to come and study. When the African students in this study were asked about their perceptions of the Zhejiang Normal University, their comments were quite positive.

Zhejiang Normal University is one of the 20 + 20 China–Africa partnership program universities; its status as such was noted by the interviewees beginning with an assessment of its facilities. Nine students said the university had great facilities, mentioning its stadium and library. They also noted that most classrooms had advanced technology and new multimedia equipment, which made learning easier

and more interesting, and the class sizes were smaller. Comparing his Chinese classroom in capacity and size to those of some universities in Africa, one student from Cameroon said, "We usually have 60–100 students in one classroom for elementary and middle schools, and more than 3,000 students in one classroom in college-level education. The size of an African classroom is normally like a football stadium, whereas in China, the classroom capacity is so much less" (Interview note). Comparatively, China's average college classroom size accommodates about 100 students for mandatory courses in the freshmen year and about 30 students for courses geared toward major-related subjects. Typically, China's universities have been promoting "small-class" teaching for any foreign language majors, which means that each classroom only accommodates about 10–15 students.

In terms of the student-professor relations, most of the interviewees believed that the relationship between student and teacher in China was closer—like a friendship, which was different from most African university student-professor interactions. As one student said, "In Cameroon, teachers usually leave the classroom immediately after class, and when students go to their office and ask questions, they ask the students to come tomorrow because they are too busy to answer questions" (Interview note). In China, the interviewees noticed that both their classmates and their professors were readily available and tried their best to help. As one male student from Ghana said, "I met many good teachers here, and Chinese teachers and students are not 'cold hearted' at all. I think that you should take a look at yourself if someone treats you coldly; there is a reason. My teacher in China always answers my questions kindly, which inspired my motivation to learn a lot" (Interview note). Similarly, another male student from Cameroon said, "I feel comfortable studying in a Chinese university; the teachers here are always helping me out when I have questions about life or studying." One female student further explained, "It may be the Chinese culture, but the Chinese people like to help others, and there are no strings attached. In Cameroon, if you ask someone to help you, you have to give something back; otherwise, people won't help you" (Interview note).

However, in spite of the fact that most of the interviewees felt comfortable working with their Chinese classmates and teachers, they registered a common and large complaint concerning the Chinese learning style. It is a common knowledge in China that most Chinese students like to take notes and then recite exactly what the teachers have previously told them in class, memorize what they read in the textbook, and then write that down in exactly those same words when answering test questions. As one African student complained, "In China, the teachers only expect you to answer their questions by using textbook knowledge, which is different from the teachers of my country. In my country, if you only know the answers from the textbook, you won't get a good grade; the teachers expect you to comprehend what they taught in class rather than 'copy and paste'" (Interview note). Chinese students are basically good test-takers, however, as some interviewees noted, they may not be good at using knowledge in real-life situations. This type of learning does not happen because there is a basic belief that learning takes place through memorization. As one Cameroonian student said, "In Chinese universities, students are still asked to memorize the contents from classes for the purpose of taking final tests, and that feels

strange to me." He further explained, "For example, they [Chinese students] always get high scores in English tests because they can easily recite the whole paragraph from the book. However, when it comes to communication, they are always shy and do not know how or what to say. Although I admire the Chinese students' learning attitude, I think it's not a great way to learn" (Interview note). During the interviews, although some African students said it was very hard to adapt to the Chinese way of learning, they seemed to understand that in China, a good test score was a better guarantee of a job opportunity.

In general, the African students' experiences and perceptions about living and studying at ZJNU were largely positive. For those receiving scholarships, their ability to make ends meet was good since Jinhua is a small city. Although most of those interviewed had been at ZJNU for less than three years, their Chinese language proficiency had improved, including that of those who had had no Chinese language instruction before they arrived. In addition, they felt that this learning opportunity also served as an eye-opening experience; it raised their cultural awareness and their ability to understand another culture. Although a few students remarked that people on the streets saw them differently sometimes, they believed that it might be driven by curiosity and limited knowledge of both African countries and African people.

The biggest challenge for these African students was the learning style. Since most African countries follow a more Western educational style and standard, the Chinese learning style did not always meet African students' expectations and may also have caused a certain level of stress for them. A second big challenge was to master the Chinese language for academic purpose in a short period of time. Fortunately, however, since ZJNU houses an international school that offers Chinese language classes for international students, the classes helped to reduce the learning anxiety that occurred and prepared them for their major studies.

While some African students who come to study in China still face many difficulties culturally, linguistically and socially, the African student population in Chinese universities has been growing faster than expected for several reasons, including the Chinese government scholarship funds, the comparatively low cost of tuition and living expenses for those who do pay their own way, the longer-term student visa policy, and the advanced learning facilities and campus conditions.

Implication and Conclusion

A key principle underlying the relationship between higher education and the prosperity of developing countries, such as China and the African countries, is simple but profound: human resources matter. Intellectual development is a mechanism that promotes both economic growth and social transformation; investment in higher education can be "translated into comparative economic advantage … [and] that knowledge has become the primary resource in advancing economics" (Scott, 1998). China and African countries share different cultures, social circumstances and higher education systems. China–Africa's higher education cooperation also presents different

challenges at different times. Yet, the new strategic partnership relations promote mutual benefits and harmonious development, bringing innovation, social mobility and increasing mutual understanding, which helps to strengthen the African countries' capacity for self-development, cement the foundation for achieving long-term and stable growth, and at the same time, set up an example for human resources development in the context of South-South cooperation.

In this study, the general perceptions of African students studying at the Zhejiang Normal University seemed positive. Yet half of those interviewed indicated that the Chinese way of learning presented challenges since it was quite different from the West and from their home countries. They found that the Chinese teachers preferred to limit their teaching to the knowledge written in the textbook, and that the students were simply expected to recite the text and then use that recitation as the basis for answers on tests. For many of the African students who had Western educational backgrounds, the different learning style was a big challenge. In addition, half of the interviewees had had no background in the Chinese language before they came to study at the ZJNU. And while they managed to master conversational Chinese after a relatively short period of time, academic Chinese was still difficult for them to understand and use. They found that the teachers and their Chinese classmates were quite willing to help them, but most felt that the language issue kept them from being excluded in the learning community and exchanging academic thoughts with other Chinese students and teachers.

Culturally and socially, these African students seemed to have a comparatively high social tolerance toward the Chinese people. A few African students mentioned that their Chinese classmates and teachers were very helpful and always treated them kindly if they had questions about study or life in China. However, on the streets of some small cities or towns in China, people often looked at them differently, which hurt their feelings and caused them some anxiety as cultural outsiders. However, some of the interviewees were informed by friends that the Chinese people were very curious about them, leading some of these students to understand that in many cases, this curiosity did not necessarily mean that they were being discriminated against on purpose. In this sense, most of them hoped that in the future, the people of China and Africa would have more learning opportunities like the one that they were currently experiencing, which would help reduce unnecessary stress and increase mutual understanding on both sides. In addition, a few interviewees mentioned that they liked the Chinese Confucius cultural values because they shared similarities with their home countries' values, for example that both cultures believed that harmony is a key element for family life and development.

Economically, half of the interviewees indicated that living in China was a little more expensive than in their home countries, but the other half said that it was about the same. The perspective depended on the interviewee's country of origin. If the interviewee was from South Africa or Nigeria, the living expenses in China were about the same or even less. The interviewees who expressed that they did not receive enough funding from the Chinese government might have been more interested in looking for business opportunities in China than in receiving a degree.

In reviewing the research questions about African students' motivations and perceptions of studying in China and the impact that China–Africa's higher education cooperation would have on Africa's human resources development, this study draws the following conclusions:

(1) African students' motivation for studying in China is largely driven by China's growing economy and its educational opportunities, the latter being especially valued by African students and their families. Since the Chinese government's offers of financial aid are quite generous to African countries, Africans see China as their new study-abroad destination for gaining social capital, gaining extra financial benefits, and developing personal capabilities.
(2) The overseas experience in China influences the African students' educational and career developmental decisions. Many African students come to study in China not only to pursue an advanced degree but also to seek out potential business opportunities. Since fewer than half the interviewees showed any clear intention that they would be returning to their home countries once they had completed their studies, the increased educational mobility might cause a potential brain drain in African countries in the long run.
(3) African students have some difficulties adjusting to the cultural climate of the Chinese university. The students in this study acknowledged that their Chinese teachers and classmates treated them kindly. However, many of them, especially those who did not have any Chinese language background, were used to Western educational systems and they found themselves having difficulties adapting to the academic language and learning methods of the Chinese university. For example, many African students complained that Chinese students were always busy taking class notes; since there were infrequent classroom discussions, the African students did not have an opportunity to seek help during the class, which usually led to hours of time outside of class for them to figure out the problems. This repeated problem was stress-inducing for many of them.
(4) Some of the students faced additional stress as a result of misunderstandings that arose off-campus due to language issues, cultural differences or the curiosity level of local Chinese. In these cases, the African students had to summon great cultural tolerance to reconcile these misunderstandings.

Based on the study findings, several issues raised by these facts may require further exploration.

Studying in China: A Pathway to Wealth?

The interviewed African students expected a Chinese degree to either give them an advantage in global job market or help them explore more business opportunities in China. Compared to the Western countries, studying in China is much more economical and learning a new language is also valuable and practical. For self-funded students, moderate tuition fees, low living costs and a welcoming visa policy are

major reasons that attracted them to study in China. Most of the self-funded students interviewed were business majors or had business ties in China. As Yiwu is known as the capital of the world's small commodities, nearly half a million foreign businessmen come to Yiwu to purchase commodities every year, of whom 80,000 come from Africa, and thousands of them reside there; it has had a huge influence among African countries (The Fifth Meeting of the China–Africa Think-tank Forum, May 6, 2016). Chinese President Xi Jinping once promoted Yiwu city as a typical example of China–Africa trade; it plays an important role in China–Africa exchanges and is an example of South-South cooperation. In this sense, if ZJNU continues to promote its unique location through its scholarship opportunities, the numbers of African students will likely increase in the ensuing years. Statistically, according to the student lists provided by the China–Africa International Business School in 2017, the number of international students with a major in international business at ZJNU increased 13-fold within a three-year period; among these students, 58% of the population was African.

As previously mentioned, many African students complained about China's employment policy toward foreign students, whereas quite a few of them said that even though the scholarship the government provided could sustain their standard of living in China until they finished the study program, they still wanted to earn or save as much as they could during their stay. Thus, it seems likely that many Africans come to study in Chinese universities primarily to get visas to work in businesses rather than for the academic benefits. For the business major African students, many of their family members were already settled in China before they enrolled in the ZJNU; they are part of the sizeable population of African traders in Jinhua or Guangzhou who export goods to Africa. As one male student from Cameroon said, "My family has some business background, and I hope I can stay here and do some business after my graduation … I visited Yiwu twice before I came to study business administration in ZJNU. The stationery we exported to African countries all sold well, so I'd like to expand this business to other African countries" (Interview note).

Many Africans "come to China as students and leave the country as traders in Chinese goods" (Haugen, 2013, p. 331). Even though African students know that they might be punished or arrested by the Chinese government if they work off the campus, many of them take this risk to start up personal business endeavors. As one Cameroonian male student said, "Many of my African friends come to China to study because they want to find a better job and make good money" (Interview note). Another female student further explained that "we are not allowed to work here [in China], but I know some African students who are currently doing business" (Interview note). In the interviews, several African students also told me that Chinese universities usually do not prohibit African students from starting their own businesses in China after graduation, but the approval procedures may be quite complex for foreigners. To them, mastering advanced proficiency levels in Chinese and exploring more commercial opportunities are their long-term goals.

In this study, the African students were attracted to study in Chinese universities due to the Chinese government's generosity in offering a large number of scholarships; and some of them wished to continue getting post-graduate degrees in China if

they could receive scholarships again. For those government-funded students, even if they could not find good business opportunities, they felt that they had at least gained an overseas experience and mastered a new language, both of which would help them improve their personal competencies and give them more opportunities in the global job market. African students believed that mastering knowledge and skills in needed areas would be the key for realizing Africa's human resource development, which would enable economic growth potential in the long run. Conversely, they also believed that engaging in international trade and contributing to the fast-growing export of Chinese products to African markets would be a dominant force for realizing a rapid economic transformation and improvement in an individual's life. In this study, many African students noted that they believed in China's approach to development; China's economic success was influencing the world, and they wanted to see the same happen in Africa. African students' responses reflected China's development model and Deng Xiaoping's famous saying "Let some people get rich first." As one male African student said, "If I go back to my country [Cameroon], I want to make those poor become rich first."

Human Capacity Building or Brain Drain?

In this study, a better understanding of whether the higher education cooperation would result in human capacity building required two major premises. One was based on the educational quality of the higher education institutions and the other was based on the African students' decisions as to whether or not to return to their home countries after graduation. If China provided them with an excellent education and they all went back home after graduating to contribute to their home countries' development, then China's higher educational assistance would be playing a huge role in building human capacity in Africa. However, if most of the African students chose to remain in China after graduating, there was the likelihood that in the future, Africa would suffer a brain drain that it would find it hard to recover from.

Since many of the African students interviewed indicated that after graduation they wanted to stay in China for business purposes or go to other developed countries to pursue another degree, it seems unlikely that many of them will return to their home countries in the short term. At ZJNU, many Cameroonian students who had received government scholarships had signed contracts with China that promised their return after graduation, but most of these students were either language or education majors, not those in the science fields. Arguably, if these students decided not to return home, China's scholarships might still help to strengthen Chinese-African cultural and economic ties and enhance mutual understanding, but this type of educational assistance would be less effective in furthering human capacity building in the home countries.

In the interview, one language major female African student mentioned that she wanted to work as a translator for a Chinese company. If she could not find a job like that, she would consider a related job in her home country; today there are many

companies in African countries who do business with China that need translators who can master both Chinese and the local language. Another male student from Cameroon who spoke fluent Chinese worried about his ability to make economic contribution to his country if he decided to go back. He said that he would prefer to have some work experience in China before he went back, but he also worried that if he stayed in China for too long, he might not want to go back at all. Several students expressed views similar to these during my visit at ZJNU; even though some African students already had plans to return to their home countries, many of them were still unsure if they had accumulated enough capability or confidence to make changes in their home countries. Therefore, the ones who had not signed contracts wanted to stay in China, either working for a Chinese company or starting their own small businesses. While they remained and worked, they hoped to learn more about China's developmental strategies through hoped-for opportunities to work with Chinese scholars and practitioners.

Most African students who came to study in China in this study had no plans to go back, and even the ones who did have plans to go back felt that it might take them years to do so. It would be invaluable to conduct further research about these African graduates' whereabouts in five or ten years to evaluate whether educational mobility encouraged by various scholarship and degree opportunities have been causing brain drain or instead, has been strengthening African countries' human capacity gradually.

What to Expect in the Future?

Since the open policy of the 1970s, higher education in China has experienced several reforms. Following the alignment with the worldwide movement toward neoliberal globalization, a current development has been China's determination to establish more world-class universities domestically; thus China's university culture has become undoubtedly more diverse and open to the world. However, since the quality of education serves as an important factor in human capacity building, another valuable research topic would be an exploration of how much a Chinese university can offer to African students and how much of China's international education (with Chinese characteristics) has to offer can African students retain.

This study provided a look at what China's university system currently offers its international students, in this case, its African ones. Almost all of the African students interviewed said they were glad they had received scholarships and come to ZJNU; they felt welcomed by the teachers and their classmates. On campus, it was easy for them to get access to all resources, academic and social, as the university had a wide range of facilities, including a newly renovated library and several large cafeterias. They indicated that the scholarship was providing them with the possibility of an overseas educational and social experience and would help them gain more social capital and increased job opportunities. Reiterating the thoughts of one female interviewee, she no longer felt that she only belonged to her home country but belonged to the world. In addition, several students also expressed the fact that

they had learned many new customs and ways of thinking that were native to the Chinese culture, and that some of these were quite similar to parts of the traditional African cultures. One part was like the very central tenet of China's Confucius culture to respect one's elders which had been lost to modernity. They liked much of what they had learned and intended to bring these new and not so new philosophies of life back to their own countries someday.

Although the African students in the study generally felt safe and accepted on the university campus, sometimes they felt alienated by local Chinese students or residents off the campus. In their explanations of these incidents, the African students demonstrated cultural understanding and social tolerance toward China and the Chinese people because as cultural outsiders, they wanted to try their best to understand and to adapt to this new country that they found themselves in. Taking this into account, as China hosts more African students (as well as students from other countries) in the future, on the state level, it would be advantageous for the Chinese government to create a periodic evaluation system that would give international students the opportunity to provide feedback to both the university and the government agency in order to prepare the universities for offering better education and foreign student services. On the university level, Chinese universities need its scholars in international education to design a more compatible educational system and curriculum that can better serve the needs of international students who come from different backgrounds. China needs to create a better social and cultural environment for welcoming more international students that would increase mutual understanding and alleviate students' learning and living stress. As the country allows large numbers of Chinese students to "go out" to study overseas and "invites in" international students worldwide, the Chinese government and its universities have a responsibility to promote cultural diversity and reconciliation in a better facilitated South-South cooperation model.

From a researcher's perspective, it was interesting to see that many of these African students were walking in between different cultures, the most recent addition being the Chinese culture, which brought them yet another new identity. I found that these particular African students had different understandings about the Chinese culture, the Western culture and their own culture, and that the mixture of these cultures created unique characteristics in each of them. In the interviews, "balance" was one word that many of the African students used repeatedly. For them, then, walking in between cultures requires balance, successful development requires balance and true cooperation also requires balance.

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Chapter 8
Reimaging Chinese Globally Mobile Students: Political Subjects in the Making

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Abstract This chapter argues for reimaging Chinese students as political subjects in the making during their global mobility, an image different from the three primary images (i.e., learners across cultures, consumers of international education market, and important human capital) that existing literature on international higher education has projected onto these students. The argument is mainly based on the connection between globally mobile Chinese people and China's democratic development as manifested by the review of the history of China's democratization in three periods: the Late Qing Period (1840 AD–1911 AD), the Republican Period (1912 AD–1949 AD), and the Socialist Period (1949 AD—present). Against the backdrop of the massive flow of Chinese students pursuing higher education abroad in the twenty-first century, and informed by their predecessors' important contributions to theories and practices regarding Chinese democracy, the chapter concludes by suggesting three key thematic areas that may underpin the long-overdue inquiry into Chinese students' formation as political subjects during their global mobility: (1). their lived experience of transition from the sociopolitical context of their home country to that of their host countries, (2). their meaning making of democracy, and (3). their engagement with democratic practices in host countries.

Keywords Chinese students · Higher education · International education · International students

Introduction

Against the backdrop of world order reconfiguration marked by the rise of China and the weakening of many Western economies particularly after the 2008 financial crisis, the majority of globally mobile students from China have chosen major Western countries as their destinations for higher education. Despite the fact that democracy is a noteworthy marker of political difference between China and the West, the pertinence of these students' global mobility to China's democratization is yet to

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_8

receive its due attention among scholars and other stakeholders of international higher education. The neglect of this issue is partly due to the three primary images that existing literature in the field of international education has constructed for Chinese globally mobile students, namely, learners across cultures, consumers of international education market, and important human capital. However, this paper, with recourse to history demonstrates the extremely important, if not the central, roles of the Chinese with experience of global mobility in China's democratic developments since the late nineteenth century.

Three Main Images for Chinese Globally Mobile Students

Literature in the field of international higher education has mainly projected three images onto Chinese globally mobile students. The first is that of *consumers* in international higher education market (Fang & Wang, 2014; Simpson & Tan, 2008), an image largely based on the recognition that these students constitute a significant revenue source for higher education institutions, local communities, and destination countries. Informed by their vast economic contributions, research has been conducted to particularly study motivation factors in Chinese students' choice of study destinations (Wu, 2014), as well as recruitment strategies of host higher education institutions (Bodycott & Lai, 2012).

The second image is that of *learners* across borders (Barker, 1997; Cheng & Erben, 2012; Cortazzi & Jin, 1997; Forland & Kingston, 2008; Zhang, 2010). Such an image mainly derives from research that examines the students' experience of pedagogical problems associated with language difficulties and cultural differences. Interestingly, cultural differences tend to be conceptualized from the lens of the dichotomy between individualism in the English speaking world and collectivism in China as a strong cultural heritage from Confucianism (Triandis, 1995).

The third main image for Chinese globally mobile students is that of *human capital* (Bail & Shen, 2008; Biao, 2006; OECD, 2008; Pan, 2010; Zweig, 2006). This image is largely constructed in and through discourses and policies pertaining to the notion of knowledge economy that is becoming increasingly globalized in the twenty-first century. It is widely believed that students in higher education are a desirable skilled labor force for raising a country's competitiveness in the globalized knowledge economy. Thus, research has particularly examined the two directions of Chinese students' migration after their study overseas: returning to China and staying abroad (Cheung & Xu, 2014; Jonkers & Tijssen, 2008; Lu, Zong & Schissel, 2009).

It should be noted that a small number of studies have touched on the political aspect of Chinese students' experience of global mobility. For instance, a research by Fong (2011) finds that these students' motivation to study abroad also involves political considerations, which mainly pertain to their desire to avoid political corruption in their daily life in China. Another study by Hail (2015) investigated Chinese students' encounters with their American peers' criticism of China on a US university campus. Especially noteworthy is the finding with regard to the political influence of

overseas experience on some Chinese students: "observing the exercise of political freedom in the United States helped them better understand American society and made them want China to become more politically open" (p. 10).

As shown above, prior research in the field of international higher education has done relatively little to examine Chinese students' experience of global mobility from a political perspective. Three factors can contribute to this lacuna. The first is that of research lag. Chinese students' increasing presence is relatively new in international higher education, starting only from the beginning of the twenty-first century. It is understandable that existing literature has primarily focused on these students' pedagogical problems because academic achievement tends to be the top priority for them and the higher education institutions where they study. Having said this, there has been a research lag in responding to the political dimension of Chinese students' global mobility.

The second contributing factor is that of the dominance of neoliberalism in international higher education. Neoliberalism has been pushing for its educational mandate, as summarized by Robertson (2000), that "educational systems, through creating appropriately skilled and entrepreneurial citizens and workers able to generate new and added economic values, will enable nations to be responsive to changing conditions within the international marketplace" (p. 187). From a neoliberal perspective, international higher education can and should produce its students as human capital required for global competition (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This focus on the economic value of Chinese international students has perpetuated the neglect of their political significance. However, as domestic pressure on China's political reforms increases in the twenty-first century, the need for researching into these students' impacts on China's democratization becomes ever greater. This is particularly the case for those students studying in North America and Western Europe because they are more likely to have firsthand exposure to and experience with democratic institutions and practices in their host countries.

The third contributing factor may be that scholars and other stakeholders of international higher education lack the awareness of the connections between Chinese globally mobile students and China's democratization. Raising such awareness, in particular, requires an appreciation of the contributions of those Chinese people with experience of global mobility to China's democratic developments since the late nineteenth century, to which I now turn.

History of China's Democratization

Scholarship pertaining to China's democratization tends to treat its history in a fragmentary way. For one thing, this history is conventionally divided into three periods: the Late Qing Period (1840 AD–1911 AD), the Republican Period (1912 AD–1949 AD), and the Socialist Period (1949 AD—present). For another, the knowledge generated under this framework of division tends to focus on the distinct features of each period, thus neglecting the features that are common across all three periods. Still

using this conventional division, I attempt to review China's democratization history with a special focus on what and how those globally mobile Chinese contributed to China's democratic developments in each period.

The Late Qing Period (1840 AD–1911 AD)

China's democratization was incubated in the milieu of education reforms triggered by the country's humiliating interactions with foreign powers in the late Qing period. Until the mid nineteenth century the Qing court and its elites had believed that China was supreme in the civilized world (Reynolds, 2001). However, this strong sense of supremacy was gradually turned into deepening humiliation by China's consecutive military defeats, starting from its first unequal treaty signed with the United Kingdom after the defeat in the Sino-British Opium War in 1842, and culminating in its crushing defeat by Japan—a country which had been traditionally dependent on China—in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95.

These defeats aroused a profound sense of national crisis among many government officials and elites. Their prescriptions for China's survival mainly pertained to education reforms instead of political ones. Assuming that "western learning could bring China wealth and power in a modern world where China's Confucian heritage was of little value" (Pepper, 1996, p. 519), the Qing government abruptly abolished the 1,200-year-old civil service examination in 1905. Based on the belief that "Japan has taken the West's excellence in education as its model in fostering talent, and the country's power has indeed risen greatly" (Borthwick, 1983, p. 42), Chinese reformers replaced civil service exam with a three-tier modern school system of primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges, a system modeled on the Westernized Japanese Meiji one.

One unintended result of education reforms in the late Qing period is that the declining confidence in Confucianism motivated many Chinese elites to learn from the West about democracy as a means of building China into a powerful modern state. The very concept of democracy was introduced to China almost single-handedly by an elite reformer Liang Qichao during his exile in Japan after the Qing court's crackdown of the "Hundred Days of Reform" in 1898. Liang borrowed the Japanese term 民主 in his writing to signify democracy. Interestingly, this term was invented through recombining existing characters of the Japanese literary language—a language very close to the classical Chinese—in new ways when western political texts were translated into Japanese in the late nineteenth century.

While exploring Western political thoughts in Japan, Liang was optimistic about democracy as a source of the power of many Western countries. In his conception, democracy was primarily "a means of communication between government and people" (Nathan, 1985, p. 49), which could effectively unleash the power of popular participation to form the unity of will and effort of individuals and to promote collective welfare. In turn, this solidarity of the group would ultimately secure the survival of China in its fierce competition against other nations and races.

However, Liang became pessimistic about democracy after his tour in the United States (the US) in 1903. This attitude shift was largely influenced by his experience with American politicians and the Chinese in America. Unimpressed by the talent of American politicians and deploring the inefficiency of constant elections, Liang was very disappointed with the American democracy, particularly the republican form of democratic government. He also observed that despite the freedom and privileges the Chinese enjoyed in the US, their participation in elections and organizations had always led to chaos and disorder. Reasoning that even Chinese in the US were incompetent of achieving unity of the group through democracy, Liang concluded

> Freedom, constitutionalism, republicanism: these are but the general terms which describe majority rule. But China's majority, the great, the vast majority of Chinese, are as I have described them here. Were we now to resort to rule by this majority, it would be the same as committing national suicide. Freedom, constitutionalism, republicanism—this would be like wearing summer garb in winter, or furs in summer: beautiful, to be sure, but unsuitable. No more am I dizzy with vain imaginings; no longer will I tell a tale of pretty dreams. In a word, the Chinese people must for now accept authoritarian rule; they cannot enjoy freedom… Those born in the thundering tempests of today, forged and molded by iron and fire – they will be my citizens, twenty or thirty, nay, fifty years hence. Then we will give them Rousseau to read, and speak to them of Washington. (Liang, 1904, as cited in Grieder, 1981, p. 167)

Based on the assumption that the survival of a state was identified with that of individuals within that state, Liang turned to constitutional monarchy as a more suitable form of democratic government for China and authoritarianism as a necessary means to build China into a modern state. In his post-American-tour essay "On enlightened despotism", Liang further argued that "even if a governmental system deprives the people of much or all of their freedom, it is a good system so long as it is founded on a spirit of meeting the requirements of national defense." (Liang, 1906, as cited in Nathan, 1985, p. 62)

In summary, China's democratization was incubated in the late Qing period in the greater context of China's humiliating interactions with foreign powers. Noteworthy is that Liang Qichao, while being globally mobile, introduced the concept of democracy to China. His global mobility also influenced his attitudes toward democracy. During his exile in Japan, he was enthusiastic and optimistic about democracy when interpreting it in light of ideas and values of Confucianism. Nonetheless, his direct exposure to American democracy and experience with the Chinese in the US had made him more pessimistic about democracy. As the one who brought the concept of democracy to China, Liang paradoxically also provided a rationale for adopting authoritarianism in China.

The Republican Period (1912 AD–1949 AD)

In the Republican period, China's democratization took shape mainly on the theoretical foundations laid out by Sun Yat-sen. Noteworthy is that Sun's theoretical thinking with regard to democracy was influenced by his experience in North America and

Western Europe, where he inquired into the political, social, and economic developments of major Western countries between eighteenth century and early twentieth century.

Informed by his inquiries while being globally mobile, Sun (1919/1994) conceived of democracy as "sovereignty of the masses" (p. 225). On the one hand, he regarded democracy as "the tide of political progress throughout the world" (p. 228) that could not be resisted by any person or government. On the other hand, Sun advocated that democracy was indispensable for China for three reasons. First, a ruler had no room in China because the people were its foundation and they were equal with one another. Second, constitutional monarchy, the form of democratic government preferred by Liang Qichao, was ruled out in China since Han Chinese, the vast majority of the Chinese population, were extremely hostile to monarchy after being ruled heavy-handedly by the Manchus for 260 years in the Qing dynasty. Third, democracy could solve the political evil of prolonged chaos and confusion that had accompanied revolutions in the Chinese history. Sun reasoned that without a democratic system, revolutionists would covet the power of an emperor, a threat that had already caused endless wars in China's past.

It should be noted that Sun's conception of democracy was closely related to nationalism and socialism. This is mainly due to his famous Three Principles of the People (*sanmin zhuyi*), which underpinned his revolution endeavor. These principles are that of Nationalism (*minzu zhuyi*), Democracy (*minquan zhuyi*), and People's Livelihood (*minsheng zhuyi*). The Principle of Nationalism served as the foundation of the nationalist revolution for a twofold purpose: to end the rule of Manchus over Han Chinese, and to restore the lost Han Chinese nation and establish it as equal with other nations in the world. The Principle of Democracy was the foundation of the political revolution against monarchy, a revolution that, in Sun's opinion, must be concurrent with the nationalist revolution against Manchus. Sun envisaged this political revolution to create a constitutional, democratic system, which combined direct democracy at the county level and representative democracy at the national level. The Principle of the People's Livelihood was the foundation of the social revolution. Sun defined this principle as socialism, believing it could help the newly founded Republic of China, a latecomer in industrial and economic development, to avoid the unequal distribution of capitals and political powers among different demographics (particularly between the rich and poor), a social problem that he perceived as being bitterly experienced by the Western capitalist countries in his time.

Sun (1923/1994) also laid out a three-step road map to China's democratization: military administration, political tutelage, and constitutional period. In the first step, martial law would be in effect and the revolution army would not only destroy the Manchu dictatorship and official corruption, but also reform evil practices of the imperial era. This would be followed by the second step of three years of political tutelage. The aim of this transitional period was threefold: a provisional constitution would be in effect; local autonomy would be introduced and practiced; former subjects of the Qing dynasty would be instructed on their rights and obligations as citizens and the powers of the revolution government so that they would be ready for

participation in direct democracy at the county level and indirect democracy at the national level. In the third step of constitutional period, each county having achieved complete local self-government would elect one delegate. A national congress consisting of the total number of the elected delegates would then draft the constitution. After this, the people would elect a president and parliamentary delegates to organize the central government. In the constitutional period, the Chinese people would exercise their rights of suffrage, initiative, referendum and recall directly at the county level, and their delegates in the parliament would exercise all the aforementioned rights except suffrage at the national level.

Sun envisaged China's democratization as top-down process revolving around two axes: the political party and the people. To Sun (1918/1994), the starting point of China's democratization was the establishment of a party whose members rallied around his Three Principles of the People. Then the party should educate the Chinese people about these Principles so that they could become capable of participating in China's democracy. Sun regarded the relationship between the party and the people as that of mother and child:

> The people as masters of the Republic are like a newborn babe. Our Revolutionary party members are the mother who gave birth to this infant, and it is our duty to nurture and educate it, if we are to fulfill our revolutionary responsibility. The revolutionary program requires a period of political tutelage so that the master can be nurtured until adulthood, when power will be transferred back to him. (pp. 209–210)

This indicates that education was also crucial for the realization of Sun's envisioned democratic China. He further devised a doctrine to guide his top-down approach to China's democratization: "to act is easy, to know is difficult" (p. 199), which prioritized acquiring the knowledge of democracy over taking actions to achieve democracy.

In practice, Sun successfully ended the rule of the Manchu minority over the Han Chinese majority by overthrowing the Qing dynasty through the Revolution of 1911. He also became the provisional president of the Republic of China founded in 1912. However, the newly founded Republic soon disintegrated into a state of regional and local warlordism in 1915, which lasted until the National Government of the Republic of China reunified the country in 1928.

The failure of importing formal political institutions from the West triggered a quick cultural turn in China's democratization process. Many influential intellectuals concluded that China's real problem lay in its culture: "everything in old China was backward, dark, and weak" (Hayford, 1990, p. ix). Therefore, their solution was to create a new culture, or an entirely new way of life. This cultural turn was expedited by the May Fourth Movement in 1919, whose formula for the new culture was to introduce "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Democracy" from the West to China.

It can be argued that the New Culture Movement has been a creative force of China's democratization ever since. This is mainly because it made possible the heterogeneity in conceptions of democracy, and brought liberalism, Marxism, and neo-Confucianism into competitions in the arena of China's democratization until the end of the Republican period in 1949.

Noteworthy in this competition of meanings of democracy is the contributions of the returned Chinese students, particularly those returned from North America and Western Europe. Many returnees such as Hu Shi, Tao Xingzhi, Jiang Menglin, and Guo Bingwen were liberal intellectuals who conceptualized democracy as one resembling liberal democracy in the West. In particular, they advocated a free civil society in China, arguing that China's democratization was to be determined by the enlightened, well-educated elites capable of applying scientific inquiry methods and influencing China's established centers of power (Schwartz, 1983). They conceived of the Chinese people as "new citizens", who were "independent and active… in a social system in which the state was losing its traditional priority" (Borevskaya, 2001, p. 35), and whose struggle for individual freedom also contributed to China's struggle for national freedom and independence as well as its search for national wealth and power. Under the influence of these liberal intellectuals, the 1919 Fifth Annual Conference of the National Education Association passed an unprecedented resolution proclaiming that government should not impose its ideology on education (Zheng, 2001). One of the intentions behind this policy was to create a favorable environment for the development of China's free civil society.

Returned Chinese students also played an important role under the umbrella of "the third force" in the 1940s marked by the power struggles between the Kuomintang of China (the KMT, often translated as the Nationalist Party of China) and the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP). They strived to bring reconciliation between these two major political combatants through negotiation and compromise for the sake of the nation's unity in its fight against Japan and for the sake of the avoidance of a civil war in China. In addition, they advocated constitutional and democratic reforms as a way for China to go forward, which competed against authoritarianism offered by both the KMT and the CCP (Fung, 2000). Although their cause failed in history, "the third force" has created what Nathan (1992) terms as "a liberal tradition within, not external to, the Chinese past" (p. 325). It can be even argued that those returned Chinese students in the Republic Period are not only the predecessors of China's present democrats but also the shoulders of the giants on which present democrats stand in the sense that many issues pertaining to China's democratization raised by the liberal intellectuals in the 1940s still remain largely unsolved and continue to pose great intellectual and practical challenges in China's present and prospective democratization.

To sum up, China's democratization took shape in the Republican period. This period witnessed significant contributions of those Chinese with experience of global mobility to the development of a structure and a culture conducive to a democratic China. These Chinese played a central role in laying theoretical foundations of democracy in the Chinese context, creating a multiplicity of discourses available for meaning making of Chinese democracy, and developing practices and policies to foster a free Chinese civil society. Nonetheless, priority in the Chinese politics was never given to democratization in this period because the Nationalist government was caught in the Sino-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945 and the Chinese Civil War against the CCP from 1945 to 1949.

The Socialist Period (1949 AD—Present)

The foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 commenced the socialist period of the history of China's democratization. This period can be divided into two broad phases: one under the leadership of Mao Zedong (1949 AD–1976 AD), and the other under post-Mao communist leaders (1976 AD—present).

The CCP put forward a different meaning of democracy in the Chinese context, that is, socialist democracy. Drawing mainly on Marxism and Leninism, socialist democracy is claimed not only as a historical advancement of the democracy of Western capitalist countries but also a genuine one on the ground that the rule by the people is realized through the dictatorship of the proletariat (Hu, 2000).

The conception of socialist democracy also draws on Mao Zedong's ideas of "democratic centralism" and "mass line" (Hu, 2000). Democratic centralism means the ways in which the ruling classes—working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie—organize political power in the democratic stage of the Chinese revolution, which is to be followed by the socialist stage. Democracy in this framework refers to the bottom-up approach to policy-making in general and allowing the people to speak out during the policy-making process in particular. Centralism denotes the top-down approach to policy-making particularly within the CCP, which demands "the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, the part to the whole, and the entire membership to the Central Committee" (Mao, 1942). As Hu (2000) argues, Mao seemed to "confuse democracy with unbridled freedom" (p. 99).

Mass line means not only that the origins of the CCP's policies should be the ideas of the people, but also that these policies should gain the people's support through their feedback. Mao seemed to treat mass line as a defining feature of socialist democracy and took leadership of the CCP for granted. History has shown that this conception of socialist democracy has led to the unbridled authority of the CCP.

Based on the assumption that economic base determines the superstructure, the Maoists believed that economic inequality was the root of "China's traditional hierarchical social structure and authoritarian attitudes" (Ogden, 2002, p.70). Therefore, democratization in the Mao era was carried out by means of eliminating economic exploitation and expanding governing power from the classes who had the means of production to those who did not. The CCP introduced and practiced a planned economy, which was underpinned by the establishment of public ownership through redistributing the land of landlords to the peasants in rural areas, and the properties of the capitalists to the proletariat in urban areas. The private ownership in Chinese agriculture, handicraft, and capitalist industry and commerce was completely transformed to a state and public one in 1956 (Hu, 2000). Although the CCP claimed that the socialist democracy was that of the democratic dictatorship of the Chinese proletariat, it proved to be more dictatorial than democratic in the sense that the Chinese socialist democracy sought equality not in freedom but in restraint. This finally led to the totalitarian rule in the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976.

The Post-Mao era (1976 AD—Present) has once again witnessed the increasing impacts of the Chinese with experience of global mobility on China's democratization. One good example is Deng Xiaoping, who was a returnee student from France after receiving some of his education through a work-study program in his early years. Deng played a leading role in ending the Cultural Revolution and initiating China's economic reforms and open-door policies in the late 1970s, which coincided with the rise of neoliberalism in the United Kingdom and the United States.

An important legacy of Deng's reform is that of a new approach to China's democratization in the post-Mao era. Based on the assumption that "the unconditional promotion of democracy will bring disastrous consequences to the nation and the people" (Yu, 2009, p. 4), this approach resonates with the neoliberal stance on democracy, namely, that democracy is "a luxury, only possible under conditions of relative affluence coupled with a strong middle-class presence to guarantee political stability" (Harvey, 2005, p. 66).

Therefore, China's democratization process after Mao is envisaged to start with the calculation of the price of democracy (*minzhu de daijia*) which mainly referred to political and social instability, and proceed with incremental democracy (*jianjin minzhu*), that is, incremental development of grassroots democracy overarched by the development of intraparty democracy (Yu, 2009). The main purpose of democratization in the post-Mao era is to achieve dynamic stability (*dongtai wending*), meaning the maintenance of political and social order by the authoritarian rule of the CCP. Such a goal is to be achieved mainly by two means: continued economic growth, and negotiation rather than repression in the CCP's dealing with sociopolitical tensions accumulated in China's economic reforms under the authoritarian government.

Concurrent with the aforementioned political developments in the post-Mao era is the reemergence of returnee foreign-educated students' impacts on China's political landscape particularly since the late 1990s. For instance, these students have played a dominant role in think tanks affiliated with China's top universities. As Li (2005) observes, when China faces grave domestic and international challenges, China's top leadership usually turn to those think tanks for advice with global perspectives. Furthermore, some returned students have even obtained higher ranks within the CCP. Worth noting is the rising percentage of returnee students in the Central Committee of the CCP (i.e., the highest authority of the party) since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Li, 2011). Arguably, these students have great potential for influencing China's present and prospective democratization through the ripple effect of their impacts on the center of China's political power with their knowledge and experience accumulated from their global mobility.

Conclusion

Reviewing the history of China's democratization highlights that the Chinese with experience of global mobility has been one of the most important driving forces behind the country's democratic developments since the late nineteenth century.

Their significant contributions to the development of theories and practices regarding Chinese democracy can be conceived of as a clear manifestation of their political subjectivity developed during their global mobility. Therefore, this paper argues that it is high time the scholars and other stakeholders of international higher education reimaged Chinese globally mobile students as political subjects in the making.

Informed by their predecessors' contributions to China's democratization, here I propose three thematic areas that may serve as the basis of the important and urgent research on Chinese globally mobile students' formation as political subjects. The first area pertains to their lived experience of transition from the sociopolitical context of their home country to that of their host countries. Moving from an authoritarian society to a democratic society may cause the students to undertake an ongoing conceptualization of democracy with constant checking of the limits of democracy both in the Chinese society and their host societies. Such a critical work of thought on democracy can fulfill what Foucault (2003) calls the two roles of philosophy: to "prevent reason from going beyond the limits of what is given in experience", and to "keep watch over the excessive powers of political rationality" (p. 128).

The second area concerns Chinese globally mobile students' meaning making of democracy. The review of China's democratization history indicates that the concept of democracy has been closely related to other concepts such as modernity, equality, and liberty. Furthermore, there have been fierce competitions among the discourses of Confucianism, nationalism, socialism, liberalism, and neoliberalism with shifts in the dominant discourse in different historical periods. Therefore, it is important to examine how these concepts and discourses operate in the students' meaning making of democracy as a concept. Central to this process is their constructions of the Chinese people's collective identities (i.e., who the Chinese people are and who they might be). Here, four questions can be particularly raised regarding the ethical dimension of government: (1). Who can govern the Chinese people? (2). How can they be governed? (3). What should be governed? (4). To what ends are they to be governed? It has to be borne in mind that, as shown in history, their meaning making of democracy may not lead them to take actions to pursue greater democratization in China.

The last thematic area relates to Chinese globally mobile students' engagement with democratic practices in their host countries. As shown in this paper, Chinese democracy particularly lacks experiments with democratic practices, a problem perpetuated by the prolonged one-party rule. Therefore, it is crucial to examine how Chinese students engage with democratic practices during their stay overseas. Such practices include but are not limited to those associated with democratic elections, or those with democratic management of an organization. If democracy is conceptualized not as a monolithic entity, but a multiplicity of differing practices in process, then by capturing the students' engagement with different democratic practices, researchers can locate political subjectification and democratization within pluralities, differences, and multiplicities. These pluralities in turn are likely to contribute to the development of different democratic practices for China.

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Part III
Decentering Mobility: Political Perspectives

Chapter 9
PUENTES Program: An Institutional Response Claiming for Bridges in a Time of Trumpeting Walls

Santiago Castiello-Gutiérrez and Mónica Irene Camacho Lizárraga

Abstract Following the 2016 U.S. presidential election and the government openly anti-immigrant rhetoric threatening to deport unauthorized immigrants (including students with DACA protection), several actors in Mexico organized to launch the PUENTES program to facilitate enrollment of Mexican students living in the U.S. at a Mexican HEI to finish their degrees. In this chapter we analyze, from a policy perspective, how a country can prepare to serve their once migrant citizens, now returning students, who need to be re-enrolled into the higher education system and therefore into the society. Key findings suggest that the program has been successful in the following ways: (1) It has provided visibility to the issue of forced migration back to Mexico; (2) It helped to expedite changes in legislation that now make it easier for anyone with partial studies outside Mexico to continue with their education in an HEI in the country; and (3) It provided an alternative, not only to students who faced deportation but also to those who willingly saw an opportunity to continue with their studies at an institution in their place of birth.

Keywords Higher education · Immigrant and migrant education · Student mobility · Returned migration · Educational policy

Introduction

When talking about internationalization of higher education, one of the first ideas that comes to mind is the physical mobility of students from one country to another, either to seek a full degree abroad or just to participate in a short-term program. Even though the process of internationalization is a complex one that involves several areas and programs, student mobility is perhaps the most visible facet of it. The literature around the phenomenon of students traveling abroad is vast, but historically, it has focused more on the intentions for and the effects of student mobility seen either as

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_9

a way of enlightenment or as an activity to achieve upward mobility. More recently, a third type of mobility has been gaining attention in research journals, "forced internationalization" (Ergin, de Wit & Leask, 2019) or the mobility for the survival of those who are forced to leave a country to escape adverse social and political conditions locally. As is the case with mobility for enlightenment or with mobility for opportunity, mobility for survival also follows similar geographical patterns; students tend to move from the Global South to the Global North, from lower-income countries to higher-income countries. However, even though some of them seek and get legal asylum, they still get labeled as immigrants or refugees and are facing harsh consequences because of the rise in nationalistic anti-immigrant movements in some Western countries.

One such country where this is seen is in the United States (U.S.), where the 2016 presidential election made evident that many people were willing to support the White House's policies to reduce the number of immigrants. These policies are being executed by imposing travel bans to citizens from specific countries and deporting as many unauthorized immigrants as possible. It is estimated that there are over 12 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. (Baker, 2017) and that over half of them were born in Mexico. However, contrary to other types of immigrants and refugees, many of these Mexican nationals, particularly the 20% of them who are under the age of 24, have been living in the U.S. most of their lives. They are active members of the community and have attended schools in the U.S. They are also, against the odds, increasingly gaining access to higher education institutions in the U.S. However, these students are now facing the risk of being forced to move abroad to a country which is not of their choice, one that they are unfamiliar with even though it represents their heritage.

Through this chapter, we reflect on and rethink international student mobility "for survival", meaning when students are pushed out by the social/political environment, or even forced out of a country. We will discuss the PUENTES program established in Mexico in the year 2017 as an example of this type of mobility. This program represents an option for Mexican-American higher education students living in the U.S. to continue with their tertiary education in Mexico in the event they are deported or if they decide to leave the U.S. voluntarily given the current conditions. We present a study that analyzes three dimensions of the PUENTES program from a public policy perspective. First, exploring the context that led to the design and implementation of PUENTES, as a policy response from higher education institutions in Mexico to the changing immigration policies in the U.S. Second, as a program resulting from an educational policy decision that seeks providing Mexican-American return students (or "retornados" in Spanish) with an alternative to access higher education institutions in Mexico and finish their studies. And third, as the potential moral dilemma it poses in terms of granting preferred access to deported students in contrast to local students.

In doing so, this chapter seeks to respond to four guiding questions. First, from a policy perspective (1) What characterizes the public problem that the PUENTES program tackles with? Second, from the perspective of key actors well informed about the program's policy and processes, (2) Is the PUENTES program effectively responding to such public problem?; (3) What elements of the program and the

process are being considered as enablers or inhibitors of its success?; and finally, (4) What are the intended and unintended consequences of implementing a program like PUENTES? Our analysis of these questions is informed by a theoretical framework intersecting two bodies of literature: public policy studies and return migration.

Theoretical Framework

Public Policy

In its most general sense, public policies—as a set of decisions and actions from the authority—seek to respond to public problems. A public problem is a situation that negatively affects a certain population or community (and its values), but that can be modified through decisions that set a course of action. In the literature it is possible to find different definitions of public policy which differ in "scope, complexity, decision environment, range of choices, and decision criteria" (Haddad, 1995, 17). Definitions explaining public policy range from seeing it as an outcome (Blakemore, 2003; Harman, 1984), as an "operational statements of values" (Kogan & Bowden, 1975, p. 55); or even, an iterative process in which "values are able to shape policy and policy can shape values" (Bell & Stevenson, 2006) raising questions about power allocation (Giddens, 1984). The literature also provides definitions on different types of policies: (1) Issue-specific which are short-term decisions and target a particular issue; (2) Program policy—as is the case of PUENTES—are "concerned with the design of a program or a particular area" (Haddad, 1995, p. 18); and (3) multi-programme policies, which deal with competing program areas (Haddad, 1995, p.18), to mention a few.

Conducting policy analysis implies studying "what governments do, why, and with what effects" (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 11). Taylor et al. (1997) developed a framework for policy analysis that focuses on three aspects of the policy: context, texts, and consequences. This chapter addresses the public problem PUENTES tackles with, its surrounding context, and salient potential consequences or outcomes of implementing it as a program policy.

Return Migration

In the field of migration studies, return migration is a wide concept that includes different nuances of the same phenomenon. Specifically for the case of return Mexican migrants, Jacobo (2017) explains four different distinctions. First, deported migrants include those who return to their country of origin or previous residence triggered by a judge's order targeting specific individuals resulting in their expulsion from the

U.S. territory. Another modality is repatriation, when individuals return to Mexico after staying at least a period of 2 years in the U.S. Third is forced return, when the migrant is forced to sign a voluntary deportation in front of a U.S. judge. Finally, voluntary return is when the migrant willingly returns to Mexico for reasons as varied as family reunion or unemployment.

Another expanded version of terminology is provided by González-Barrera, López and Rohal (2015) for the methodological purposes of their report "More Mexicans Leaving Than Coming to The U.S.", in which they analyze the trends of bidirectional migration flows between both border countries and the motivations of Mexican immigrants, among other topics. For the authors, return migration in general is "a concept based on a census or survey question about prior residence, specifically residence five years before the census or survey. Therefore, a 'return migrant' to Mexico is a person who lived outside of Mexico (usually in the U.S.) five years before the census or survey and is back in Mexico at the time of the survey" (p. 2).

Talking specifically about migrant students returning to Mexico, our framework is complemented with scholarly work on the challenges they face. The literature stresses the importance of studying the lack of support for transnational students transitioning from an English-based education to one in Spanish. These students face opposing cultural codes and pedagogical models as they navigate between education systems (Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006; Zúñiga, Hamann & Sánchez, 2008). However, the first obstacle faced by return students is school access (Jacobo, 2017). Proving proof of Mexican identity and proof of previous studies implies navigating bureaucratic–administrative barriers in the school system (Despagne & Jacobo, 2016). Therefore, we include these challenges in our framework in anticipation; they might be potential issues arising in our analysis of PUENTES.

Context

A Brief History of Mexico–U.S. Migration

Borders are a unique territories; they pose an intriguing paradox (Ganster & Lorey, 2005). On one hand, globalization influences economies, cultures and facilitates cooperation (i.e., commercial trade). On the other hand, borders represent the territorial limits of a country, so they also create ethnic and geographical tensions (i.e., immigration). On both sides of the border, communities coexist demanding responses from different levels of authority at each country: municipal, state, and federal.

Mexico and the United States not only share territorial borders but as countries they also have historical and socioeconomic ties bounded by bilateral agreements (e.g., the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848; the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA] of 1994; or its new version—the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement USMCA—currently under legislative approval). They also share some

cultural affinities—particularly around the borderlands—given the flow of people who have been moving across that border for centuries.

Over the last two centuries, the United States has become one of the most multicultural countries, a land of immigrants from all over the world. Hispanic and Latinos are the largest ethnic or racial minority in the U.S., close to 60 million which represents around 18% of the entire population. Out of those, 63% are of Mexican origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This is explained by many reasons, the main two being very obvious: (1) The closeness of the countries which now share a 3,000 km border, and (2) The fact that 15% of the current U.S. territory used to be part of Mexico less than two centuries ago. This means that only about four or five generations ago, many of the people who could be perceived today as immigrants did not voluntarily migrate to the United States; they did not cross the border, on the contrary, one day the border just happened to cross them and suddenly they became U.S. citizens.

As we stated in the introduction, the U.S. estimates that there are currently over 12 million unauthorized immigrants in their territory (Baker, 2017) and that over half of them were born in Mexico. The number of unauthorized Mexican immigrants has declined from a peak of 6.9 million in 2007 to 5.6 million in 2014 (González-Barrera et al., 2015). Net migration between the U.S. and Mexico is now negative (meaning that the number of people coming from the U.S. and settling in Mexico is larger than the number of Mexicans establishing in the U.S.). González-Barrera et al. (2015) attribute "reuniting with family" as the primary motivation for Mexican immigrants in the U.S. returning to Mexico between 2009 and 2014 (based on the 2014 Mexican National Survey of Demographic Dynamics—known as ENADID—conducted by INEGI, Mexico's federal statistical agency). However, the U.S. remains as the top destination for Mexican migrants; 86% of the 719,000 individuals who migrated from Mexico left for the U.S. (INEGI, 2014).

A Public Problem from an Educational Perspective

After the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the federal government continued with the mainstream anti-immigrant rhetoric from the campaign and began taking legislative action to stop the influx of immigrants and to cancel programs such as the DREAM Act (short for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act). Through this act passed in 2012, some protections from deportation were given to unauthorized immigrants who had been living in the U.S. for at least 5 years, had completed high-school, did not have any convictions, and who entered the country before the age of 16. Under this program, known as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (or DACA), students could, if eligible, enroll at a higher education institution—in some cases paying the reduced in-state tuition fees—and were also able to apply for a work permit. On September 5, 2017, a White House executive order rescinded the DACA program and urged the 689,821 individuals that held that status at the time (79% of which were Mexican) (Pew Research Center, 2017) to "use the time remaining on

their work authorizations to prepare for and arrange their departure from the United States" (DHS, 2017).

Fearing that suddenly a large number of Mexican students still enrolled at a higher education institution in the U.S. could be forced to leave the country, several actors in Mexico swiftly organized to prepare a response. If the United States was ready to send back to Mexico a fraction of their best-prepared immigrants, Mexico ought to perform due diligence to receive them and assist warrant to a soft landing. However, this is not an easy task in a country like Mexico with a higher education system that is complex, stratified, and capacity insufficient. First, it is complex because it enrolls 3.7 million students in 5,311 institutions, of which 2,208 are public and 3,103 are privately funded (SEP, 2017a); in addition, there are unregulated institutions and the sector lacks both policies and mechanisms regulating education quality. In addition to an increasing demand, the education system is highly stratified based on its institutions' "history, financing, governance, the legal situation, activities, size, prestige" (Maldonado-Maldonado & Mejía-Pérez, 2018) among other factors.

Third, as a country Mexico still faces huge problems of access to higher education; only about 20% of the population between the ages of 24 and 64 have tertiary studies. The three largest and most prestigious public HEIs (UNAM, UDG, and UANL) reject each year 90, 60, and 40% of their applicants which together add up to nearly 200,000 (Jiménez, 2017; Pérez-Vega, 2017; Zárate, 2018). There is just not enough infrastructure and processing capacity—not to forget, enough professors—to suddenly enroll a very large number of students given a potential exodus like the one warned by politicians and the media at both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border.

The PUENTES Program as a Policy Response

In a joint effort between the Mexican government and over 400 public and private higher educations, all lead by the National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions (ANUIES), the National Emerging University Program for the Culmination of Tertiary Studies (or PUENTES for its meaning in Spanish: Programa Universitario Emergente Nacional para la Terminación de Estudios Superiores) was established in March 2017 (ANUIES, 2017). It is worth mentioning that the acronym PUENTES is also the Spanish word for "bridges". This is relevant because at the same time in which the rhetoric in the U.S. urged on the need of building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico as a key component of the former's immigration policy, the rhetoric in Mexico was that instead of walls, the two countries ought to be building bridges to bring them closer together by finding joint solutions to the complex immigration issues.

PUENTES was created as a temporary program (2017–2020) to facilitate Mexican students living in the U.S.—that could eventually be either deported or who voluntarily decide to leave the U.S.—enroll at a Mexican higher education institution to finish their degrees. A cornerstone for PUENTES to materialize, took place in 2015 thanks to a collective effort between civil society organizations, academics,

and representatives of the Ministry of Public Education (SEP), to reform to the Secretarial Agreement 286 (SEP, 2017b). Such modifications reduced bureaucracy by eliminating requirements for educational documents issued abroad such as the apostille, legalization, and official translation. Although these modifications were aimed at benefiting a numerically larger population (i.e., transnational students at all levels of education), these changes led to the modification of the rules that govern the registration and certification processes of studies carried out abroad.

Taking advantage of such policy changes and making an analysis of the volatile immigration context with the United States, ANUIES approached representatives of the SEP and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in January 2017. Following a series of negotiation meetings, the PUENTES program was announced on March 23, 2017 by the General Secretary of ANUIES and the Secretary of Public Education. With the announcement, an open call was launched inviting targeted students to register before November 30, 2017 to assess eligibility for the academic period of Fall 2017 and Spring 2018.

Simultaneously, ANUIES launched a web portal where targeted students could search among 5000 programs offered at over 400 HEIs where they could potentially finish their studies. The participating institutions committed to providing admission, offer pathways for scholarships or other forms of financial aid, and expedite paperwork needed to enroll the students allowing them to finish their degrees. ANUIES began promotion of the PUENTES program through the media in both Mexico and the U.S. They also facilitated information sessions for staff at all the 50 Mexican consulates in the U.S. HEIs were also encouraged to promote the program. Students who were interested in the program only needed to browse information on the portal, fill out an electronic application indicating up to two institutions to which they wished to apply and wait to be contacted with further instructions on the admission process.

Methodology

To respond to the research questions guiding our analysis, we conducted a qualitative study that involved interviews with individuals representing several stakeholders. In addition, we sent a survey to all the higher education institutions who were participating in the program during the spring of 2018 to collect their opinions on the program's results at their institution.

Data and Participants

Each HEI that participates in the PUENTES program designates one or two coordinators responsible for following up with potential candidates. The website for PUENTES has a public directory with the contact information of each of these

coordinators. Our primary dataset for this study consists of the responses that were received to a questionnaire sent to all the coordinators listed on the website. Overall, 490 coordinators from 399 institutions were identified. After sending the survey, three email addresses were bounced so the message was received by 487 individuals at 396 HEIs. As with other studies that rely on electronic surveys, most of the invited participants did not respond to the questionnaire. Only 71 individuals opened the link to the survey out of which 43 partial or complete responses were gathered. This represents an 11% response rate of all the institutions listed in the PUENTES program.

We also purposefully selected three individuals to interview based on their involvement in the design and implementation of the program or because of their knowledge on issues around return migration from the U.S. to Mexico. We designed questions for a semi-structured interview on topics such as the social and political context on return migration, strengths, and weaknesses of the PUENTES program, consequences of policies like this, and who and in what ways can benefit from this program. The interviews were conducted over Skype, in person, and over the phone and lasted between 30 and 60 min.

The instrument. We developed a survey based on the literature about both returnee and unauthorized students. The questions were also informed by the conversations with activists or leaders of nongovernmental organizations devoted to assisting both unauthorized immigrants living in the U.S. or individuals who return to Mexico. The final questionnaire consisted of 24 questions about the program's expectations, results, and the application process. We also included open-ended questions to collect the participants' opinion given their role and responsibilities in the implementation of the program at their institution.

Findings

Interviews

Our first participant was a top official from ANUIES, responsible for leading the PUENTES program, who accounted for the origin of the program and how ANUIES brought together the Federal Government and senior leadership from the HEIs to design and implement the PUENTES program. He also walked us through the results of PUENTES; by the end of the spring semester of 2018, the PUENTES portal had received 114 applications but only 62 were deemed valid (i.e., the rest were duplicates, incomplete, invalid, or ineligible). Out of those 62 applications, 55 were still in process and only seven had resulted in the admission and enrollment of the students. Almost half of the valid applications came from students who began their studies in border states in the U.S. (California, Texas, and Arizona). Although our interviewee acknowledged that the current number of student applications for PUENTES is still low, for ANUIES the program's success goes beyond that: "modifications were made

to the existing legal framework, like the General Education Law and the Agreement 286… In addition, it created awareness among higher education institutions within a framework of social responsibility regarding the problems faced by these young people". He also added that institutions are enrolling return students who approach them directly: "anecdotally, we have been told that there are dozens of these students already in Mexico that have received a scholarship or who work part-time in universities".

Our second interviewee was Carmen Cornejo, the Chairperson of the Board of Chicanos por la Causa (CPLC), a U.S.-based NGO that provides support to the Hispanic population in the Southwestern U.S. In her interview, she mostly provided an account on the sociopolitical context of anti-immigrant policies in this region of the country and on her personal involvement of more than 20 years with activism in favor of Hispanic and Latino youth later known as dreamers. Cornejo explained how since the late 90s civil organizations in the Phoenix metropolitan area were already focused on advocacy and lobbying to advance protections for immigrants despite a growing anti-Hispanic feeling among large sectors of the Anglo population. However, she accounted, it was after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 that local Congresses started capitalizing the public sentiment resulting in stringent immigration policies that subsequently were replicated by other U.S. states like Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina, and Utah. "In retrospective, you can tell that Arizona became a testing ground for this type of policies", Cornejo pointed out as she described a progressive track of anti-immigration legislation that dates back to 2004 when the AZ Congress passed—with local voters' support—Proposition 200 which denies public services to residents that cannot prove citizenship. Anti-immigrant legislation, such as Proposition 300—requiring students to prove citizenship in order to pay state tuition and access financial aid—or the Senate Bill 1070—granting police access to investigate the immigration status of an individual without a warrant—continued to be passed in Arizona opening the door to cases of racial profiling.

Asked specifically about PUENTES, Cornejo said she was not aware of the program before the interview but recalled that for the last 2 years she has attended meetings gathering civil organizations and political actors from the U.S. and from Mexico. These meetings were organized to discuss the challenges of the return migration population and the problem for transnational students of continuing with their education; "revalidation of studies for return students was discussed as a 'bottleneck' in those meetings". Once we provided our interviewee with information on the PUENTES program, she said "I think it is positive that programs like this exist in Mexico, but integration programs must be directed, not to the elite with higher education studies, but also to a group of young people that are traditionally left out". As a recap, she added, "There was a positive effect from those meetings, whatever there is, however small, is positive."

Findings from our interview with Monica Jacobo-Suárez (our third participant), a Mexican top scholar on return migration, highlight the political timing on U.S-Mexico migration issues to understand the motivations driving the PUENTES program. Individuals with truncated higher education studies have been returning to

Mexico for a long time, since then, some associations had been trying to approach some institutions like the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) "and yet, no such pronouncement [like PUENTES] had been made before… none of the HEIs had an approach or an openness to be able to incorporate these young people". This scholar also points out two shortcomings of the program: its design and its communication strategy. "In the first place, it is not a program for all […] There will be returnees in a better position to navigate the system, or even simply to know about the existence of this program. So [the program] is not for all returnees, speaking only of returnees having the same opportunity to be informed, to apply to it, and to stay in these institutions."

Although the program's design and implementation involved representatives from the government, the national association of universities and the HEIs themselves, Jacobo added on its communication strategy: "there is a lack of interest or coordination…in contacting the actors that have been involved in this issue…who are in constant contact with the return migrant population". By not including scholars, activists, and representatives from the return migrant population, the program suffers from being little known to the people who could benefit from it. As expressed in the interviews: "we must not lose sight of the fact that, no matter how good a program is, if it is not communicated, its reach can be null".

Survey

To capture the voice of the institutions who participate in PUENTES, we developed a survey to collect responses on themes such as the effectiveness and timing of the program or its relevance. We also collected opinions on the bureaucracy of the process and the consequences. Finally, findings of other forms in which institutions are enrolling and supporting these students are presented.

When asked about how they would describe the PUENTES program given the political and social situation that Mexicans experience in the United States, respondents used "needed" and "pertinent" as the top two adjectives with 58 and 40% of participants naming these characteristics. Other words chosen to describe the program were "little known" and "timely". Only three respondents used "irrelevant" as a word to describe the program as a response to the situation of Mexican higher education students in the U.S. Participants in the study also expressed their opinion on the program's results by saying that overall PUENTES has brought "positive" (42%), but "partial" (29%), "temporary" (18%), and "late" (5%) results.

We also asked the participants to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with some statements that have come up in discussions about the program in the media or informally among our conversations with several stakeholders. Overall, the responses indicate that institutions believe that the program is effective as part of a response strategy, however, they also agree that a program of this nature does not resolve such a multifaceted issue like the reintegration of students into the higher education system. For example, when asked whether they agreed with the notion that

the PUENTES program does not resolve at all the issue of return students from the U.S. continuing their degree in Mexico, 21% of the participants agreed while 83% agreed that it only partially resolves the issue or returnee enrollment. Institutions also concur with the idea that the program lacks an effective communication strategy. Also worth noting, 34% of the participants considered that centralizing this program adds bureaucracy to the institutions' own processes. Table 9.1 shows a summary of the survey responses for this set of questions.

PUENTES is neither the first nor the only option available to Mexican students in the U.S. who wish to continue with their studies in Mexico. Many HEIs have, for years, received applications from students with a similar return migration status. Even other organizations, both inside the higher education ecosystem (like the Federation of Private Mexican Institutions of Higher Education) and outside of it but from the civil society (like NGO's such as NewComienzos) are offering support to these students. So we also asked in the survey whether institutions have been engaging with these students in a different way, outside of the PUENTES framework. As shown in Table 9.2, over 60% of the institutions indicated that they have received in the past applications from students who began their higher education program in the U.S. and wanted or needed to transfer to an HEI in Mexico.

In the second part of the survey, we used open-ended questions to allow the respondents to share their opinions on the program. First, we asked in what specific ways, if any, do they think their institutions can contribute to PUENTES' success. The responses can be grouped in five themes: (1) A high-quality academic offer, (2) Financial aid, (3) Sharing best practices with other institutions, (4) Follow up and support to ease the students' transition, and (5) Reducing the bureaucracy. Most of the respondents are sensitive to the problems faced by return students, like some coordinators expressed, the need to "make the process easier for students so that they can finish their studies, and through a humanistic outlook, reach out to those who come to us in search of guidance, help, security and certainty". Even though the people in our sample work mostly in admissions or registrar offices, some are also sensitive to more pragmatic issues that students will most likely face, for instance, how their institution will "designate bilingual tutors as many of them struggle with Spanish" or "help them secure accommodation in areas close to the institution".

In a similar line, another open question asked participants to reflect on ways in which their institutions could benefit from participating in the PUENTES program. Several themes emerged from the responses. The larger group of responses agreed that more than a tangible benefit, PUENTES gives the institutions a chance of being solidary with Mexican students in a risk situation. A participant expressed that the greatest benefit to the institution is "the satisfaction of supporting young Mexicans who live in the USA". Several other responses were related to more utilitarian approaches toward the program since some institutions identified the benefits in terms of a possible increase in enrollment, talent recruitment or "improve the image and prestige" of the institution. Surprisingly, opinions in this line of thought were equally representative among public and private institutions. However, some

Table 9.1 Perceptions on the PUENTES program according to the institutional liaisons who responded to the online survey

		Frequency		
To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements	Mean[1, 2]	Agreement (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagreement (%)
The PUENTES program is an effective strategy that responds to a social problem, given the political and social situation Mexicans experience living in the U.S.	1.86 (0.71)	86	12	2
The PUENTES program partially resolves that returning students from the U.S. can finish their degree in Mexico	1.93 (0.83)	83	10	7
The PUENTES program does not resolve the issue of returning students from the U.S. continuing their degree in Mexico	3.38 (1.17)	21	26	52
The PUENTES program has been sufficiently communicated among Mexican students in the U.S. so that they can take advantage of it	2.95 (1.03)	32	44	24
The PUENTES program has been communicated in a timely fashion among higher education institutions for its proper operation	2.33 (1.06)	57	29	14
The PUENTES program adds bureaucracy to existing processes at my current institution	3.02 (1.20)	34	29	37
The PUENTES program generates inequality because it allows students to get an available space from others who already live in Mexico	3.33 (1.30)	29	19	52
n	42			

Notes [1]Responses are reported on a scale from 1 (totally agree) to 5 (totally disagree)
[2]Value reported is the mean with the standard deviation in parenthesis

Table 9.2 Applications outside PUENTES from students in the U.S.

Has your institution received requests OUTSIDE of the PUENTES program from Mexican students who…	Yes (%)	No (%)	I don't know (%)
Have been deported from the U.S.	16	71	13
Voluntarily returned to Mexico after the deportation of a family member	37	53	10
Have not yet been deported but report being at risk of being deported	24	60	16
Are also U.S. citizens living in the U.S. but who wish to study in Mexico for reasons different from the ones above	45	42	13
$n = 38$			

institutions acknowledge that the type of benefits could overlap, like a technological public institution that stated that the benefit is "increase enrollment plus the satisfaction of supporting [the students]".

Finally, using a widely accepted methodology for evaluating satisfaction known as "net promoter score" (Reichheld, 2003), we asked the participants in the study to evaluate PUENTES as an overall strategy to support return Mexican students. On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 would be the worst strategy and 10 would be the best strategy, our participants graded PUENTES with a 5.41. According to the NPS methodology, people who evaluate a product, a program, or a service with a grade between 0 and 6 would be considered detractors of such product, program, or service. Users who evaluate with a 7 or 8 are considered passive and those who assign a grade of 9 or 10 can be considered active promoters. Our findings suggest that 27% of our respondents are promoters, 51% feel neutral or passive about the program, and 22% are detractors.

Discussion

We discuss the findings presented above in relation to our research questions. The first research question addresses the characteristics of the public problem that PUENTES tackles. Findings from our interviews and survey match those of our literature review regarding that return migration between the U.S. and Mexico is not a new phenomenon. This issue recently became a public problem since a large number of Mexican citizens who are living in the U.S. face the possibility of returning to Mexico given the current social and political climate. As a public problem, it has gained visibility in the political agenda at both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border due to several factors; for instance, a higher incidence of anti-immigrant legislature approved at the state level after the 9/11 terrorists attacks in the U.S., a more organized base of local activism demanding attention to the needs of immigrants from Hispanic and

Latino origin, and Federal actions—at both sides of the border—providing short-term solutions instead of pursuing a comprehensive bilateral immigration solution. Under these conditions, the likelihood of an increase in the number of return migrants has increased considerably over the last decade. In this scenario, Mexico is not prepared to attend the many needs that return migrants will have, including promoting access to and providing support mechanisms for success, in higher education.

Our second question investigates how effective has PUENTES been as a response to such a public problem. Findings suggest that the program has been successful in the following ways: (1) It has provided visibility to the issue of forced migration back to Mexico, tapping on the responsibility of mandated institutions (i.e., federal government) and on the social responsibility of social institutions (i.e., HEIs); (2) It capitalized on recent changes in legislation to make it easier for anyone with partial studies outside Mexico to continue with their education in an HEI in the country; (3) It provided an organized alternative, not only to students who faced deportation but also to those who willingly saw an opportunity to continue with their higher education studies at an institution in their place of birth. While other findings also suggest tensions between the attention given to this issue (especially after the fact that the number of participants in the PUENTES program is still marginal), we argue that this analysis is critical and timely given the drastic measures imposed on these students during these unprecedented times. Considering the relevance of these findings, we unpack each of them below.

The issue of return migration (voluntary or involuntary) from the U.S. to Mexico is not new. In fact, over the past decade, the net migration between Mexico and the U.S. has been either zero or even negative. Students who began different levels of education in the U.S. have been sorting the hurdles of reentering the Mexican educational system for several years. However, since the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the topic became even more political with threats of massive deportations, the building of a wall, and an increasingly adverse social environment. These generated feelings of fear among the unauthorized Mexican population in the U.S. ignited debates about a much-needed response—not just to the xenophobic rhetoric—but to the long-standing issues of reincorporating returned Mexican citizens into the society. Therefore, PUENTES is the result of a very specific response to a very specific issue. Beyond the small number of students who have officially been admitted to an HEI in Mexico through the PUENTES website, perhaps this program's most salient outcome has been to put the topic in the agenda of the Federal Government and the HEIs themselves.

The second most important outcome of the program comes in the form of an organized response capitalizing on the recent legislative reform facilitating the revalidation of partial studies abroad. As ANUIES was an active participant of the lobbying done to modify the agreement #286, the association was in a position to later design a program like PUENTES and promote adhesion among their affiliates welcoming the enrollment of return students. This reform is also tightly linked to the third success, by removing bureaucracy—up to a certain degree according to the views of our survey participants;the new pathway established by PUENTES can help not only the

students who need to easily enroll at an HEI after being deported but also in establishing a more welcoming environment for students who might voluntarily consider moving back to Mexico and enroll in a high-quality institution.

Finally, our third and fourth questions investigated the consequences, enablers, and inhibitors of the PUENTES program. Besides the three main outcomes PUENTES has had, our findings also suggest that there are some factors that have limited the program. Talking about the program's challenges and shortcomings, the most recurring topic in the survey's responses was the poor communication strategy. Promoting a program like this is extremely complicated; it is targeted toward a highly dispersed group of individuals living in a different country and who, for obvious reasons, tend to keep a low profile about their immigration status. Although ANUIES reported conducting an informative session online with personnel from the Mexican Consulates in the U.S., such a strategy may have resulted insufficient to reach the targeted student population. The National Association of Universities can reach out to HEIs in Mexico and perhaps in the U.S., they can further work together with the Mexican Federal Government, and they can provide the technological infrastructure where students can read information about the program; however, getting the word out so that potential students know that they could have the option of studying in Mexico is a different endeavor. There are several considerations to be held in reinforcing a communication strategy for PUENTES. First, continuing their tertiary education in Mexico is not a top of mind option for many of these students, as they return reluctantly. Second, when students or someone in their family face deportation, the issue of if, when, and where they will finish their studies is probably low on a long list of concerns. Regarding the communication strategy PUENTES conducted, there were also important omissions in terms of involving other actors in Mexico who have direct contact with return migrants; activists and scholars working with this population could be the best advocates and promoters of the program, but they remain surprisingly excluded from the conversation. On the other hand, promoting the program as an alternative to students who might not be facing imminent deportation but who rather would just consider this program as a better option is complicated and requires HEIs in Mexico opening communication channels with NGO's, counselors, and others in the U.S.

Finally, in terms of consequences, the discourse around the program suggested that certain sectors were worried about this initiative being a perpetuator of inequality in access since it could be privileging some students. As pointed out by one of our interviewees, indeed PUENTES could be perceived in this way since it represents some form of affirmative action. However, it has been made clear that this program is only aimed at students who already coursed part of their studies abroad and that could represent also a limitation of the program itself by design, by leaving out—or not providing other options to—return migrant students that do not fit the profile of PUENTES. Students who completed high school in the U.S. and wish to start their bachelor or associate degree in Mexico would need to go through the regular admission process at the institution of their choosing; but still, they will benefit from a less bureaucratic process of previous studies recognition. Also, the low numbers reported by the program and the fact that it remains as a temporary measure (PUENTES is scheduled to end in 2020) suggest that there is no real threat of this program jeopardizing access to HEIs

for nonmigrant students. The other consequence of this program that was feared by many was the lack of available spaces on an already saturated (or at least highly concentrated) system of higher education. Our interviewed experts and survey respondents coincide that for most Mexican students in the U.S., the priority is to finish their education there; coming to Mexico is still seen by many as a last resort option.

Conclusions and Further Research

Through our research, we identified "push and pull" factors that led students and their families to consider the option of continuing their education in Mexico. Policies and the social environment in the U.S. "pushed out" students while Mexico tried to "pull in" its once migrant citizens by implementing policies to ease their repatriation. The identified push factors come in the form of more strict immigration laws in the U.S. that began in the mid 1990s and got to a peak in the early 2000s. On the other hand, the PUENTES program constitutes a "pull" factor through which Mexico is trying to serve a subpopulation of qualified and talented return migrants. Our findings also suggest that PUENTES and other pull factors have been reactive; they represent a response to the aggressive push factors originating in the U.S.

The analysis also shows that we are facing a multifaceted issue that exceeds just opening spaces at HEIs located in Mexico. The difficulties that these return students could face include emotional, linguistic, financial, social, and cultural as previous scholarly work has documented (Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006; Zúñiga, Hamann & Sánchez, 2008). Effective policies surpassing mere rhetoric need to be comprehensive. PUENTES itself has contributed to addressing a pressing issue by providing at least a streamlined pathway for return students and by pushing the topic to the public agenda. The program also serves as an example of public responses to counteract the current rising nationalistic and anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric observed in several countries. This case could inform future programs in other countries where the possibility of reverse migration is present. However, the program, in its current status, is far from being the solution and response to such a complex issue.

To fully understand the impact and implications of PUENTES, further research needs to be conducted on at least the following areas. First and foremost are the return migrant students' experiences, needs, and challenges. This includes identifying out of those who have applied to the program, who has and has not been successful in re-entering higher education as well as understanding their adaptation process. Being mindful of student's privacy, more information on the PUENTES student's profile needs to be collected. So far it is unclear whether the students that benefit from the program, or at least consider it, are the ones already in Mexico (deported or who exit voluntarily), or if they are still in the U.S. It is also unclear if this program is only successful (and to what extent) for students classified as "dreamers" or if it could also be targeted toward a population that perhaps is not of traditional college age. A second area for research is how are the institutions of higher education supporting these students' transition academically, culturally, emotionally, and

linguistically. Expediting and facilitating admission partially solves the problem of access, but the terms of success (i.e., completion) of the return students should also be considered. Given the particular conditions and experiences of these students, HEIs need to establish support mechanisms to ease their adaptation. And third, there is a need for research on a more systemic approach to the manifold issue of return migration and education from a public policy perspective. PUENTES is a program capitalizing policy modifications and was conceived as a temporary relief, hence, a much profound study of the problem and of the possible approaches to address it needs to happen. Policy programs like PUENTES need to be inclusive not only to other potential students but also to different stakeholders beyond just the government and higher education institutions. Return migrants are a vulnerable group within an already vulnerable population. Reincorporating them into educational and productive activities must be at the core of public policy implementation and design to allow them pursuing a prosper future. In terms of return students, a more proactive and comprehensive approach to public policy is needed, one that serves not only the "dreamers" but also others who have left their country of origin in search of better future. Immigration policies that only try to isolate or shield populations on each side of the border will not solve the core issues that underlie this problem. In order to "build bridges" instead of walls between those who migrate and those who host them, we need policies with a humane and compassionate approach; one where "individuals, collectives, organizations, and governments express humanity toward victims of conditions that oblige them to leave behind their homes, countries, families, friends, and livelihoods in search of refuge or a better life for themselves and their families" (Bender & Arrocha, 2017, p. 9).

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Chapter 10
Opening Doors to Foreign Students: An Insight into the History of US Government's Stance on International Students

Grace Chung

Abstract On July 20, 2005, the US government provided an unprecedented and relatively uncharacteristic act by passing an "Opening Doors to Foreign Students Act." The event that had spurred this addition to an amendment was an alarming sudden decrease in international student enrollment in the US in the years 2004–2005. This was the first time the US government had ever directly addressed the need for an active promotion of welcoming foreign students into the United States. The goal of this paper is to understand this change through a historical analysis of government's actions on international education since World War II. In this understanding, the second goal is to explore how this sheds light to the occurrence of declining international students in the US today and the US government's contribution to this trend. Through the exploration, the research has led to three conclusions: First, the US government has historically overlooked the international student community because politically and publicly the community had a nonthreatening nature and was systematically benefiting the US. Second, the September 11 attack was an event that caught both the public and government attention on the foreign students. The attention was dual in nature: the international student community became a potential threatening entity as well as an integral part of the US academic, economic, and political system. Third, while the very act of government's oversight is what has allowed the international student community to become a presence to be acknowledged, moving forward, despite the Open Doors Act, regulation has been the main concern as opposed to support and "opening doors."

Keywords International students · Student mobility · Policy · International education · Foreign policies · Government · International education policy · History

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_10

Introduction

While seeking foreign lands for education has dated back to ancient civilization, the trend has increased exponentially since post World War II. In current history, the movement toward globalization and internationalization has not only increased international student mobility but also increased the number of countries seeking to attract these students. Among the destinations, the United States has been a leading choice, with its highly diverse and reputable educational opportunities. The number of international students to trek the "land of opportunity" has been generally increasing, reaching a record high of just over 1 million students (Open Doors, 2016). What is particularly interesting is that this increase has occurred without a proactive national initiative or policy to attract these students. In fact, despite the increase of complex issues that have risen from the increase of the international student community, such as immigration policies, visa status, cultural diversity, economic benefits, and internationalization, the US government has historically taken a passive and reactive stance on the inclusion of foreign students in their legislative proceedings. While the academic institutions and social agencies' voices have continued to grow, for most of history, other than certain additions and subtractions in legislation under the umbrella of "foreign diplomacy" the government has not felt the necessity or imperative need to address these students who were becoming an ever-increasing presence within the United States and an integral part of its system.

However, on July 20, 2005, the US government provided an unprecedented and relatively uncharacteristic act by passing an "Opening Doors to Foreign Students Act." The event that had spurred this addition to an amendment was an alarming sudden decrease in international student enrollment in the US in the years 2004–2005. This was the first time the US government had ever directly addressed the need for an active promotion of welcoming foreign students into the United States. The act called for the Secretary of State, along with the Secretaries of Education, Commerce and Homeland Security to work together to create a comprehensive strategy in actively promoting international students into the US. Among other actions, the act called for an international education policy to "ensure that visa and employment policies promote increased access to the United States by international students, scholars, and exchange visitors, consistent with homeland security" (Smith, 2005). The incident that pushed the government to focus on this issue of declining international students was a series of negative effects that resulted from the new security and screening measures on the international students as a reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks.

So, what were these negative effects, and how was the government finally pushed out of their passive stance and focus their attention on the international students? The goal of this paper is to understand this change through a historical analysis of government's actions on international education since World War II. In this understanding, the second goal is to explore how this sheds light to the occurrence of declining international students in the US today and the US government's contribution to this trend. Current enrollment rates have dipped, and there is a real fear of continual negative trend in international student enrollment as the current US government's

political actions has shifted the country's mood toward more fear and intolerance. While government's action or lack thereof has not been the sole influencer of international student enrollment trends in the US, it is important to explore the extent at which the interplay between government decisions and institutional and societal response has had an impact on international education and its students.

In searching for answers I came to the realization how heavily politically integrated the topic of international students is. Academic scholars who have approached this issue have purposely analyzed the activities of the government, focusing predominantly on congressional activity as well as political atmosphere. Paul A. Kramer's "Is the World Our Campus? International Students the US Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century" takes a stance stating that US international history has always been a tool of US global power. Kramer argues that the US government has always utilized student exchange as a means to gain and maintain its position in the global arena. Therefore, it is essential to look into how student exchange and geopolitics intersect (2009). Delma Campbell, the author of "International Education and the Impact of the 'War on Terrorism'" explores the government's role on international education in the United States. She supports her argument that the government plays an influential and regulatory role in the facilitation or hindering of international exchange activity through an in-depth analysis of history, legislation, key actors, and creation of ideas (2005). Various reports from NAFSA and IIE also all tie in government's role in promoting international education. All studies support the notion that government plays an important role; to what extent and how the government has played a role, however, could be debated.

Therefore, in exploring my topic, I found it critical to first, look into the national ideologies and values that have governed government actions and national mood; second, with these ideals, I explored the legislative actions, looking to see what factors drove the congress to act in certain ways; next, because ideologies and actions are always influenced by key actors and agencies, I researched those who took part in voicing concern over international student exchanges, and lastly, in looking at the factors that led to the passing of the Opening Doors Act, I attempt to highlight the factors that led to another decline in the international student population, current day, and learning from history, suggest steps needed to be taken by the international student community advocates and the government.

Through investigating these facets, I came to three conclusions. First, the US government has historically overlooked the international student community because politically and publicly the community had a nonthreatening nature and was systematically benefiting the US. Second, the September 11 attack was an event that caught both the public and government attention on the foreign students. The attention was dual in nature: the international student community became a potential threatening entity as well as an integral part of the US academic, economic, and political system. Third, while the very act of government's oversight is what has allowed the international student community to become a presence to be acknowledged, moving forward, despite the Open Doors Act, regulation has been the main concern as opposed to support and "opening doors."

Ideologies on International Education

Ideas are an important factor to account for in any government's actions. The ideas and values that are promoted provide insight into a nation's beliefs as well as the motivations that governs its decisions. The United States has had a myriad of ideals and principles that have become the trademark of the nation. At the very foundation of US's ideas, however, are the principles of freedom, democracy, and tolerance. Surrounding all US actions related to foreign affairs, these ideologies have been the primary motivations. Under the umbrella of foreign affairs includes US involvement in foreign exchange and international education. Throughout US history, the specific reasons for the federal government's actions in regards to foreign exchange has evolved, although still in relation to the main ideas of freedom, democracy, and tolerance. Understanding of these ideas provides insight into the dynamics that have encouraged the presence of international students in the US to exist. It will be the changes in the ideas that were tied to the international student body that also help explain changes in government actions as well.

When Senator J. William Fulbright first presented the Fulbright Act in 1945, which allowed the use of foreign credits from World War II to finance education exchange, he used the goal of mutual understanding for international peace as the rationale for such an act (Campbell, 2005; Jeffrey, 1987; Vogel, 1987). The end of the Second World War brought about changes to the nation's predominantly Isolationist position into one that looked for world peace and order. Therefore, most scholarly studies on international education look at the 1940s as the starting point for the idea of international exchange in the name of peace and mutual understanding. Many of the introductions and expansion of international exchange legislation used this rationale. The Smith–Mundt Act of 1948, which allowed for an expansion of exchange programs used the idea of "lasting peace and more stable world order" as the goal (Campbell, 2005). The formation of US Information Agency (USIA) by President Eisenhower in 1953 was in order to essentially communicate to the rest of the world that the US aspired to promote "freedom, progress and peace" (Kramer, 2009). The 1961 Fulbright–Hays Act that strengthened government participation in the educational exchange programs had also the goal of promoting "mutual understanding between the people of the US and the people of other countries." Even in President Johnson's attempt to urge the Congress to pass the "International Education Act" in 1966, one of the justifications was that "A knowledge of other countries is of the utmost mutual importance in promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between nations" (Read, 1966, pg. 407). From the 1940s to the late 1960s this concept became increasingly utilized by government and academic institutions alike in promoting the welcoming of international students.

However, by the 1970s and well into the 1980s as the Cold War drew to a close, the idea of "mutual understanding" evolved into "cultural exchange" and "global citizenship." At this point in history, the global fight became increasingly more about the fight for world leadership and winning of the minds. Joseph Duffey, the last director of USIA commented that "mutual understanding has no resonance on the

Hill anymore." Instead, he suggested the focus be shifted to "global awareness" and "global education" (Campbell, 2005, pg. 134). By April 2000, when President Clinton issued a memorandum calling for an international education policy, America had embraced this idea of striving for "global citizenship," becoming "global competitor" and striving for "global awareness."

How these ideas related to international students in the US was threefold. International student presence in the US allowed for Americans to have cultural exchanges, therefore foster mutual understanding and tolerance through exposures to different cultures and backgrounds. This, in turn, projected the idea that the presence of diversity and international exchange in the United States confirmed the image that the country had achieved its goal of freedom, democracy, and tolerance, especially through education. However, at another level, international students also meant more brainpower, contributing to US's position in the global market.

The debate as to whether or not the United States' actions really reflected on these ideas and values is another issue all together. However, I wish to emphasize that these ideas were what the United States used as justification to many of their foreign relations actions, as well as the reputation that they wished to project to those outside of the US. Therefore, in the case of foreign students, the ideas that the public commonly associated with them were positive, honorable, and "right." It is the acceptance of these principles that allowed the growing prevalence of international students in the US, up until 2001.

History of Government's Stance

The initial thought that could definitely prevail through surface observations of the legislations regarding international education, exchange, and promotion is that the US federal government has been actively interested and involved in the international student community. However, further look into the details surrounding the legislation and government actions reveal a different story. My argument here is that despite the legislative orders, creations of programs and departments, and statements from past Presidents, the international student community has been primarily overlooked throughout much of history. International students, although initially an asset for foreign diplomacy, and later for promotion of the ideas that I have mentioned in the previous section, were overall nonthreatening and mostly beneficial to the government. Therefore, I carefully use the word "overlooked" as opposed to "ignored."

When Senator Fulbright first introduced his idea of international exchange, he admitted that though he saw the future importance in this matter, he relied mostly on Senators' ignorance of the matter (Campbell, 2005). The only reason that the Fulbright Act was successful in passing was "because influential senators who might otherwise have opposed it deemed insignificant. I was content to let them believe it" (Jeffrey, 1987). Senator Fulbright, who is credited to contributing greatly to the international student exchange in the US, confesses that as opposed to active discourse on this matter, it was more because of the disinterest of the Congress that contributed

to the success of the Fulbright program. Campbell points out that while the Congress was less interested, the public mood for foreign policy to obtain international peace also contributed to the initial enthusiasm. Kellerman also confirms (1978) that it is during the 1945–1949 period that the America recognized the value of cultural and educational programs for foreign diplomacy. This initial enthusiasm, together with Congress' indifference, contributed to the passing of the Smith–Mundt Act as well.

The 1953 creation of USIA, as well as its dissolution in 1998 further reveals the government's stance on the matter of international student exchange. The USIA was a government agency, which had two separate policies and programs: the first was anti-communist output, and the second, cultural and information activities. This agency operated alongside with academic exchanges that were under the management of the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (Campbell, 2005; Tuch, 1990). Fulbright is quoted to have called USIA as "government propaganda" (Frankel 1965) and because unlike Institute of International Education (IIE) and NAFSA, the agency was under federal control, had definitely many political and military ties associated with it. From 1953 to 1998, the USIA played a role in running many international exchange programs; however, it was only one aspect of the agency. Throughout its history, the USIA went through many program cuts and budget cuts, eventually led to its merging with the State Department. The existence of this agency, the systematic reduction and dissolution of it is revealing in government's stance on international education. At least in terms of government-funded international education exchange, it was merely a tool for foreign diplomacy or a weapon to combat threats to democracy (or spread of other ideals in opposition to democracy). The idea is that while it was one of the many tools that government utilized, it was not the primary one. This is further highlighted, especially in observing the government's actions around times of war or domestic changes. In the 1960s and 70s the increasing US involvement in the Vietnam War, and a series of domestic crises such as the Watergate scandal, oil crisis, and failing US economy always held a constant threat to the government-funded exchange programs (Campbell, 2005). Then under the Reagan administration, at one point, the USIA budget on international exchange was cut by two-thirds, instead, directing those funds elsewhere. Only through pushback by the international education community and supporters did the funds reverse (De Wit, 2002). In 1991, the passing of the National Security Education Act providing tens of millions of dollars to cultural exchange programs in the USIA seemed to look like Congress had changed its attitude. However, these funds were quickly reduced by 23 percent within a few years, when the Republicans won majority of Congress in 1994. By then, USIA operations had begun to shrink one by one, until 1998, when Senator Jesse Helms proposed a merging of USIA and State Department, despite some resistance, the decision was approved.

Despite the shrinking government funds of international exchange programs, the curious matter is that the international student community continued to steadily grow from 1945 onwards. Even around the 1960s and 70s at the height of the Vietnam War and the Cold War, the flow of international students into the United States generally increased. However, this increase cannot be credited to the government, for the private institutions in the US, especially higher education, took an active

stance in bringing in foreign students. Statistics show that by the end of 1960s the number of foreign students was about 146,000. By the end of 1970s this number had more than doubled (Campbell, 2005). This increase had happened independent of the government intervention or funding. However, as Campbell points out, the foreign students' numbers in the US were monitored by the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, indicating that while the government still had slight attention on this population, it was merely monitoring more than acting.

However, before the year 2001, there were two Presidents who made significant efforts to promote an international education policy: President Johnson in 1966, and President Clinton in 2000, and failed. In December of 1965, President Johnson proposed an International Education Act with the statement that American needed to know more about the world. In his report, President Johnson articulated that international education was an important part of foreign policy that will benefit the nation in the long term. Campbell states that this act failed miserably, falling victim to the escalating Vietnam War, followed by the Cold War and domestic hardships. In times of war, the Congress as well as the public did not see international education as a priority; therefore the act was never implemented, once again highlighting Congress' disinterest in the matters pertaining to international education, thus international students in general. No serious attempts were made by a President to revive the need for an international education policy until President Clinton issued a memorandum in the year 2000. In the memorandum, the president called for the heads of executive departments and agencies to create an international education policy. He also called on education institutions, other organizations, and the business community to contribute its effort to promoting international education. The president's calling, although quite strong, was unsuccessful in producing a policy, however. While the rationales used were valorous and pragmatic, Congress did not take suit and produce a policy. While there was discourse, there was no action.

Actors

The interesting phenomenon of the accumulation of international students in the US and their ease of mobility, despite government's passive role in the matter, is attributed to a myriad of factors; however, I believe, the influential actors and agencies have played a significant role in that they have either voiced the need for a policy on international education/international students or have continuously been advocates for this growing community of students. While this paper pertains predominantly to the question of how and why the federal government passed the Opening Doors to Foreign Students Act in 2005 and not any time before, examining the actors that have played a role in the field of international education provides further insight into the journey the international student community has trailed to becoming a vital existence within the US. In addition, the actors played a key role when dramatic changes ensued in 2001, therefore it is vital to understand how these actors and institutions also made a

contribution in the realm of international and cultural exchange so that their opinions became influential in the coming years.

To begin with, one of the central actors after WWII was Senator J. William Fulbright from Arkansas, who was a major contributor to the internationalist movement that pervaded the US. Fulbright saw the importance of cultural openness and exchange early in his political career, for he realized early on that it would foster more understanding between nations, and result in peace and acceptance as the world shifted into a more fluid and intricate arena. Fulbright made a statement arguing, "Educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations" (Fulbright, 1994). Through his smart political maneuvering and timing, the Fulbright Act passed, and the Fulbright program exploded over history. Following Senator Fulbright's voice on the matters of international educational exchange reveals an important matter: cultural and educational exchange has a fine balance between political agendas and ideal educational goals. As mentioned before, Fulbright realized that although cultural exchange was important for the future of Americans, he knew Congress was not interested, unless it produced beneficial outcomes. The Senator once mentioned that he did not even think to appeal to his fellow peers' idealism (Campbell, 2005). His comment reveals that members of Congress did not hold real value to such idealistic goals as cultural exchange and mutual understanding. Only when the Fulbright Program and other similar programs gained momentum did Congress see any use; thus the creation of USIA. However, Fulbright ideally wanted to "insulate the program from political interests" for the program would lose its value if were part of a governmental information organization (Campbell, 2005).

Fulbright was not the only political actor that voiced his opinions on the matter of international education. Many presidents, senators, directors, and government officials have either supported or objected to government involvement (programs and funding) in cultural and educational exchange. A revisit of the history of government's stance on the issue shows that previous presidents found the necessity in international exchange for betterment of US future success. President Eisenhower created the USIA in hopes of utilizing education and information to combat foreign threats and increasing US influence overseas (Campbell, 2005; Kramer, 2009). President Johnson and President Clinton both wrote formal statements urging legislators and institutions the imperative need for a policy on international education and its students. President Kennedy played a key role in passing of the Fulbright–Hayes Act in 1961 (Kramer, 2009). These Presidents, despite other matters that the US considered more urgent, took time to address the international education community. How international education was deemed useful aside from the idealistic notions of increasing cultural diversity and mutual understanding was varying, however.

In the discourse surrounding the future of USIA in the 1990s, it was at the suggestion of Senator Jesse Helms, the then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the merge of USIA and State Department occurred. The support of the Congress on this matter seemed to have been split about the necessity for a separate department dedicated to information and educational exchange. Senator

John Glenn (R-OH), on one hand, advocated for cutting back on funding for educational exchange, using the end of the Cold War as the reasoning. On the other side, Lawrence Eagleburger, former Secretary of State argued for further investment in education exchanges, stating that the USIA programs had "demonstrated a unique, irreplaceable capacity to support [US's ideas]" (Campbell, 2005). While having opposing views within the Congress makes a statement about the priorities of members in Congress, it is the rationales used by the voices within Congress that is in need of attention. Whether the argument was made for increase, decrease, or dissolving of international education exchanges, the rationales used were heavily political. The justification that because the Cold War ended, there was no use for these programs, suggested that these educational exchanges were valuable solely for the purposes of fighting war. Furthermore, the statement that the USIA educational exchange programs were valuable in spreading US values and ideas further supports this fact, although more subtly. When it came to decisions on international education, the motivations that drove Congress to act were heavily political and tactical. However, to say that international education was viewed as a tool for the federal government would be skewed. There were agencies such as the Institute of International Education and the National Association not only for Foreign Student Advisors that have some government affiliation but also has had the independent goal of cultural exchange and diversity as its motivations.

IIE: Institute of International Education (IIE) was established in 1919, after the end of World War I. The founders of IIE were Nobel Peace Prize winners Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, and Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, and Stephen Duggan, Sr., Professor of Political Science at the College of the City of New York. The three men founded this private institution with the belief that peace and understanding between nations could not be achieved without international education exchange ("IIE History"). IIE has had a rich history of expanding the link between other countries and the United States in education. In addition, they aided in establishing NAFSA: Association of International Educators and Council and Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) in 1942 (Kramer, 2009). In 1946, the US Department of State tasked IIE with administering the graduate student component of the Fulbright Program, and in 1947 was asked to administer the Fulbright Educational Exchange Program. Starting from 1948, the IIE began collecting and analyzing statistical data of foreign students in the United States, naming the project Open Doors ("IIE History"). The official IIE website that shows the timeline of IIE involvement in international education history reveals the strong dependency of the government on this organization for support and advice. The IIE's relationships with corporate foundations such as Ford Foundation, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Gates Foundations show that it also has had the necessary funds to implement international exchange programs within the US and overseas ["IIE History"].

The birth of IIE and its increase in research and analysis on the international student community is indicative of once again the delicate balance of politics and education. However, the independent existence of IIE and its nongovernmental connections also show how international education has been an interest and investment

in society apart from the government. The yearly-published findings on the growing number of international students in the US also convey the interest on the phenomena. It is through IIE's statistical findings on the decline of international students that raised an alarm to the government and the public.

NAFSA was created through a conference in 1942 organized by the Institute of International Education (IIE), the State Department, the Office of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs, and the US Office of Education ("The History of NAFSA"). A group of foreign student advisors organized the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), with the goal of advocating for international students and student programs ("The History of NAFSA"). NAFSA historically has continued to advocate for international students' rights, with extensive knowledge in the federal laws and regulations and training. They have regularly offered suggestions for improvement in service, training and program implementation regarding issues around international students (Kramer, 2009). For example, NAFSA was a key player in voicing improvements and implementation of the Fulbright–Hays Act of 1961 (Kramer, 2009). It is through their suggestions along with the support of the Kennedy administration that made the success of the act possible. In looking at NAFSA's relationship with the government and its advocacy of international students, it is once again confirmed that the international education field is not completely isolated from political ties. However, it is because of NAFSA's maintenance of the relationship with the government that has allowed for their voice to be of important consideration.

Both IIE and NAFSA have had some government affiliation; however, their success stemmed from their ability to also remain independent of government influence and agenda. While the government has relied on them for implementation of programs, producing research and providing advice, these organizations also has historically aimed to maintain the idealistic ideas of cultural exchange as the motivation for their existence. Education in America still prevalently holds a neutral reputation, ideally free from politically skewed agenda and goals. However, the intricacies of the matter are very finite, as education institutions have also increased their pool of international students throughout history.

Leaders and heads of universities and educational institutions have also voiced their opinions on international education as well. While many of university faculty members collectively voiced their opinions and suggestions under organizations such as NAFSA, some have made separate statements on their stance on international education and foreign students. Robert Lyman, President of Stanford University made a statement in 1989 that, "We are a people astonishingly ill-prepared for this situation, ill-equipped to understand it and too ill-informed to provide the context for intelligent policy-making regarding international matters" (Campbell, 2005; Vestel, 1994), therefore it was imperative that we include international students among the education community. On the other side, George J. Borjas, a professor of public policy at Harvard University June 2002, wrote in a National Review Issue, a piece titled, "Rethinking Foreign Students: A question of the national interest" where he claims that foreign student programs may not be beneficial at all, questioning, "Can we afford

to ignore the national security rationale for keeping some educational programs off-limits to students from particular countries" (Borjas, 2002)? The public statements made by members of academic institutions bring to light that the involvement of international students in education is also a complicated issue, where the debate of cultural education benefits with the needs of the country are finely interwoven. Even the academic institutions cannot ignore the political nature of international education, despite its "neutrality." Therefore, varying opinions on international student presence reaches the education sector as well.

While this paper does not go deeply into how active or influential these actors were in advocating for or going against international education, their statements paired with government's actions or lack thereof reflects upon the impression that although there were certain interests on the matter, none were substantial enough to motivate a legislative action with follow-through. However, the fact that there were voices and opinions among the actors meant that nation was not completely ignorant about the international student community and their assets.

Post-2001: Struggle of Regulation Versus Opening Doors

Many changes resulted in the years following the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center. The homeland attack attracted sudden attention by the public as well as the government to the international student community in an unfortunate and negative way. As it became known that some of the attackers gained entrance into the US through a student visa, the community came under hyper-focus and scrutiny. The government and nongovernment institutions alike were generally in agreement about the tightening of its security measures and screenings of this group. In NAFSA's testimony to the Congress in March of 2005, the representative and Vice President for Public Policy of NAFSA, Lawrence H. Bell stated, "I personally do not criticize our country's post-9/11 security measures. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, when we did not know if another terrorist attack was imminent, it is understandable that emergency measures were put in place quickly, and not in the orderly fashion that one might wish for in normal times. We might have been critical of the ways in which it was done, but we all understood the need for action." As to why there was a unanimous agreement was very apparent: never before had there been such a violent threat and attack on US soil. In the past 60 years of history, much of US' foreign involvement and disputes were overseas. America had built up such a repertoire as a global power that the public had culminated a false sense of security; therefore the shock and confusion was doubled as the nation tried to grasp sense of what had happened. One of the target communities became the international student community, especially those students from Muslim/Arab countries.

However, the actions of the government from 2001 to 2005, including the Opening Doors to Foreign Students Act, reveals the prominent presence of the international student community that became prevalent within the US system. While the presence

was always known, it was hazy, and vague, because of the nonthreatening and beneficial nature. Although there was growing tension within the public about the issue of immigrants and foreigners in general at the local level, at the federal level, from a general viewpoint, did not clearly see this community until the rest of the nation did as well. Just after the attack, the government passed a series of legislation that affected the mobility of international students coming into the US. The Kennedy–Feinstein bill passed the Senate on April 19, 2002 that provided provisions for tracking international students and visitors. The same day, the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Reform Act passed as well, which implemented the Student and Exchange Visitors Information System (SEVIS), an electronic database that allows efficient sharing of information about the international students, which was still undergoing pilot testing in late 2001. The newly created Department of Homeland Security also became responsible for the oversight and advising of visa issuance. With the support of all government and institution agencies, these acts that aimed to regulate and screen international students passed one after another. However, these acts were not without consequences.

As I mentioned near the beginning, the ideas of cultural exchange, mutual understanding, global citizenship and thus freedom, democracy, and tolerance has been the popular association with the international student community for most of US history. However, as a result of government's actions following the September 11 attack, new ideas tied to the international student community were introduced. As opposed to idealistic, positive perceptions, the ideas of threat to "national security" and "homeland security" became the words that became involved in discussions pertaining to foreign students. While these ideas were introduced and grew domestically, overseas, US's actions sent a message to other nations that international students were "unwelcome." The perception had drastically changed as word spread about the difficulties involving the visa and screening process. Institutions saw a drop in international student enrollment rate, and in 2003–2004 year report by the IIE, US saw its first negative increase in international student enrollment in many years (Open Doors, 2016).

With another dip in the number of international student enrollment in US institutions in 2017–2018, a little over a decade later, it seems that this unwelcoming message has returned. While the number of international students in the US has nearly doubled since 2005, a second decrease and projections of further declining of international students is concerning for two reasons. First, it confirms that US government's strict regulatory nature of "noncitizens" without a neutralizing agenda to encourage international scholars results in negative consequences. Second, current Trump administration's legislative actions over the past two years, such as travel bans, immigration policies, and further visa restrictions, has introduced a new idea that has become associated with the international student community: immigration, and unfortunately in another negative way.

In 2017, President Trump signed an executive order banning nationals from seven countries in entering the United States, mostly countries with predominantly Muslim population. Severe criticism had ensued as a result, with aggressive pushback from local governments and the other branches of the government, with a second and third

version of the ban issued before the Supreme Court, in a 5–4 decision, deemed the third version of the travel ban in June 2018 as constitutional. While there was much debate as to whether or not the ban would directly affect the majority of current and prospective international students, the more concerning factor is the underlying consequences of these bans. In addition to the outright message that nationals from Muslim countries are not welcome, the logistics that has gone under the radar is the more stringent process of visa issuance and the stricter regulation of duration of stay in the US, implying that those who could enter, are not welcome to stay permanently.

In relation to the travel ban, President Trump has had an ongoing battle with Congress in obtaining funding to build a wall at the southern border, this time targeting the Mexican/South American nationals who were seeking refuge in the US. This attempt at building the wall has become a physical symbol of keeping "others" out, very much the same message as closing our doors to those who wish to move to the US. Trump administration's ending of the Dreamers (DACA) Act, has further sent a message that those who are already here are unwelcome as well; in fac,t it is not enough to imply that there are certain people who cannot enter, the current government is stating through action that they will take it a step further to deport/push out those who are already here.

While US historically has struggled and changed stances many times on immigration policies and issues, the current government's opposing of accepting and welcoming "noncitizens" such as refugees, immigrants, and the undocumented, has re-created the idea of "outsiders" and a "us versus them" mentality. However, what has changed this time as opposed to two decades ago, is that the negative ideas have been created from within. Just like the years following 2001, when government legislation of regulating and tracking international students resulted in an outside and inside perception of "national security threat," the government has once again resurfaced not only this idea once more through the travel bans and immigration policy changes but also has aided in shifting national mood to viewing international student community and any other groups that are not citizens as "others."

NAFSA was one of the first to express alarm about the post-September 11 policies on the enrollment of international students. In its January 2003 task force report, In America's Interest: Welcoming International Students, NAFSA firmly encouraged the government and the nation to "Rather than retreating from our support for international student exchange—and forgoing its contribution to our national strength and well being—we must redouble our efforts to provide foreign student access to US higher education while maintaining security" (Anderson, 2005, pg. 26). The report goes on to making comprehensive arguments of why international student exchange is vital to America, including a list of benefits, as well as a call for a national policy addressing this body of students. However, they were not the only one.

The influential members of the business community also explicitly conveyed to the public about the negative impacts of visa and international student policies on the long-term competitiveness of US firms. Bill Gates of Microsoft had labeled the policies in relation to visa restrictions and security measures "a disaster." In addition, Jeff Immelt, chairman and CEO of General Electric stated, "This is a case where our policy to close down on access boomerangs. It moves jobs out of the United States

and creates less incentive for people to study the US" (Anderson, 2005; Larson & Gappos, 2005). The addition of members in the business sector's voices sealed the reality of the impact of international students' contributions to the United States. The call for a policy regarding the international student community became louder, as the aftereffects of September 11 resulted in these drastic changes.

Reports continuously stated academic, economic, and political benefits the international student community contributed to the United States. By doing so, advocates attempted to reclaim international students as a tool for national security, not a threat. While all of the voices, government and nongovernment, agreed on the need for security measures, there was also agreements on the need for a national plan on still maintaining its welcoming reputation to the international students. Therefore, the passing of the Opening Doors to Foreign Students Act in July of 2005 became government's acknowledgment of the new balancing act that was necessary for the ongoing and future success of the nation. The time had come for international students to become a priority.

Current Situation: Regulation or Closing Doors?

Today, we are once again facing the same dilemma of declining enrollment, and the nongovernmental international student support communities are again raising their voices once more. NAFSA has actively engaged with the Congress, urging them to take the 3% decline in new enrollment as a serious concern. This past summer of 2018, NAFSA's Deputy Executive Director for Public Policy, Jill Welch testified before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Border Security and Immigration, beseeching members to take seriously the value of international education to national security and US economy (O'Connell, 2018a, 2018b). While NAFSA is directly addressing their concerns about this community of students, perhaps academic institutions and other agencies have taken a different approach. Collectively, institutions have stepped forwards as those opposing the travel bans, immigration policies and claiming themselves as "sanctuaries" in attempts to combat the negative ideas that have resulted from federal government's actions. IIE has added on their agenda a push for American students to study abroad, as a way to promote cultural awareness and diversity, while still continuously expanding their research and publication on international student exchange through their Open Doors reports. However, what is more prevalent now than 2005 is the number of other countries that are actively and aggressively making plans at the national level to attract international students. Many countries have had a national policy on attracting and supporting, international students, sending out a positive and welcoming message, and many more are actively pursuing this same course of action. In the meantime, the United States is facing many issues in multiple fronts, from rising tuition, lack of government support, and growing intolerance toward perceived "others" while still having no cohesive policy on welcoming international students to the US. Furthermore, human mobility is an increasing phenomenon, whether it is for education or for livelihood, therefore the

lines between nations, visa statuses, and citizenship may become more blurred. The complexities that ensue only calls for a more collective attention needed to be paid toward students in education, particularly the international students.

Conclusion

> It occurred to me that the less attention the matter got, the greater would be the chance of a victory for idealism.—Fulbright

The ideas that the United States held onto so dearly have allowed for the international student community to proliferate, and so the "cultural diversity" and "mutual understanding" image continued to prevail, but these words that were associated with the international student community became mixed as the ideas of "national threat" and "homeland security" were introduced in 2001, and now a negative perception of "immigration" in current day. And despite these idealistic values used as rationales, the government has not actively paid attention to this community and the benefits that we as a society receive from international education and exchange. The failure to pass certain acts in history reflects this argument, as other matters pertaining the US were deemed of more importance. In addition, the budget cuts and the merging, redistributing, and dispersing of the USIA department also reflects upon the government's previous views on the importance of this community. As long as they were not a "problem to be dealt with" there was always something more urgent or important to channel their resources, legislations and plans. Only when the economic, academic and reputation threats became real in the years following 2001 did the government come to realize just how important a strategic plan on international education and specifically on attracting the foreign students is. In years following 2005, the growing number of international students in the US has indicated that recovery is possible, for whether it was from government follow-through, or a more active stance on the part of academic and nongovernment institutions, the US was able to shift away from an unwelcoming persona to one that is once again "open." However, once again the threats that have ensued in the years following 2001 is looming once again, and in today's context, given the nationalistic supports that are popping up in parts of the world, it is more imperative that we continuously support the international student community, not just through raising concerns to the government but expanding and diversifying our approaches in how to shift the dialogue toward the positive aspects of international education. When Fulbright first initiated the push for international educational exchange, he relied on the Congress' disinterest, but today, this is not at all possible. It is now a known fact that international students are a vital tool for diversity, inclusion, knowledge economy, and internationalization, to the rest of the world. In the past, America was the frontrunner and beacon in international exchange. Now, these very ideologies that America stood for, and still stands for, are in danger, as our government is shifting away from international collaboration, and more toward seclusion and nationalism. Current day, US government's active

interest in curtailing the entrance of the perceived "others" in which international students have fallen under has resulted in not just a decline in international student enrollment, but a more dangerous implication of a growing intolerance of diversity and cultural exchange happening not just in the US, but all over the world. Therefore, it is up to the academic and international student support communities to step up and make sure that the importance of international education and students as a gateway to understanding and accepting of different backgrounds, experiences, knowledge, and cultures is known to Congress, the rest of US society, and hopefully, the rest of the world.

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Chapter 11
International Student Well-Being and the Influence of Politics

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Abstract Political developments play a central role in shaping international education experiences, and the mental health of international students. This chapter systematically explores how political developments in home and host nations often influence international student experiences in ways which affect students' well-being; while also considering the role of economic changes and technological advancements, from a psychological perspective. Specifically, Pacheco discusses how twenty-first-century geopolitics, technological advancements, and economic trends can act as manipulators of international student stress across three specific domains: transitional stress (i.e. adjustment, rejection), social stress (i.e. support networks, identity) and life stress (i.e. financial, familial, emotional distress). The dynamics of geopolitics in home and host environments are also explored, as each context may present unique challenges and barriers to the positive mental health of international students. Drawing attention to the well-established knowledge concerning international student well-being, and highlighting a lack of knowledge where the experiences of individuals sojourning from regions experiencing political conflict are concerned, Pacheco ultimately argues it is necessary to consider the impact both macro level and micro level political shifts have on international students' mental health, as this population is dually susceptible to stress but is often overlooked. As context to this argument, this chapter also places a special emphasis on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, as this region not only harbours the fast-growing outwardly mobile student population but also currently faces the greatest proportion of political unrest.

Keywords International students · Migration · Cross-cultural psychology · Well-being · Geopolitics · Middle East and North Africa

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_11

Introduction

As the geopolitical landscapes of the world develop and change, the very social fabrics of nations and communities are consequently shaped and reshaped. Whether on a macro or micro scale, the decision-making process executed by governments (politics) ultimately dictates how societies should operate (policy), and therefore directly influences the lives of nearly every single human being in one way or another. Although the reach of political directives may seem conceptually obvious when considering the influence and authority of policy and laws on societal functioning, the effects of political developments on individual lives are extremely multifaceted and complex. Arguably, due to the intricacies of the relationship between civilian life experiences and geopolitics, developments in and between governments often stimulate chain reactions that extend far beyond that which may have been anticipated. Further, as it is well-documented in academic scholarship (e.g. Benjamin, 2008; Hui & Want, 2003; Rousseau, 2016), the connections between a region's political climate and the nature of other domains are fundamental to the functioning of society (e.g. the economy, healthcare, education). In fact, geopolitics can also influence civilian mental health and well-being, which has also been addressed to some extent by scholarship (e.g. Bache & Scott, 2018; Doran & Hodgett, 2018).

As one begins to closely investigate the links between geopolitical developments and civilian well-being, one cohort is evidently highlighted as particularly susceptible to experiencing negative effects: international students (Sherry, Thomas, & Chui, 2010). For the purpose of this chapter, *well-being* refers to the psychological level of wellness, or positive mental health, of an individual. A majority of international student studies of various generations (e.g. Misra, Crist, & Burant, 2003; Oberg, 2006), geographical domains (e.g. Gomes, Berry, Alzougool, & Chang, 2014; Lefdahl-Davis & Perrone-McGovern, 2015), and population dynamics (e.g. Brown & Brown, 2013; Lin, Peng, Kim, Kim, & Larose, 2011) support the notion that those in this cohort are also often the foremost victims of political strife. Considering the significant number of international students—a number that is only expected to rise—the well-being concerns of this cohort are increasingly in need of acknowledgment. A recent report released by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2009) highlights the extent to which this is true, by predicting that the international student population will reach an all-time high of seven million by the year 2020. Considering the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada together host nearly half of all internationally mobile students (UNESCO, 2017), the politics within and outwith these four 'major destinations' are of utmost concern. Also, due to recent geopolitical developments, which will be explored in this chapter, these major destinations are currently experiencing instability in their international student economy, affecting the educational experiences and wellbeing of international students with more dire consequences than under normal political climates.

In terms of where students are coming from, according to UNESCO data (2017) majority of the current 5 million international students originally migrate from Asia

(e.g. China, Pakistan, India), with students from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) serving as the fastest-growing outwardly mobile cohort. As education becomes increasingly more globalized, international student experiences become more deeply influenced by the political developments of not only their home countries but also of their host nations. This chapter will explore how political developments in home and host nations often influence international student experiences in ways which directly affects students' well-being. Consideration will also be given to the influence of economic changes and technological advancements.

Understanding the Politics of International Student Well-being

The well-being needs of international students are extremely complex, yet conceptually evident. Research on this cohort has been extensive, in terms of utilizing their unique cohort dynamics to explore transcultural and transnational concepts, such as culture shock, culture learning theory, and acculturative stress. In terms of investigation regarding the well-being and positive mental health of this cohort, only modern research has truly begun to investigate the needs, stressors, and coping mechanisms, that affect this population for the sole purpose of providing resources to support these students. The need for such investigation has become increasingly apparent over the last three decades, with the rapid development of globalization facilitated by novel technological advancements. The introduction of the Internet, world wide web and social media has incontrovertibly had an influence on transitional experiences, and has possibly reshaped the nature of international student sojourns. For example, the prime concern for academics, researchers, educators, and mental health professionals with an interest in the domain of international student well-being, has typically been to not only identify the most common and intense stressors but also to provide coping resources by which international students can then manage their stress. In this pursuit, the literature has come to reflect that, in addition to academic stressors (e.g. maintaining good grades, finishing assignments, graduating on time), international students often face a disproportionately high level of stress across three core domains: transitional, social, and life stress. The subsequent discussion will systematically address the influence of geopolitics, technology, and economic trends, on international student well-being in each of these domains; with a special emphasis on the MENA region, as this region harbours the fast-growing outwardly mobile student population.

Transitional Stress: Adjustment and Rejection

It has been well established in the literature that international students often experience great anxiety and distress during their initial immersion in novel cultural environments (e.g. Berry, 2006; Louie, 2002; Presbitero, 2016). The mechanisms by which this distress is facilitated is often rooted in a dissonance and discomfort experienced by immersing oneself in an unfamiliar sociocultural environment, which may result in experiencing 'culture shock', and which can then be even further intensified (e.g.,) after experiencing avoidance from the demotivated local peers (e.g. Gaulee, 2018). Despite having many definitions and conceptualizations, a literature review conducted by Furnham (2010) lead to a broad definition of *culture shock* as, 'a disorienting experience of suddenly finding that the perspectives, behaviours, and experience of an individual group, or whole society are not shared by others' (p. 88). Although culture shock is a prominent issue for those concerned with international student well-being, recent studies suggest the prevalence and nature of this experience have changed since its initial conceptualization. For example, a recent study conducted by Lefdahl–Davis and Perroe-McGovern (2015), which explored the transcultural experiences of Saudi international students (a MENA population) studying in the United States, found few experiences of culture shock amongst the group. Most interestingly, the researchers largely attributed the absence of culture shock experiences to the participants having been familiar with American culture previous to their arrival, due to exposure facilitated through modern technology. That is, the participants reported having previously engaged with American culture via television programs, Hollywood movies and music; and further via social media platforms which allow transnational content sharing between users (e.g. Youtube, Reddit, Facebook).

However, the pre-exposure that is being facilitated through the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) also suggests that while prospective student sojourners may be able to acquire knowledge and familiarity with the generic features of a host culture (e.g. language, weather, cuisine), this cohort may not necessarily be able to prepare themselves for the more negative features of their host society. For example, a similar study conducted by Belford (2017) explored the cross-cultural transitions of Asian and European international students in Australia with similar results, reporting low levels of culture shock specifically, but making reference to the difficulties of the transition in other domains (e.g. living independently, having to work, managing studies). Of particular interest is the mutual reference in both studies to the role experiences of discrimination by host locals played as barriers to maintaining positive mental health across both samples. In fact, experiences of real or perceived discrimination are a particularly significant contributor to international student stress and is often the most difficult to cope with (i.e. Chai, Krägeloh, Shepherd, & Billington, 2012; Oropeza, Fitzgibbon, & Baron, 1991; Presbitero, 2016; Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994). The relationship between societal perspectives towards minorities, and the ability for micro and macro politics to shape these perspectives in host nations is worthy to note, as the ease with which political actors can encourage

discriminatory attitudes within a society is well established (e.g., Bhui, 2016; Heald, Vida, & Bhugra, 2018; Tummala-Narra & Claudius, 2013). This concept will be explored in greater depth in the subsequent section.

Social Stress: Support Networks and Identity

It is well established in the psychology literature across many fields (social, clinical, educational, etc.) that social support networks are fundamental moderators of stress (i.e. Berry, 2006; Misra et al., 2003; Oropeza et al., 1991). Thus, another important domain of international student well-being management is that which is concerned with the quality and quantity of social interactions between the student and others, both in home and host contexts. For example, an investigation and theoretical model by Misra et al. (2003) found that social support has 'buffering' effects on stress symptoms for international graduate students. In particular, contact with one's own culture had the greatest effect (e.g. speaking one's own language, communicating with friends and family in their home country), although interactions with locals (i.e. local friends) were also beneficial. The notion that social support can act as a 'powerful resource' for international students in terms of stress management extends far beyond this particular study, and is highlighted as a vital coping resource for international students of various backgrounds, fields, and academic levels (e.g. Belford, 2017; Chai et al., 2012; Li & Chen, 2014). However, political developments often have a direct effect on the extent to which international students are able to utilize and manage their social support networks, both in the host and home countries.

First, international students are often regarded as 'cultural ambassadors' of their home countries and cultures by those they encounter in their host environments (i.e. Brown, Brown, & Richards, 2014, p. 55; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2005, p. 153). This feature of stereotyping by host locals has been to be particularly problematic for international students attempting to build social networks in host environments, as this 'foreign ambassador' designation, and mechanisms of stereotyping, often results in the facilitation of hyper nationalism in both the addressors (locals) and addressees (international students). For example, an investigation conducted by Brown et al. (2014), which investigated the relationship between the British media representations of Islam and the experiences of Muslim international students, emphasizes the extent to which this is true with their findings. Their study found locals often regarded the Muslim international students as objects of suspicion and caution, and where there was interaction, the students were often asked intrusive and negatively assumptive questions. Every participant reported having to explain themselves, the reason for their beliefs, and even the political dynamics of their home countries (e.g. if women are legally allowed to drive, legal requirements around religious dress, etc.). Brown and colleagues (2014) also reported the students' constant pressure to distinguish Islam from terrorism, and to emphasize the beliefs of Islam do not justify the heinous crimes against humanity often linked to Islam by the media. In this way, the influence of macro-political attitudes is exemplified as having an influence on local level social

life, by establishing a foundational 'knowledge' within a society of people, about another society of people, laden with bias, presumption, and stereotypes to serve the greatest and oldest political motivation: the preservation and protection of that which is familiar and 'ours' (i.e. the values, beliefs and norms of the locals).

Further, when considering the role of social support networks in well-being preservation for international students, it is imperative to consider the extent to which these sojourners can engage with their previously established networks. Family and friends in home countries are widely recognized in both the psychology and international student literature as vital social support resources (e.g. Lin et al., 2011; Yazdani, Zadeh, & Shafi, 2016; Zhou, Jindal-Snape, Topping, & Todman, 2008). However, for most international students, the only way to maintain contact with home contacts is through the use of modern communication technologies (e.g. Skype, Viber, Whatsapp) and social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter). Though modern research has demonstrated that the use of such platforms to maintain connections with social contacts is often adequate (e.g. Chen & Ross, 2015; Park, Song, & Min Lee, 2014), especially for those which allow virtual face-to-face interactions (i.e. video messaging; e.g., Skype, FaceTime, Google Hangouts), political developments often create barrier to doing so for particular groups of international students. For example, on one hand, due to censorship regulations, such as those which are well known in nations such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, China, Pakistan, and Vietnam, many international students may experience difficulty in maintaining contact with remote loved ones. On the other hand, international students and their families from regions which may not necessarily be subject to censorship impositions but experience periods of political tension, often must navigate communications around intentional disruptions of access to social media platforms facilitated by governmental forces, or 'media blackouts'. For example, during 2016 attempted military coup in Turkey, reports emerged that access to over 130 social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube, had been blocked within the nation (BBC News, 2016; Vanian, 2016; Wong, 2016). However, despite the blackout in Turkey, media outlets around the globe continued to publish developing stories with headlines such as '*Death toll rises to 265 in failed Turkey coup*' (Yackley & Tattersall, 2016), keeping Turkish international students in an emotional limbo. That is to say, during this time, Turkish international students in countries which did not impose internet censorship were able to access enough information about the civil unrest and military resistance during the attempted coup to be informed, but seemingly could not communicate with members of their family and friends in their home country (due to the media blackout). Although this may be an extreme example of the influential relationship political developments can have on social support networks, the example serves to highlight the impact modern politics can have on even the most concrete (low-level) social functioning. Thus, if international students are not able to utilize and engage with their social support networks, a vital coping mechanism, this cohort will be particularly susceptible to experiencing poor mental health and well-being.

Moreover, as previously touched upon, international students are particularly at-risk of experiencing discrimination and isolation within their social host environments. In fact, the alienation and social mistreatment of international students are

well-documented in the literature, and is often regarded as the foremost contributor of stress for those who endure such experiences (e.g. Abunab, Dator, Salvador, & Lacanaria, 2017; Berry, 2006; Ward et al., 2005). As international students are often minorities in host environments, the out-grouping by host locals is an unfortunate reality of transnational and transcultural experience, as out-group/in-group dynamics historically foster conflict (e.g., Volkan, 2009). However, it is worthy to note the apparent and identified links between societal attitudes which facilitate discriminatory perspectives, and the political developments within the related geopolitical landscape. To further explain, Bhui (2016) argues that the relationship between political developments and social divisions is direct, with the former implementing and creating a foundation for the latter. To illustrate this point, Bhui (2016) makes the case that following the British public's vote to leave the European Union held on 23 June 2016 (Brexit referendum), stigma, prejudice, and discrimination rates have risen against migrants, non-UK citizens, and religious and ethnic minorities within Britain. While Bhui's (2016) report does not explicitly discuss the influence such political developments will have on international students specifically, the literature clearly demonstrates a high vulnerability within this cohort to experience discrimination, and concurrently, reports such as Bhui's (2016) make the case that these such occurrences are on the rise. Thus, the possible relationship between political developments and international student well-being in social domains is illustrated by connecting the metaphorical dots between the experiences these sojourners live, and the influential forces which shape these experiences.

Life Stress: Finances, Family and Emotional Upset

In addition to transitional and social stress, international students often have to deal with an entirely unique plethora of, what is commonly referred to as, *life stress*. This category of stress is broad, and is generally concerned with those contributors of stress which are predictable, common and not often psychologically problematic; as well as encompassing idiosyncratic issues (Leong & Tolliver, 2008; Misra et al., 2003; Oropeza et al., 1991). For this particular cohort, that is international students, the biggest contributors of life stress are often financial, family-oriented, related to the feeling of undesirable emotions, or a combination of the three (i.e. Furnham, 2010; Oropeza et al., 1991; Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994). Politics in home and host play central roles in the perpetuation of most of these stressors, and where they do, the political developments are often significant.

Financial Stress. The psychological tension and anxiety in this domain are greatly conceptually comprehensible: International students have many expenses. In addition to having to pay international student fees, which are often double or triple than of home fees (in countries where home fees exist), the students in this cohort also often have to pay for medical insurance, visa applications, passports, and living costs. Another domain worthy to acknowledge is that of currency conversion. For students pursuing studies in nations which harbour economies stronger than that

of their own host nations, the financial pressure is much greater than that of their peers. Where economic trends of home nations are unpredictable or experience a 'crash' (great decline in value) during studies, the stress inflicted in this domain is of utmost concern. The economic crash of the Turkish lira in July 2018 exemplifies the extent to which this is true, as the currency reached an all-time record low, falling dramatically within hours (Collinson & Davies, 2018; Heeb, 2018; Meyer, 2018). Considering Turkey is recognized as one of the top fifteen major contributors of international students, with most of its outward mobility to the United States, Europe, and United Kingdom (UNESCO, 2017), Turkish internationals undeniably felt the effects of this crash against the American Dollar, Euro, and British Pound.

To further explain, the case has been made thus far concerning the likely influence of the crashing currency on international student well-being, as the devaluation of one's finances in stronger economies can act as a major instigator of stress and therefore jeopardize one's well-being. As previously discussed, the links between the political developments concerning a nation, or nation's government, and other domains of societal function (e.g. the economy) are well established (e.g. Benjamin, 2008; Hui & Want, 2003; Rousseau, 2016)—and the case of the crashing lira is not likely an exception. To further explain, many sources attribute the crash of the Turkish lira to a poor relationship between the international actors Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and United States President Donald Trump (e.g. Collinson & Davies, 2018; Heeb, 2018; Meyer, 2018). Although the details of the tremulous relationship remain unclear, it is likely that developments which preceded the crash between the two state actors had some level of influence on the occurrence. In this way, it is evident that macro level politics have yet another mechanism (e.g., economics) by which to negatively influence the well-being of international students on a micro level.

Familial Stress and Emotional Upset. Though international students often sojourn away from their families, the strong emotional bonds individuals may harbour towards their loved ones can transcend even the furthest of sojourns. With this in mind, it is common for international students to remain invested in familial developments in their home country, which both acts as a stressor and coping mechanism depending on the nature of the development (e.g. Allen, Marcelin, Schmitz, Hausmann, & Shultz 2012; Oropeza et al., 1991; Yazdani et al., 2016). The extent to which emotional ties can act as a stressor to international student mental health will be explored in greater depth in the subsequent section. However, it is necessary to establish that international students are also prone to experiencing significant emotional upset (e.g., homesickness, guilt, depression), often in relation to being away from their families, friends and home environment. For instance, a seminal piece on acculturative stress amongst international students suggests *homesickness* is a major stressor in this cohort (Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994, p. 444). This notion is further exemplified by work conducted by Ward and colleagues (2005) which states homesickness is a nostalgic orientation which is explicitly related to elevated levels of depression (p. 233). Though this is merely one example of emotional distress in

international students, the poor mental health and emotional upset are well established features of international student experiences (e.g. Chai et al., 2012; Gardner, Krägeloh, & Henning, 2014; Oropeza et al., 1991).

Conflicts in Context

Overall, it is evident macro and micro level political developments occurring in host environments and home countries, during the time of educational sojourns, often greatly influence the well-being status of international students. Further conceptualization on the influence of political developments in home and host on this subject matter is subsequently provided.

Major Contributors: Political Development in Home Countries

The psychological well-being of globally mobile students has long been of great concern in both the psychology literature, and the international student literature. Since the 1950s, this cohort has been recognized as a population under great duress with a severe lack of resources, and is even considered to be experiencing a 'mental health crisis' (i.e., Furnham, 2010; Oropeza et al., 1991; Ward et al., 2005). As previously explored, political climates in home and host countries can, to a great extent, contribute to international student stress. However, modern research has only just begun to investigate the experiences of students who sojourn form nations experiencing active political conflict. While there is very little empirical research contribution which explicitly conceptualizes or investigates the experiences of international students during times of political conflict, researchers have previously speculated that international students exposed to home country conflict not only expend time and energy to follow the political developments in their homes, but are also therefore prone to experiencing greater stress and hardship during their sojourn (i.e. Brown & Brown, 2013; Furnham, 2010; Ward et al., 2005). Further, there are significant contributions which investigate peripherally related themes (e.g. personal crisis, international student stress, traumatic stress, etc.), although it should be noted, these investigations merely grant fragmented insight into the features of this greater experience.

Research concerning traumatic stress is particularly fundamental to understanding the experiences of international students who are away from home during times of political conflict. Emotional ties to people and places affected by the conflict may contribute further stress unto this cohort (i.e. Yazdani et al., 2016), considering the probability of traumatic experiences (e.g. loss, death, threat to life) amongst this cohort are greatly increased when compared to sojourners of non-conflict nations.

For example, a recent study conducted by Yazdani et al. (2016) investigated the extent to which one's physical and emotional proximity to a traumatic event can act as a predictor of trauma-related symptoms in adolescents. In the context of the study, emotional proximity refers to 'a close relationship with the victims of a traumatic stressor' (p. 3), while physical proximity in research 'refers to the physical distance from the event [and/or] witnessing injury or death' (p. 2). It is important to note, all participants in this study were not physically present at the time the traumatic event occurred, but may have lived in, or frequently visited, the general area. Overall, the researchers found both physical *and* emotional proximity to a traumatic event can present particularly problematic trauma-related stress symptoms, and especially where there is a closer relationship to the victim. Based on these findings, Yazdani and colleagues (2016) argue individuals can be indirectly affected by troubling events which happens to loved ones, such as family or friends, even if the individual is physically safe and removed from the traumatic environment themselves. Findings such as these highlight the need for acknowledgment concerning the emotional and psychological needs of international sojourners, especially those travelling from politically tense regions (e.g. Syria, Palestine, South Sudan). Further emphasizing this notion, experiences such as loss, or the death of loved ones have been highlighted in the literature as especially difficult to cope with when abroad (Oropeza et al., 1991).

Transnational ties to home-countries are therefore too important to be dismissed, and if overlooked, may continue to perpetuate significantly negative mental health symptoms, such as depression, anxiety, and helplessness. An investigation of Hattian-American reactions to the 2010 earthquake in Haiti also demonstrates the extent to which this is true, as the researchers reported a significant difference in psychological impact between those with more connections to Haiti (e.g. family, friends in Haiti) when compared to those with less or none (Allen et al., 2012). Allen and colleagues (2012) further advocate for the need to address the experiences and mental health needs of those who harbour transnational ties to people and places experiencing 'disaster', suggesting that these individuals are, themselves, indirectly exposed to these traumas. However, it is worthy to note 'man made crises' are often found to be more stressful and traumatic when compared to other disasters (e.g. natural), and therefore further emphasize the detrimental effects political developments can have on individual wellbeing for those involved, even remotely (Yazdani et al., 2016, p. 7).

Major Destinations: Political Developments in Host Countries

The political climate of host nations can, to a great extent, determine and shape the nature of international student experiences for inwardly mobile sojourners. It is well-documented that the well-being of international students is explicitly linked to the nature of their cultural and societal acclimation experiences (e.g. Belford, 2017; Chai et al., 2012; Mahmood, 2014), which to a great extent is determined by the macro

and micro political developments of the nation as has thus far been highlighted in the present chapter. In other words, the societies within which international students sojourn into are shaped by the political developments occurring within the region, and to a great extent, determine and represent the sociocultural standing of the host environment.

Particularly problematic developments, where international student well-being is concerned, are those political developments which promote ethnocentrism amongst locals, and intolerance towards minorities and outgroups. For example, movements such as the *Make America Great Again* (MAGA) movement (i.e. Azevedo, Jost, & Rothmund, 2017; Huber, 2016), and social attitudes which facilitated support for *Brexit* (i.e., Bhui, 2016; Heald et al., 2018) are rooted in ideologies which strive for homogeneous societies leaving little room for diversity and multiculturalism. For international students dependent on positive integration within-host environments, such political developments serve to cultivate a tense and psychologically stressful atmosphere. For example, a recent report contributed by Heald, Vida, and Bhugra (2018) makes a case for the possible negative mental health effects of the Brexit referendum on minority ethnic groups (including any non-UK citizens). In particular, Heald and colleagues (2018) argue, 'since the EU referendum… within certain sections of society, overt racial abuse is sadly now a cultural norm' (p. 110). Though this report does not explicitly refer to the mental health implication for international students, individuals in this cohort mostly constitute part of an ethnic minority, or at the very least, are considered foreigners during their studies abroad. It is thus, once again, worthy to note the extent to which macro level politics can have micro level effects on international student well-being by influencing societal attitudes.

Relationships between national representatives also play a significant role in international student experiences. Similar to the events which preceded the previously explored crash of the Turkish lira in July 2018, a recent political dispute between Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and the Saudi Arabian government has resulted in a Saudi 'recall' of over 12,000 international students pursuing education in Canada (Baker, 2018; Canadian Press, 2018; Perrigo, 2018). Further, according to an article by the Canadian Press (2018), 'Riyadh will stop training, scholarship and fellowship programs in Canada', a development which will affect an additional 3000 students to the already affected 12,000 attending university in Canada. Turkish international students experienced a similar fate following the attempted military coup in 2016, when the Turkish government began 'purging' academics from their responsibilities and cutting funding to programs (Sezer, 2016; Yeung, 2016). In this way, the fragility of the international student 'economy' becomes increasingly more evident during times of macro political strife, and can cause a significant level of disorder and concern for major destinations whose institutions and greater economy rely increasingly more on inward international student mobility. However, of even greater concern is the well-being of the international students who are 'caught in the crossfires' of international disputes between home and host. Not only is this cohort already susceptible to increased levels of stress, and therefore poorer mental health when compared to their local peers, but also the mechanisms by which this stress is facilitated is further perpetuated by such political developments, as they often present

more barriers (e.g. financial, legal, social), and create a detriment of support from home domains (i.e. funding bodies, governmental grants and scholarships, etc.).

Conclusion

Overall, political developments play a central role in shaping international education experiences. Disputes between international actors, the election of controversial leadership, and the implementation of seemingly ethnocentric or intolerant national policies, are all mechanisms by which macro level developments locally influence international student experiences and well-being. Great consideration is needed when assessing the extent to which international students of regions experiencing political conflict internalize the features of these developments, and in addressing the well-being needs of this cohort in general. This chapter has made the case that major political shifts, especially those which promote the concepts of ethnocentrism and discrimination of minorities, directly shape the micro-social landscape of host society. Future research would do well to continue investigating the dynamics of these experiences, and quantifying the extent to which political developments have a direct impact on international student experiences. In this way, the research conducted on peripherally related themes hereby discussed may be linked together to develop a clearer conceptualization of what international students *truly* experience, specifically in times of political significance in home, host, or both.

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Part IV
Decentering: Diversifying Perspectives for Internationalization

Chapter 12
Repatriation of Kurdish Students and Adjustment Issues

Enakshi Sengupta and Vijay Kapur

Abstract International student mobility has been generally focused on the flow from home country to host country; less attention has been paid by research scholars as to what happens after graduation mainly after they return to their home country, an issue often referred to as "reverse mobility" (Lee and Kim in High Educ 59(5):627–643, 2010). This article explores the reverse adjustment process of Kurdish students. Twenty-five students were surveyed and qualitative interviews were conducted with them, mainly from the city of Duhok. The results were analyzed to form some insights into the under-researched phenomenon of international student repatriation with a focus on Kurdistan. The findings highlighted the critical concerns and issues for the participants. The article develops a holistic approach to analyze and understand repatriation challenges which will further help government, education providers, employers, and society at large.

Keywords International student mobility · Higher education · Kurdish students · Adjustment process

Introduction

In recent years, the phenomenon of more and more students crossing national borders leaving their home in order to study abroad has become a common occurrence (Sengupta, 2015). The reasons for students studying abroad are numerous and varied. These range from gaining international experience and intercultural awareness to learning a new language, studying at a well-known university, meeting new people, or becoming more self-confident and independent (Kuching, 2011). In most cases, spending time studying abroad is a valuable experience for them. Globalization and students' mobility has encouraged students to pursue higher education abroad and

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_12

while they expect challenges immersing themselves into a new country and a new culture, they often forget to anticipate the shock when they return home (Furham, 2012; Hammer, Hart, & Rogan, 1998; Sussman, 2002; Suutari & Brewster, 2003). The concept of internationalization and mobility of international students have become an integral part of the student population in the higher education sector (Bartram, 2007). Research on international student mobility is more focused on challenges faced in a study abroad program with statistical numbers emerging on movement of students to a host country but researchers have often neglected the field of "reverse mobility" referring to what happens after completion of their studies or after those same students return back to their home countries (Lee & Kim, 2010).

Research on international students' reverse mobility can gather valuable information from the student's perspective to fulfill knowledge gaps found in the literature pertaining to student's mobility. The repatriated students can serve as sources of information for other students who are interested in studying abroad. The host countries invest considerable amounts of human and financial resources (faculty, staff, advisor, assistantship, grants, etc.) toward students from another country. A follow up on the whereabouts of such students can help acquire knowledge about the utilization of education after their graduation. Individual institutions and host countries' higher education systems would also be interested in learning about the relevance of curriculum and the entire experience of acquiring education in those 3 or 4 years of stay in their country. Knowledge gained from the international students can encourage them to improve their curricula and programs. Some amount of work that has been done on reverse mobility of international students by scholars and academicians have predominantly focused on students from traditional top-sending countries such as China, India, Korea, and Taiwan (Finn 2007; Jin, Lee, Yoon, Kim, & Oh, 2006; Saxenian, 2005; Zweig, Fung, & Han, 2008).

International mobility is not limited to students alone but has become an increasing phenomenon in everyday life affecting individuals, organizations, countries, and global society at large. The continuing increase in cross-national mobility over the past decades especially with mass migration issues due to problems in the Middle East has become evident in business, leisure, education, as well as in political settings (Bonache & Brewster, 2001). This needs a whole new area of study focusing on the multifaceted challenges one can identify with related to transitions into a new cultural context but also of returning back to one's own roots. The challenges have several dimensions and touches upon psychological, social, and practical parameters of life. Academics from different fields of specialization have written and investigated the ongoing issues in this field. International Human Resource Management, Tourism, Migration, Education, Second Homes, and Multiple Dwelling, Cross-Cultural Psychology, and Intercultural communication literature are some of the broad areas touching on the issues of mobility (Black, Gregersen, & Medenhall, 1992; Hottola, 2004; Long, 2011). However, the areas of research remain isolated under each genre and not much attempt have been made to integrate and address the whole issue collectively.

Having achieved its autonomy the Kurdistan region of Iraq in 1991 took some steps toward introducing reforms in its schools and universities including its curriculum. New laws were passed toward development of education in the province. Ministry of Higher Education launched its "Human Capacity Development Program" (HCDP), which is designed to send young Kurdish university graduates abroad to high ranking international so that they can go further in their education and achieve higher degrees. Prior to 1991, during Saddam's era many Kurdish family fled to US and Europe seeking asylum. The diaspora of Kurdish people and those who went seeking education abroad were used to the lifestyle and infrastructure abroad.

With the advent of Trump's Government and his signing of the first version, Muslim Ban on January 27, 2017 and that of Senators Cotton and Purdue introducing a bill that would severely minimize the availability of green cards by half and end family-based immigration system meant that students and families from Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Mali, North Korea, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan will be subjected to extreme vetting measures and may be halted from furthering their stay and career in US. Discussion are in progress to introduce the Reforming American Immigration for Strong Employment (RAISE) Act which would also cut current levels of legal immigration by over 50%, and eliminate the Diversity Visa Lottery Program, which provides opportunities for countries that send immigrants consisting of majority of Muslim populations. These measures and others in the past have compelled the Kurdish diaspora and international students to reconsider their stay in US and other foreign countries, forcing them to return back to Kurdistan.

Home coming and adjusting to surroundings which was once familiar to them but now appears to be different gives rise to anxiety and uncertainty among the students (Gregersen & Stroh, 1997) and it has been noticed that adjustment to one's home country may even take up to 1–1.5 years (Liu, 2005). These students who have now graduated and are avid job seekers finds it difficult to adjust in the work environment, socioculturally and even psychologically. Lifestyle, social activities, relationships, financial conditions, and the culture of the home country appears to be different. Psychological adjustment include expectations, stress, and uncertainty which shapes the perception of the individual. Students start thinking that with their degree that they have gained abroad they will have several job offers with increased levels of authority, responsibility, and substantial income. They believe that their organization will consider them as valuable and as special employees and treat them with due respect, which usually does not happen resulting in disappointment and disillusionment.

The author conducted qualitative interview with 25 Kurdish youths who were selected randomly. These were young students who had spent their formative years in US, UK, and other European countries. Their parents had fled Kurdistan during Saddam's era and had taken political asylum in these countries. These students were asked about their experience of home coming and adjustment issues that they may face. Semi-structured questions were prepared in advance to guide the interview and adjustments were made during the course of progress of the interviews. The data

collected from the interviews generated themes which mainly spoke about disillusionment and frustration at their existing system and hoping to go back to their host countries at the first possible chance they would get.

The Kurdish Context

While the authors are talking about Kurdish students and their reentry into their home country it is important to note that the students are not the ones seeking higher education abroad and have traveled abroad while they were children. They are not the graduate students who having secured their degrees in host countries, have returned home in search of employment. The history of Kurdish migration to Europe dates back to the nineteenth century, when the male members of aristocratic families were sent to Europe to pursue higher education (Hassanpour & Mojab, 2005).

Kurdish political refugees started arriving in Europe way back in 1980s after the revolution in Iran and the escalating Kurdish conflict in Turkey. Mass exodus of Kurds were attributed to the anarchy that prevailed in Iraq followed by genocide against the Kurds (Anfal) (Cigerli, 1998). A majority of the Kurdish migrants were political refugees who were mainly from the Iraqi part of Kurdistan arriving to different parts of Europe after the Persian Gulf War and the breakdown of the Iraqi administration in Kurdistan (Sheikhmous, 1990). These migrants experienced considerable challenges in economic, social, cultural life, which effected them collectively in their places of residence (Wahlbeck, 1998). The Kurdish diaspora is considered as one of the largest stateless diaspora who have migrated to different parts of the world (Grojean, 2011). Over a period of time it has been noticed, although there are no census figures that the first generation migrants are returning back to Kurdistan. Some have returned with the hope to contribute towards building a better Kurdistan, while others have various family issue that have forced them to come back to their own land. Some of them continue to lead a hybrid life of holding both foreign and local passports and a home away from home. Their repatriation has been a complex issue where in most occasions they have felt like a complete stranger and an outsider. The students who participated in this research are the children of the first generation repatriated Kurdish migrants who along with their families have been subjected to the same trial and tribulation.

Literature Review

Globalization has led to shrinking of the world with a large number of people traversing the globe in search of jobs or education. This has been followed by expectations, delusion, and perils related to cultural adeptness and integrating with the host community (Almor & Yeheskel, 2013). Traveling has become easier and more affordable than ever before. There is no one reason that has led to growth of travel, it could be

people seeking jobs, students completing their education, or a traveler seeking adventure in unexplored territories (Suutari & Brewster, 2003). Individuals have engaged in short-term and long-term mobility depending on their needs and have taken up residence in different countries for work, family, or seeking political asylum fleeing persecution (Gibson, 2005; Harvey, 1995; Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010; Szkudlarek, 2008).

Gaining experience overseas has always been considered valuable and has been recognized as a personal development tool (Kim, 2016; Nielsen, 2014). Literature has shown that the sojourners have found their stay abroad as a great learning experience which has led to meaningful transformation of their lives (Kohonen, 2008). Other studies have shown that living in a host country has led to an attitudinal change in people making them more tolerant and adaptable (Masgoret, 2006) and have made them realize their own shortcomings and scope for development (Kauffmann, Martin, Weaver, & Weaver, 1992).

Researchers have studied extensively the entry, adaptation, and challenges faced by individuals seeking interest abroad (Adelman, 1988; Zhang, 2013); however, there are limited number of studies which has studied the process of reentry and its significance which has left a void in the existing literature with no practical guide or advise (Jack & Stage, 2005). While the topic remains an under-researched area the work done in this area does recognize that repatriation is equally challenging as integration into a host culture (Suutari & Brewster, 2003). Most scholars have taken the view of the west and the voice of repatriated American students have been recorded occasionally in literature. Limited studies have been done in other geographical areas with different contextual implication. Hence the researcher felt the need of studying the reentry process of Kurdish students and at the same time study the individual internal and external factors in the national context of Kurdistan.

The repatriation literature that is available to us are from the perspective of human resource management studying the corporate environment, which makes business repatriates the most researched group in the reentry and readjustment field. This can be attributed to the fact that work-related issues are at its highest when it faces adjustment issues and cultural imbalance, additionally, the high cost of repatriation and the associated cost of employee turnover makes it an important subject for management students and researchers to study (Black et al., 1992; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

With globalization and outsourcing becoming a common phenomenon in the business environment, employees are finding offers of overseas assignment which has additionally helped in career growth and motivation to work (Jokinen, Brewster, & Suutari, 2008). Companies are designing, organizing, and preparing employees for their overseas assignment in spite of the cost involvement and the risk of losing valuable employees post the completion of their assignment. (Inkson & Meyers, 2003). Business repatriate literature concerns themselves with post-return turnover, readjustment to the workplace and once familiar surroundings, commitment, and productivity issues as well as the transfer of knowledge acquired overseas to the parent company (Hiltrop & Janssens, 1990).

Butcher (2002) conducted qualitative research with 50 graduates of New Zealand about their reentry process into their home countries. The author speaks about the difficulties faced by the graduates during their reentry process and offers suggestions to channelize such difficulties. Butcher termed the reentry of students as a grieving process. This grief, according to him can be termed as a "disenfranchised grief" "a grief that can be defined as the grief that persons experience when they incur a loss that is not or cannot be openly acknowledged, publicly mourned, or socially supported" (p. 357). The reentry is often accompanied with loss of expectations and tearing themselves away from a "good life" and is not well accepted and gives rise to a myriad of psychological challenges.

The reentry of students into their country of origin is largely driven by the pull from home, mainly family and the lack of opportunities for a further stay in the host country (Butcher 2011). The disillusionment responsible for the disenfranchised grief exacerbate and intensifies the normal reactions of grief, namely, anger, guilt, sadness, depression, loneliness, homesickness, and numbness. Among returning students the underlying theme has been their under-preparedness for their reintegration into their home society (Butcher, 2003). Adjusting oneself in the areas of lifestyle expectations, the changing cultural landscape and the readjustment to the work environment are all important for successful reentry. Familial tensions accompanied with non-liberal views of culture were common for the returnees. Some returnees were welcomed back to a warm relationship with their parents as being away had helped them to appreciate the bonding and love of their family more. Besides familial tensions, many returnees experienced disappointment with the existing infrastructure at home be it education, healthcare or job opportunities. Mooradian (2004) advocated that reverse adjustment occurs in stages. At the onset of the journey, it begins with "leave-taking and departure," with packing and deciding on the dates and other logistical issues of going back home. The second, he termed as the "honeymoon stage," which nearly last for about one month. This phase is accompanied by visiting old friends, family accompanied with feasts and merriment. "Reverse culture shock," sets in the third stage, with life returning back to the routine and grime. The returnees realize that their long stay abroad has changed them. They experience doubt and disappointment and are overwhelmed by the prospect of starting over which they thought has been left behind for good. This phase is accompanied with severe psychological issues of alienation, rejection, loss of sleep, anxiety, and fear and phobia. The last stage is "adjustment," when returnees slowly realizes that this is going to be their life at least for now and begin to adapt to being at home, focus on the future, and try not to dwell on the past and make the best of the existing situation. According to Mooradian, these four phases of reentry and readjustment may take from six months to a year to readjust and be relieved of the constant desire or nagging to go back to their host country.

Available literature on reentry experience suggests that the process is complex, stressful, and encompasses a lot of aspects of repatriates' life including interpersonal relationship, career, and identity development. In this chapter, the authors will highlight the possible gaps in this field pertaining to Kurdish students and their reentry to Kurdistan having spent a considerable time abroad.

Methodology

Most researchers in the field of education recognize the existence of two general approaches for conducting educational research, that is, the quantitative and qualitative approaches to research. Hoepfl (1997), Neill (2007) and Firestone (1987) suggest that it is not necessary to judge one approach against the other. The authors in this particular study adopted a qualitative method to explore data from various participants. Hannafin and Savenye (1993) explain that qualitative research is defined as research devoted to developing an understanding of human systems, citing examples such as a technology using teacher and his or her students and classrooms or larger systems, such as a cultural system. This study required a qualitative approach as in a qualitative study, the design often emerges with the progress of the research with the researcher continually refining the methods and questions. The focus of the study determines the data collected and the boundaries of the study, which evolve as new issues and questions emerge. A qualitative researcher tends to interpret results of a study or draws conclusion based on the particulars that emerge from the study rather than in terms of generalizability to other situations and settings (Sengupta, 2015).

Prior to the qualitative interviews, a careful planning process was undertaken. Since the qualitative interview is not normally a freewheeling conversation but a planned process, a number of factors have to be taken into account before the onset of the process. It is rare that the interview process can be carried on over a lengthy period of time with limitless opportunities to keep on asking questions. With these constraints in mind, there was a need to exercise selectivity in the coverage.

Without designing a proper structure for the interview the participants might find the large range of questions asked quite perplexing and possibly intrusive. It was necessary to explain the purpose of the interview in a simple manner so as to meet the objectives of the research. A skeletal outline of the interview, beginning with the design of the questions that needed to be asked, was prepared. These questions would serve as an “interview guide” and included the areas or topics that had to be covered through the interview.

These semi-structured questions would be a guide, keeping in mind that an unanticipated issue might emerge in the interview and sufficient supplementary questions might have to be introduced at that moment to fully explore the issue from the participant ‘s perspective. At the very onset it was realized that the role of the researchers would be more that of an “active listener” absorbing as much of what was being said and formulating further questions to fill in the gaps where the account was unclear, short, or contradictory in nature. The interview questions were formulated in a “natural, sensible and helpful sequence” (Howitt, 2010).

Participants

The authors interviewed 25 participants from the city of Duhok in Kurdistan. The participants were chosen by snowball sampling method which is a non-probability (nonrandom) sampling method. In this method, data is collected by primary data sources nominating another potential primary data source to be used in the research. Snowball sampling method is based on referrals received from an initial subject to generate additional subjects. Therefore, in this sampling method members of the sample group are recruited via chain referral.

Participants were all in the age group of 20–25 years. Out of 25 participants only 6 of them are male hence no correlation could be established between gender and their feedback. Apart from geographic location, another commonality that formed the basis of choosing the participants was the time they have spent abroad. All 25 participants have spent from 7 to 17 years abroad and have received their formative education in a foreign country. The participants have dual citizenship of UK, USA, Germany, Sweden, or Netherland having spent considerable time in those countries and have recently returned back to their home country—Kurdistan Regional Province in Iraq. Almost all the participants ($n = 23$) cited “family” as their reason to come back to their home country. One participant cited that she came back home as her mother is suffering from cancer and the other participant was back in Kurdistan as her parents got divorced and her mother came back with her and they started staying with her grandparents. The purpose of collecting the data was explained to the participants and ethical consent was received to quote them without disclosing their real name or identity.

The semi-structured questions designed by the researchers allowed participants to respond freely and extensively about the topic, only to be steered back to the right path if they happened to deviate. The questions often changed with the situation, the participants and their corresponding answers. At the conclusion of the interviews, the data was safely stored with a backup so that it could be transcribed and analyzed to answer the research questions. The Jefferson transcription style was used, as well as common symbols, to provide additional information over and above that provided by the secretarial transcript (Jefferson, 2004).

NVivo software was chosen to analyze the data because it has a set of tools which can assist in the analysis of qualitative data. This software is designed to support researchers in varied ways to help them to work with their data. The software helps in managing the data by organizing and keeping track of the raw data files, interviews, and other documentary sources. The software helps in creating character-based coding with the facility of rich formatted text and the provision to freely edit or write text without invalidating earlier coding. This software was chosen as it had the advantages of improved screen display, helped in rapid accessing of data through documents or retrieval of coded texts and easy identification of data in relation to source characteristics.

Thematic Analysis

Once the data had been transcribed the next stage involved thematic analysis of the data. As the name suggests thematic analysis is the finding of major themes in the interviews collected from the participants. Thematic analysis has been defined as a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). Transcription had already familiarized the author with the data and provided an early push or stimulus toward analyzing of the data. The process started at the onset with the author looking for meaning and issues of potential interest to the research topic. The authors starts by identifying or examining the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations shaping the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process helped to carefully define and differentiate the themes from each other. The applicability of the themes was further checked against the selected extracts as well as with the entire set of data. The themes helped the authors to gain some unanticipated insights into the data and also proved to be beneficial for both social as well as psychological interpretation of the data.

Qualitative Themes

Several themes were derived from the interviews which can be grouped under the following:

- Integrational issues
- Dual identity
- Disillusionment toward existing systems
- Craving to go back.

The participants have lived abroad for an extended period of time and are finding it difficult to readjust to the lifestyle in the home county. It has been noticed that repatriates tend to experience an initial phase of enthusiasm with the welcoming and fuss on returning home in which they tend to act more as a spectator of surroundings or enjoy the attention. However, after this short-lived phase the returnees are likely to face the challenging task of adjusting to a "new" culture and their daily life. The feeling is accompanied with cultural shock and they are likely to harbor negative attitudes toward their home country although nothing much has changed but they personally have acquired a different lifestyle and feel they have "outgrown" their old surroundings (Liu, 2005).

Integrational Issues

The participants were facing integrational issues which was expressed by them during the interview "*I especially hate the way domestic Kurds looked down upon diaspora Kurds and told them they weren't Kurdish enough*" (Participant 1). A sense of resentment starts to grow "*most Kurds that grew up abroad cannot live in Kurdistan, it is their nightmare*" (Participant 2), "*people here are close minded and judgmental and there exist far too much sexism, people are unjust*" (Participant 3).

Having been brought up in a different country with formative years of schooling conducted abroad they face difficulties in integrating, language being of their main issues both in communicating and in studies, "*I had language difficulty due to lack of comprehending Kurdish or Arabic – it put a strain on my grades, I hated it…*" (Participant 5).

Disillusionment Toward Existing Systems

These participants have been experiencing depression and confusion on their return home (Black & Gregersen, 1991). Psychological adjustment is accompanied by the experience of stress, expectations, and perception of loss in regards to the previously held conditions. The problems and challenges encountered by these students have largely stemmed from unmet expectations and therewith the perceived gap between reality and expectation (Suutari & Brewster, 2003).

The participants have found fault with the educational system and healthcare in Kurdistan, "*I love Kurdistan, I just wish the educational institutes and hospitals were better*" (Participant 6). "*Education system in in shamble, it isn't actual education…you cannot blame the teachers, they get ridiculous amount as payment, the system sucks*" (Participant 7). "*Education system is full of corruption and an absolute disgrace of a system, here we are obligated to study subjects even if we don't like them, it is awful.*" (Participant 5). Jassawall, Connolly, and Slojkowski (2004) found that if expectations are met and a belongingness is created among the repatriates a sense of commitment starts to grow, "*I want to improve our country. We need to work together to make Kurdistan a place where all our Kurds will come back to.*" (Participant 3).

Dual Identity

Some of the students felt trapped in their existing situation, they did not have the time to understand their own country and prepare for their reentry. They found it difficult to cope with the changes their home country has undergone during their absence. They expect their home to have remained as they knew it when they return. Returnees

might feel a lack of support from their home social support network, which leaves them feeling sad, lost, and lonely (Le 2017). They start clinging on to their past and often feel proud of their dual identity, "*I want to go back, that is my home. This place just isn't my homeland. I am willing to let go of everything I have here to go back*" (Participant 4). "*I am a Swedish and Kurdish both, no one can take that away from me. Sweden is my home.*" (Participant 6). They often feel that returning to their home country is a temporary adjustment and they are waiting to return to their host country, which by now has assumed a more premium position in their mind.

Craving to Go Back

Cox's (2004) study has indicated that younger individuals may undergo more profound identity changes while they are overseas by fully inculcating the culture of the host country and having a less established self-identity compared to adults. Their sense of disillusionment and the feeling of being trapped may be more than their adult counterparts. The participants it seems are seeking ways to escape and looking for opportunities to go abroad again. The psychological challenges and negative feelings may be arising from lack of support from their changed social network at home and the insecurity as to where the returnee fits into the social network. The craving to go back to the host country was voiced by many participants, "*I would go back as soon as I get married. I don't want to raise my children here. I want my children to be open minded and free*" (Participant 17). At times the participants are not certain of the timeframe and the number of years they have to be in Kurdistan but most of them are hopeful that they will again go back to the host country, which they consider is home to them, "*Yes someday I want to go back. The only good thing here is my relatives. But if I want a future I need to go back*" (Participant 2).

Conclusion

This study was conducted to help shed some insight into the under-researched phenomenon of student repatriation in Kurdistan, an area which has not been explored. The findings highlighted the critical concerns and issues voiced by the 25 young participants. Each participant had their own story to narrate in spite of the commonality existing between the group of students mainly their background and age. A slice of the complexity of their lives has been presented in this chapter and their reentry experiences in particular. As a result of their time spent abroad, the participants stand both as winners and losers having gained some and lost some of which they have left behind. Their readjustment journeys were both unique and diverse. They have seen a struggle between challenges and disappointment. The participants have realized that these are life-changing, identity-altering experiences and their adjustment journeys will be a continuous and a complex process. Most of the participants are

still struggling to readjust themselves to Kurdistan and Kurdish way of life. They are struggling hard at schools and colleges and trying to keep a positive attitude. Most of them initially sounded optimistic and tried to speak only about the positive aspects of their life. As the conversation deepened and the rapport was established they started disclosing their deeper feelings and their concerns about their personal life and their future. It seems to some of them adjusting to their home culture is even more difficult than adapting to a foreign culture, perhaps they were young and moving away did not have any lasting impact on them. Support building, building a network of relationship in the community seems to be the only solution which might help them in their readjustment process.

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Chapter 13
Go Places: Examining the Academic Returns to Study Abroad

Jing Li

Abstract This is a study of experiential learning of studying abroad during college and how this experience may be linked to gains on student academic achievement. Utilizing data from a national survey, this research aims to accomplish dual goals: (a) to identify the impact of studying abroad on student academic achievement and measure the effect; and (b) investigate how this impact varies by different types of program design (e.g., duration, logistics, curriculum) so as to shed light on best practice. To that end, the author applies quasi-experimental method to quantify the academic returns to study abroad at causal level. Key findings are summarized as follows: (1) studying abroad slightly increased college GPA; (2) Students can gain the same academic benefits from studying abroad, whether they are female or male, white or minority, STEM or non-STEM majors; and (3) For credit programs directly related to a student's major, with an opportunity to work on a research project, and one semester long experience yields higher returns than other program designs. Homestay with a host family also induces marginal benefit. In this digital era, people may wonder "Is it worthwhile to study abroad when you can learn everything at home?" This research's answer is yes.

Keywords Experiential learning · College engagement · Post-secondary education · Student success

Introduction

One of the most pronounced trends in higher education in the last decade has been the steady increase in the number of U.S. students who have studied abroad; the increase was about 46% in the past 10 years. Since 2013, over 300,000 U.S. students study abroad each year; one out of 10 undergraduate students study abroad before graduating; and students are awarded federal aid to study abroad (IIE, 2017). Many studies have explored the potential impact of studying abroad on student learning outcomes, with mixed findings and conclusions (e.g., Allen, 2009; Diao & Freed, 2011;

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_13

Donitsa-Schmidt & Vadish, 2005; Engle, 2012; Engle & Engle, 2004; Foster, 2001; Jimenez-Jimenez, 2010; Mendelson, 2004; Segalowitz et al., 2004; Xu, DeSilva, Neufeldt, & Dane, 2013). Opposing arguments about the relative advantages and disadvantages of study abroad, as well as the mixed findings from research, have led policymakers and researchers to a growing awareness that the potential impact of study abroad may be both heterogeneous and multifaceted, and may largely depend on the specific characteristics of the study abroad program design, the field of study, and the particular student outcome measured. Given the rapid increase of students studying abroad in higher education and the growing consensus among scholars that studying abroad provides some of the richest and most powerful forms of experiential learning for our students (Burn, 1991; Hamir, 2011; Kuh, 1995; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008; Laubscher, 1994; McKeown, 2009; Tarrant, Rubin, & Stoner, 2014), there is a need for scholars to advance the research and inform policymakers and the general public about what the benefits are and whether they are worth the investment.

This research used a national representative dataset to provide policymakers, college administrators, researchers, students, and families with a comprehensive understanding of the characteristics and impacts of studying abroad on a wide array of student outcomes. Using statistical methods such as Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression and Propensity Score Matching (PSM), the study addressed three primary research questions:

1. Who studies abroad? What are the student and program characteristics?
2. Does the study abroad experience affect cognitive student learning outcomes such as academic achievement, and how does such an impact vary by student characteristics?
3. How does such an impact vary by different types of program design (e.g., duration, sponsorship, logistics, and curriculum)?

This paper is the first to provide a quasi-experimental examination of the causal effect of studying abroad during college on students' academic achievement by program designs. The fact is that students do not study abroad randomly, and therefore a direct comparison of study abroad students with their non-study abroad peers will cause self-selection bias. I address this bias by using Propensity Score Matching techniques with a detailed national survey dataset. Among this sample, I find that man and woman, white and minority, STEM and non-STEM major students are equally likely to gain academic benefit from studying abroad. Programs less than one semester is likely to decrease GPA and programs providing research opportunity increased GPA. These results suggest that studying abroad during college can be academically beneficial if the program is well designed with appropriate duration, logistics, and curriculum.

Literature Review

A number of studies have evaluated the effects of the study abroad experience on student academic development. Overall, there is no clear picture. Evidence from these studies was mixed, depending on the data, outcome measure, program type, and methodology.

Studies by Allen (2009), Diao and Freed (2011), Engle (2012), Foster (2001), Jimenez-Jimenez (2010), and Segalowitz et al. (2004) reported that students gained foreign language proficiency from their studies overseas. Engle and Engle (2004), Kinginger and Farrell (2004), Allen (2009), and Diao and Freed (2011) found positive evidence in the French grammar and vocabulary of students by using a pre- post-test comparison. Similar evidence was found in other language programs such as for Spanish (Jimenez-Jimenez, 2010; Segalowitz et al., 2004), Chinese (Foster, 2001), and Hebrew (Donitsa-Schmidt & Vadish, 2005). Regarding concerns that studying abroad may delay timely college completion, Xu et al. (2013) found beneficial effects of study abroad programs on undergraduate degree completion. O'Rear, Sutton, and Rubin (2014) also confirmed that studying abroad can increase the likelihood of college graduation. Nevertheless, some scholars questioned the common wisdom. Savicki, Arrue, and Binder (2012) reported no evidence of an effect of an overseas sojourn on student language learning. Mendelson's (2004) assessment did not find positive evidence of student academic achievement either.

It is important to bear in mind; however, that despite the results, positive or negative, the sample sizes of these studies were fairly small. The two undergraduate degree completion studies, Xu et al. (2013) and O'Rear et al. (2014), addressed the sample size problem by using data from one college (Old Dominion University) and from one state (Georgia), but neither one college nor one state can represent an entire country. Thus, solid research with national-level data is needed to check the external validity of these studies in order to obtain an accurate estimate of the real effect of study abroad on a student's academic achievement. Hence, my research is aiming to fill this gap by using a detailed national survey dataset.

To summarize, results from prior studies have provided a fuzzy picture of the effect of studying abroad on student academic achievement. Evidence from these studies was mixed depending on the data, outcome measure, program type, and methodology. More importantly, these studies did not distinguish the effect of a certain type of study abroad (e.g., one semester) from other types (e.g., shorter or longer term). Even though studies reporting positive effects seem to be more numerous than other studies, heterogeneous effects by different types of study abroad program design remain unknown. Studying abroad, then, does provide some of the richest and most powerful forms of experiential learning for our students. However, there is far too little understanding of the theory and practice of this type of learning in higher education.

This research thus aims to contribute to existing scholarship by conducting an empirical study based on a nationally representative sample to examine the effect

of studying abroad on student academic achievement, not only the overall effect but also heterogeneous effects through different types of study abroad program design.

Data

Data and Institutional Characteristics

Analyses were performed on a dataset containing more than 48,000 students attending approximately 600 U.S. colleges and universities. These higher education institutions were randomly chosen to answer National Survey of Student Engagement study abroad questions in 2007 (referred to NSSE 2007 hereafter). The dataset contains information on student demographics, institutions attended, and each student's study abroad experience at college. When this sample was selected in 2007, more than 1,458,000 students at nearly 1,200 different four-year colleges and universities participated in the survey.

The NSSE 2007 data was selected for two reasons. First, this is a nationally representative sample. The participating NSSE 2007 institutions generally mirrored the national distribution of the 2005 Basic Carnegie Classifications (NSSE, 2007). Second, the treatment considered in this research is studying abroad, but there are many types of study abroad programs (e.g., short-term versus long-term; organized by home institutions vs. organized by other institutions; homestay vs. living with American students, etc.). To my knowledge, NSSE 2007 is the only national survey that contains student-level data with details of the students' study abroad experience such as duration, sponsorship, housing arrangements, and so forth.

Outcome Measures

Academic achievement was measured by student Grade Point Average (GPA) at the time of survey. The original variables in the dataset were grades received from coursework, which included eight categories from C to A. Due to the large variation in grading standards across disciplines, comparison of grades may induce bias. To reduce that bias, I convert this categorical variable *grades* to a continuous variable *GPA* on a scale of 1–4.[1] In regression analysis, I used *GPA* multiplied by 100 as the dependent variable in order to estimate the percentage change in GPA, which is a more precise estimate, compared to the change in raw numbers.

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[1] I used the conversion table from the College Board, *How to Convert Your GPA to a 4.0 Scale* http://www.collegeboard.com/html/academicTracker-howtoconvert.html.

Sample Description

The NSSE sample used in this research included more than 14,600 students who were in their first or fourth year at college in 2007. Of these, approximately 7% had study abroad experience. As this study focused on U.S. students, this sample also excluded approximately 600 observations that were self-reported as being international students in the survey. Table 13.1 summarizes the student characteristics by groups.

As Table 13.1 reveals that the study abroad group has a higher proportion of female (71.91% vs. 65.12%), White (82.05% vs. 68.01%) students than average. I also examined the participation rate of ethnic groups (presented in Fig. 13.1). Consistent with findings from Table 13.1, African American students had a much lower

Table 13.1 Sample Summary (study abroad vs. not-study abroad)

Characteristics	Full sample (%)	Study abroad (%)	Not-study abroad (%)
Gender			
Male	34.88	29.09	35.32
Female	65.12	71.91	64.68
Race/Ethnicity			
White	68.01	82.05	66.95
Black	7.55	2.32	7.95
Hispanic	6.61	4.55	6.76
Asian	4.76	2.32	4.95
All other	13.07	8.67	13.39
Major			
Arts and humanities	11.83	22.37	10.99
Biological science	7.79	10.60	7.56
Business	15.53	11.87	15.82
Education	8.96	4.77	9.30
Engineering	7.06	3.40	7.35
Physical science	3.35	3.50	3.34
Professional	11.27	3.50	11.89
Social sciences	13.53	25.00	12.61
All other	20.68	14.98	21.15
Full-time enrollment	89.10	94.56	88.68
Attend private institutions	43.34	66.35	41.59
Living on campus	40.70	40.05	40.75
Sample size	14,641	1,031	13,610

Source Author's calculations using NSSE 2007 data

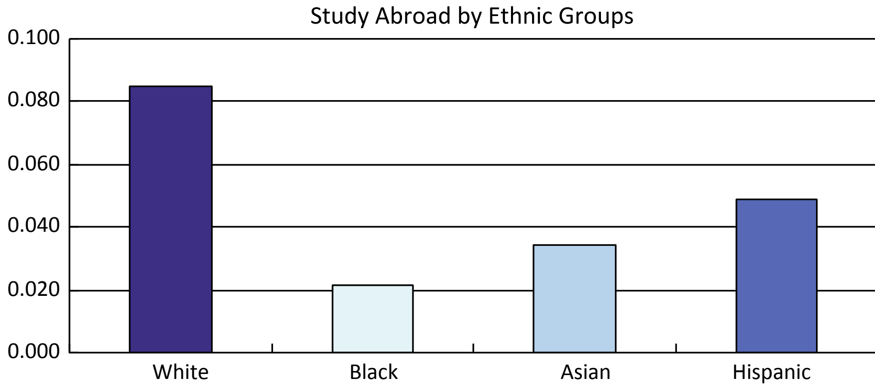

Fig. 13.1 Study abroad participation rate by ethnic groups

participation rate (2% vs. 7%) than average. The participation rate of Asian and Hispanic students was higher than African Americans but lagged behind White students. With respect to major, the top two study abroad majors were Business and Social Sciences. These two programs accounted for nearly one-third of the study abroad population. By contrast, professional students (e.g., Health, Law) were dramatically fewer in study abroad programs (3.5% compared with 11.27% overall). The proportions of Engineering and Education students were also low, but not remarkably so.

Based upon the responses to the NSSE 2007 Study Abroad experimental items, Table 13.2 summarizes the characteristics of the study abroad programs in which students participated. Three main observations emerged from Table 13.2. In terms of duration, 50% of the students went abroad for one semester. With respect to logistics, more than half the students participated in a program sponsored by the institution they attended in the U.S; one -third of the students chose to stay with host families. The majority (86.86%) of the students completed classes for credit while abroad; slightly less than half (48.77) of the students chose a program directly related to their major or chosen career field. and only a small proportion (14.70%) of students worked on a research project under the advisement of a faculty member. I examined these program design characteristics in the data analysis.

Empirical Model and Methodology

Basic Empirical Model

Quantitative identification of the causal effect of study abroad is difficult because of data constraints and technical problems such as endogeneity (i.e., participation in

Table 13.2 Study abroad sample

Characteristics	Observations (#)	Percentage (%)
Duration		
Less than one semester	350	34.48
One semester	506	49.84
Two semesters or longer	159	15.66
Logistics		
Sponsorship		
Primarily enrolled in institution in the U.S.	542	53.61
An overseas institution	169	16.72
Another U.S. institution	300	29.67
Housing		
Homestay with host family	343	33.63
Dorm/apartment with other U.S. students	312	30.59
Dorm/apartment with host country students	155	15.20
Other housing arrangements	210	20.59
Curriculum		
Classes for credit	879	86.86
Related to student major or chosen career field	494	48.77
Research project	149	14.70
Sample size	1,031	100

Source Author's calculations using NSSE 2007 data

study abroad programs is determined by an exogenous variable which also determines the dependent variable). Most existing studies thus used qualitative approaches.

The baseline OLS model was used to estimate the effect of studying abroad on student academic achievement:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta Z + \gamma_1 X_1 + \gamma_2 X_2 + \gamma_3 X_3 + \varepsilon \tag{13.1}$$

This model builds upon education production function. Where Y refers to academic achievement measured by GPA, Z is the treatment (study abroad) and X is the vector of confounding covariates. More specifically, X_1 stands for student characteristics, X_2 are the family covariates, X_3 are institutional characteristics, and ε is the error term that follows a normal distribution.

Propensity Score Matching Approach

Selection bias may exist because students were not randomly assigned to participate in study abroad programs, but self-selected. It also exists at all levels: student, family, and institution. It could be argued that students from affluent families are more likely to go abroad as they can obtain extra financial support from parents. Affluent families are also more likely to afford extra educational services that assist students with their coursework such as data/software license, private tutoring, and professional editing. Consequently, the between-group difference in academic achievement may not be caused by study abroad experience, but because the study abroad group is ultimately different from the not-study abroad group. In other words, these two groups are not comparable at all. If that is the case, estimates from the baseline OLS model in Table 13.3 will be biased.

To address selection bias, I employed PSM. I first computed propensity scores for each student, then found a match for each study abroad student from the non-study group based upon their propensity score, ran a weighted regression on the matched sample, and estimated the Average Treatment Effect on the Treated (ATT). Consequently, the comparison was between study abroad students and their counterfactuals. PSM also relaxed the linearity assumption of OLS and fulfilled the restriction of regression in the common support area where the study abroad group overlapped the non-study abroad group. This also reduced estimation bias.

Results and Discussion

Study Abroad in General

OLS estimation. The baseline OLS regression model based on Eq. (13.1) was established to investigate the average effect of study abroad. Overall study abroad impact seems positive. The estimation across models consistently reported a statistically positive impact of study abroad on student academic achievement, indicating a 0.08–0.11 increase in GPA. Results also indicated the following findings: (a) White students outperformed students in other ethnic groups; compared to students in Education programs, students in all other majors except Social Sciences tended to have a lower GPA; SAT scores were strong predictors of student academic achievement, especially Math and Verbal scores; fourth-year students had higher GPAs than first-year students; full-time students performed better than part-time students; living on campus also indicated a high GPA; (b) in terms of family background, father's education turned out to be positively associated with student GPA while no such evidence was found in the relationship between mother's education and student academic outcome; and (c) there was no significant difference between public and private institutions, but students in New England institutions tended to have lower GPAs, compared to

their peers in the Plains. This could be related to more rigorous grading systems in New England institutions.

Propensity score matching. Table 13.3 summarizes the regression results from the baseline OLS regression and PSM, and Table 13.4 reports the corrected estimates with bootstraps.

The baseline OLS reported that on average, study abroad experience was associated with a 0.083 increase in student GPA, *ceteris paribus*; the Average Treatment effect on the Treated (ATT) estimate from PSM revealed that studying abroad increased GPA by 0.048 point for those who studied abroad, as opposed to those who did not study abroad. I also used bootstrapping to simulate the matching procedures 1,000 times to obtain the distribution of the estimand (ATT). The mean of the estimate of ATT on GPA was 0.065 point (refer to Table 13.4). Overall, the impact of studying abroad on student academic achievement seemed positive.

Heterogeneous impacts by student characteristics

I also wondered how individual characteristics interacted with study abroad experience in terms of academic achievement. The empirical analysis in this section aimed to detect the potential differential effect of studying abroad among individuals, varying by a student's individual characteristics such as gender, race, and major. These potential disparities were tested by adding a series of interaction terms to the baseline OLS model. The interaction was generated as the product of two dummy variables. Study abroad was coded as a dummy and so were student characteristics. For example, the *AbroadXmale* variable was the interaction of study abroad and gender, which was computed by the study abroad variable (1 = studied abroad; 0 = not study abroad) times the gender variable (1 = male; 0 = female). The coefficient of *AbroadXmale* indicates the gender difference in the impact of study abroad on student academic achievement. Two main observations emerged: First, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant. This is a good sign, suggesting that the impact of study abroad on student academic achievement was consistent. Second, the coefficient of study abroad turned out to be consistently significant after adding the interactions. This suggests that the main effect of study abroad was strong. In other words, students gained the same benefits from study abroad regardless of whether they were female or male, White or minority, STEM or non-STEM majors.

Heterogeneous Impacts by Study Abroad Program Design

Even though I found positive evidence of the impact of study abroad on student academic achievement by looking at the overall study abroad experience, I still wanted to know whether such an impact varied by study abroad program design and,

Table 13.3 Regression results—Propensity score matching

Outcome variable: GPA[a]	Ordinary least square	Propensity score matching
Study abroad	8.323*** (1.678)	4.852** (2.239)
Age	5.988*** (0.794)	2.913 (2.492)
Male	−8.474*** (1.358)	−12.682*** (2.548)
White	12.633*** (2.067)	13.195*** (4.579)
Black	−13.896*** (3.256)	1.320 (8.248)
Asian	0.771 (3.766)	2.630 (8.656)
Hispanic	−7.426** (3.163)	−7.272 (7.697)
Senior	5.069*** (1.350)	13.395*** (5.042)
Full-time student	6.532*** (1.926)	9.969 (6.330)
Arts and Humanities	−7.560*** (2.441)	−6.790 (5.334)
STEM	−14.750*** (3.020)	−8.326 (6.128)
Business	−21.136*** (2.485)	−23.740*** (5.954)
Professional	−11.297*** (3.674)	−23.368*** (8.104)
Social Sciences	3.666 (4.340)	−4.930 (7.667)
Other majors	−15.204*** (2.044)	−18.118*** (5.105)
Transfer student	−2.561* (1.522)	2.016 (3.856)
Live in the dorm	2.875* (1.663)	2.434 (2.534)
SAT Math score	0.018** (0.009)	0.052*** (0.018)
SAT Verbal score	0.026** (0.011)	0.023 (0.020)
SAT Writing score	−0.004** (0.011)	0.022 (0.020)
Father with college education or above	6.852*** (1.405)	7.294*** (2.743)
Mother with college education or above	1.495 (1.440)	3.972 (2.638)
New England	−9.434*** (3.224)	−12.891** (5.136)
Mid-East	7.759** (3.710)	3.440 (6.686)
Great Lakes	2.468 (2.742)	−5.594 (4.438)
South East	1.859 (2.775)	−3.834 (5.104)
North East	6.491** (3.097)	1.636 (5.570)
Far West	−4.464 (3.013)	−1.813 (5.923)
Public	−2.398 (3.125)	2.185 (6.904)
Medium enrollment	1.403 (2.373)	2.387 (4.495)
Large enrollment	−3.703 (2.709)	−2.319 (5.898)
California		−18.135 (12.399)
New York	3.923 (4.619)	19.375** (8.601)
Constant	300.708*** (6.402)	277.090*** (14.223)

(continued)

Table 13.3 (continued)

Outcome variable: GPA[a]	Ordinary least square	Propensity score matching
N	13,936	1,813
R-squared	0.096	0.149

Note (a) Coefficients are reported; (b) robust standard errors are in parentheses; (c) reference groups for race, major, region, and enrollment size are other races, education major, the Plains region, and small enrollment size; and (d) *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01
[a]The variable *GPA* was coded as the raw GPA times 100. Thus, coefficients were interpreted as (coefficient/100) change in GPA

Table 13.4 Propensity score matching—bootstrap S.E

Bootstrap	Statistics				Number of obs = 13,936		
					Replications = 1000		
Variable	Reps	Observed	Bias	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]		
_bs_1	1000	6.553	1.336	2.785	1.087	12.019	(N)
					2.507	13.472	(P)
					−1.218	10.448	(BC)

Note N = normal; P = percentile; BC = bias-corrected

if so, how such impact varied by duration, logistics, and curriculum. For practical reasons, I would like to provide policymakers with insights into the types of study abroad program design (e.g., short-term vs. long-term) that are more desirable when compared to other options.

Three main observations can be made: (a) Compared to studying abroad for two semesters or longer, shorter-term programs (less than one semester, or one semester) seemed have a negative impact on GPA but the effects were not significant; (b) whether a program was organized by the institution or other organizations (e.g., Institute for International Education of Students, American Institute for Foreign Studies, Institute of International Education, etc.) did not matter, nor did the housing arrangements; and (c) in programs that were directly related to a student's major, providing the opportunity to work on a research project seemed to increase student GPA. These observations suggest that the impact of studying abroad on student academic achievement did vary by type of program design. Thus, a closer examination of such heterogeneous effects is needed.

Duration. One long unresolved puzzle in study abroad practice is whether "longer is better." Dwyer (2004) assumed that more is better. Using 2002 IES study abroad alumni survey data, Dwyer confirmed her assumption and reinforced the idea that studying abroad for a full year has a more significant and enduring impact on students. Her conclusions have been reinforced by more recent studies (Kehl & Morris, 2008); however, several studies have challenged Dwyer's (2004) assumption by showing the merits of short-term programs (Anderson, Lawton, Rexeisen, & Hubbard, 2006; Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Lewis & Niesenbaum, 2005; Niehaus, Reading, Nelson,

Wegener, & Arthur, 2018; Ramakrishna, Sarkar, & Vijayaraman, 2016; Walters, Charles, & Bingham, 2017; Whitham, 2018).

This NSSE 2007 dataset provides a decent sample through which to explore this puzzle of duration in terms of sample size and variables. Duration variable was derived from the survey question: "*What was the duration of your study abroad experience?*" Among the 1,031 study abroad students, 35% stayed less than one semester; 41.59% stayed for one semester; and 23.63% stayed for two semesters or longer. For each type of duration (less than one semester, one semester, and two semesters or longer), I estimated the effect of that type of study abroad experience on student academic achievement, using PSM. Taking less than one semester as an example, I computed the propensity score for each student; then found a match for each student who studied abroad for less than one semester from the non-study abroad group based upon their propensity score; ran a weighted regression on the matched sample; and estimated the average effect of studying abroad for less than one semester on students who had such experience. The same procedure was repeated for the estimation of the other two types (one semester, two semesters, or longer). In contrast to the findings from OLS with duration dummies, one semester resulted in the highest gain in GPA, compared to the other two types. The effect of studying abroad for less than one semester was positive but marginal, and studying abroad for more than two semesters, which required the highest investment, did not create significant gains in GPA. This finding suggests that on one hand, the impact of studying abroad on student academic achievement took a few months to gain momentum. On the other hand, longer was not necessarily better.

Logistics. Logistics is another crucial element in study abroad program design. Another myth in study abroad is the effect of homestay. On one hand, conventional wisdom has held that homestay encourages host-student interaction in order to help students benefit from the opportunities offered by the homestay culture (Basow & Gaugler, 2016; Kayat, 2010; Marijuan & Sanz, 2018; Richardson, 2004; Schmidt-Rinehart & Knight, 2004). On the other hand, research has also reported the idea that homestay is not always desirable (Rivers, 1998). Consistent with the findings from OLS with program design dummies, whether or not the program was sponsored by the primary enrollment institution does not matter. Staying with a host family increases student GPA by 0.065 point but is only marginally significant at a significance level of 0.1. These findings suggest that, in terms of academic returns, logistics matter, but not substantially.

Curriculum. Curriculum integration is unarguably a crucial element in study abroad program design, if not the most important (Brzezinski, Acheson-Clair, & Cox, 2017; Keillor & Emore, 2003; Kendall, Hsu, & Kendall, 2017; Van Deusen, 2007; Green, Johansson, Rosser, Tengnah, & Segrott, 2008; Gonglewski & Helm, 2017). In contrast to the OLS estimation, programs for credit increased student GPAs by 0.097 point. Consistent with the findings from OLS with program design dummies, programs directly related to student major or chosen career increased student GPA by 0.094. A notable change is that the coefficient of research-involved was found to be significant after matching. Results from propensity score matching indicated that working on a research project with a faculty member while abroad increased GPA

by 0.134 point. These findings suggested that curriculum was a crucial component of study abroad program design. Programs for credit, major-related, and research-involved resulted in high returns in student academic achievement.

Conclusion

To examine whether studying abroad is a good academic option for college students, I used a national-level representative dataset with matching students on their propensity of studying abroad. This sample showed that the study abroad group had a higher proportion of female students than the average. African American students had a much lower participation rate than other ethnic groups. Among the study abroad programs in which students participated, 50% stayed abroad for one semester; more than half the students participated in a program sponsored by the institution they attended in the U.S; the majority of the students completed classes for credit while abroad; slightly less than half of the students chose a program directly related to their major or chosen career field; and only a small proportion of students worked on a research project under the advisement of a faculty member.

Among this sample, I found that on average, study abroad experience was associated with a 0.083 point increase in student GPA, *ceteris paribus*; the Average Treatment effect on the Treated (ATT) estimate from Propensity Score Matching revealed that studying abroad increased GPA by 0.048 point over those who did not study abroad. I also found that students can gain the same benefits from studying abroad, whether they are female or male, White or minority, STEM or non-STEM majors.

I also connected academic outcomes to various program design elements. Results suggest that programs directly related to a student's major, with an opportunity to work on a research project, has a significant positive impact on student GPA. Findings indicated that one semester resulted in the highest (0.093) gain in GPA, compared to the other two types; whether or not the program was sponsored by the primary enrollment institution did not matter; homestay with a host family increased student GPA marginally; and programs for credit increased student GPA by 0.097 point on the scale of 0–4. These findings shed light on the effectiveness of various program designs and call for more rigorous design in study abroad practices.

The analysis presented above has several limitations and raises a number of questions for further analysis. First, the quality of study abroad programs is not controlled. To address this problem, I would suggest complementary research combined with evaluation data from one university system, and examining between- and within-program variation. Second, the outcome variable (GPA) was measured after study abroad experience and there was no information about GPA prior to studying abroad. This requires tracing students in a longer term. Lastly, this research suggested that studying abroad in college causes positive returns in student academic achievement, but there was no definite answer about the mechanism by which these effects may operate. To reinforce the current findings, I would suggest complementary research

using qualitative methods (e.g., in-depth interviews, focus groups) to understand why students benefit from a certain type of study abroad program as opposed to other programs.

Despite these limitations, this paper is the first causal study to examine the academic outcomes of studying abroad and connect the outcome to specific program design. These findings are especially important as the U.S. withdrew from multiple international agreements., which may discourage U.S. students to study abroad. This research also prompts policymakers and study abroad practitioners to rethink the role of program design elements (e.g., duration, logistics, curriculum) as well as their combination.

Acknowledgements This paper is part of the author's research when she was at Teachers College, Columbia University. The author thanks the National Survey on Student Engagement (NSSE) at Indiana University for the data, and appreciates support from the Department of Education Policy and Social Analysis and the Center on Chinese Education at Teachers College, Columbia University.

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Chapter 14
The Sojourner's Return: Narratives on the Re-entry Experience

Ama Boafo-Arthur, Susan Boafo-Arthur, Dzifa Abra Attah and Linda Tsevi

Abstract This chapter reflects on the re-entry experience with emphasis on the cognitive, psychological, and behavioral aspects of the experience for individuals from sub-Saharan African nations. These issues will be discussed against the backdrop of Szkudlarek's (2010) Expectations model; Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-curve hypothesis; and Martin and Harrell's (2004), Intercultural Model of re-entry. The internationalization of higher education has become a priority among many institutions of higher education. Sojourning abroad comes with related issues such as culture shock. This notwithstanding, sojourners who choose to return often report many benefits of the stay abroad experience. Likewise, returning home after being away for several years also presents other challenges as students re-adjust to their home countries.

Keywords Internationalization · Higher education · Sojourning abroad · International students

Introduction

In the last decade, the internationalization of higher education has become a priority of the institutional mission/agenda of universities and colleges across the globe (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Kehm & Teichler, 2007). At the end of their programs of study, a number of graduates choose to remain in the host nation in search of educational and career opportunities, while a good number seek to return to their country of origin (Delicado, 2017; Gaulee, 2017a, 2017b). Those who choose to return are described as experiencing many positive changes because of their encounters in the host nation (Hadis, 2005). Positives notwithstanding, moving to the host culture has its own set of challenges (culture shock, acculturation and transition struggles, etc.). Similarly, returning home after being away for several years also presents other challenges

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_14

as students re-adjust to their home countries (Chiu, 1995; Rogers & Ward, 1993; Sussman, 2001, 2002).

Martin and Harrell (2004) discuss two categories of sojourners who can be distinguished by the purpose (voluntary or mandatory) of the sojourning experience. These categories are students and professionals. According to the authors, students often study abroad on a voluntary basis whereas professionals may study overseas as a condition of work/training; or as a result of displacement from their home environment because of disasters or wars. With these groups, the authors report that their re-entry experiences differ considerably. For example, those who study abroad as a condition of work often integrate immediately upon return. Those who study abroad for training purposes often return to a structured home environment, which will appear to imply that they re-integrate quite easily as well. The last group, those who might be displaced or who sojourn because the conditions in their country force them to explore other nations, may often return to a mostly undefined amorphous environment. As such, re-integration is dependent on the nature of the support they receive on arrival and human factors (personality characteristics, interpersonal relationships, etc.).

We are at a precarious juncture of human civilization because the United States (US) and the UK, so far looked upon as the "defenders of human rights" globally, have been beleaguered by nationalism surfacing as Brexit and Trumpism, and thereby boosting the rise of Euroscepticism (Gaulee 2017a, 2017b). The US, for instance, has experienced a wave of anti-immigrant rhetoric with the Trump Presidency. In relation to current Trump rhetoric, most people around the world gasped in shock when President Trump allegedly declared a preference for Norwegian migrants over the migrants originating from Africa and the Caribbean and even referring to the latter as being from "shi*hole countries". Many foreign nationals who may not have contemplated a move back home, or who actually had been fine living in the USA on legal albeit temporary immigration documents, now see themselves preparing for a trip back home as many restrictions around immigration processes for foreign nationals are being established.

This is similar to the BREXIT (British Exit from the European Union) process in the UK which has led to a significant change in international student visas and policies. The general consensus is that these policies will eventually have a significant negative effect on the international student market (Dennis, 2017a, 2017b). Contrary to this assertion, there is some evidence to suggest that Britain is doing quite well as records of foreign students enrolled into UK universities seem to have increased, in spite of speculations of doom for UK after BREXIT (IES Abroad, 2018). Nonetheless, the initial uncertainty surrounding foreign policies in the UK and the US has created significant unease globally. It is then not surprising that other countries like Australia, Canada, and China have become attractive alternatives for the international student market in the last few years (Bhattacharyya, 2017; Dennis, 2017b).

Talking about Australia's success in attracting international students, Luke (2005) explains why Australia is increasingly becoming a preferred destination "Australia

is a relatively cheap, safe, and geographically easy alternative to the UK or US—particularly after the post-September 11 homeland security and visa restrictions" (p. 163).

Similarly, in recent times, with its high commitment to international education through the implementation of major scholarship schemes, learning innovations, and future development prospects, China seems to be making great strides in hosting scores of international students from across the globe (Anshan, 2018). Major government-funded schemes and higher education reforms such as the Brain 21 Program, Humanities Korea (HK) program, and the World-Class University (WCU) project initiated by the South Korean government have also become an attraction for the international education market placing Korea in high rankings where international education is concerned (Kang, 2015; Schwekendiek, 2016).

Canada, in January 2014, instituted a policy aimed at attracting foreign students with the objective of creating a pathway for them to become permanent residents. This was done in collaboration with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (Govt. of Canada, 2014). Another objective of this policy was to tackle the elderly population and dwindling workforce. The adoption of this policy is also aimed at addressing the decreasing domestic enrollment figures into higher education institutions. Subsequently, Canada has started seeing gains from this policy four years after its implementation (CCIRC Inc., 2018).

There are obvious benefits to staying abroad. However, with the uncertainty and growing concerns about study and work visa denials, travel bans, and new restrictions on travel, employment opportunities, safety, and security (Fry, 2017), home countries would still remain a preferred destination choice and the safest option for a number of graduating international students. Therefore, the experience of re-entry and its implications for the returning sojourner is a topic of interest for the future generations of students who wish to study abroad.

This chapter reflects on the re-entry experience with emphasis on the cognitive, psychological, and behavioral aspects of the experience for individuals from sub-Saharan African nations. These issues will be discussed against the backdrop of Szkudlarek's (2010) Expectations model; Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-curve hypothesis; and Martin and Harrell's (2004) Intercultural Model of re-entry.

The Re-entry Experience

Re-entry is a critical part of the international education experience because it accentuates the possibilities that might be in existence in the sojourner's home environment; the challenges of the re-adaptation process; and outlines the amount of preparation that might be necessary for the sojourner should re-entry be a mandatory or voluntary exercise at the conclusion of their studies. While most institutions and environments outside an individual's home country may offer orientation/assimilation/adaptation programs and trainings, there is often a dearth of similar preparation for sojourners when they are exiting and going back home. The research, however, makes us know

that there are cognitive, behavioral, and affective issues that arise organically from the returnee experience and which may hinder re-entry and re-adaptation. Given that re-entry is a critical part of international education, it would be worthwhile to review the areas of need that exist within the domain of the re-entry process.

For developing countries, and most specifically, in the Ghanaian educational context, most individuals who study abroad do so to pursue long-term programs such as 4-year undergraduate degrees, 2-year master's degree, or 4–5-year doctoral degrees. Others also pursue post-doctoral degrees or post-doctoral work experience. It must be noted that the concept of re-entry is not limited to international students. In fact, re-entry experiences have been studied among prisoners, corporate workers, individuals with traumatic brain injuries, migrants, missionaries, third culture children, Peace Corps volunteers, and armed forces veterans, among others (Dettweiler et al., 2015; Gaw, 2000; Glang, Ettel, Tyler, & Todis, 2013; Kartoshkina, 2015; Szkudlarek, 2010).

Gaw (2000) describes reverse culture shock as "similar in definition to culture shock, but the adjustment process focuses on the difficulties of re-adapting and re-adjusting to one's own home culture after one has sojourned or lived in another cultural environment" (p. 85). Reasons for why returnees experience shock can be traced to the work of Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) and their work with the "U curve" hypothesis which was extended into the W-curve theory. The W-curve theory posits that sojourners are initially excited about being in the host culture but later experience culture shock with further assimilation bringing a greater degree of comfort. With the returnee process, which is the second half of the W-curve, the sojourner is initially excited to be back home, but experiences re-entry shock which later metamorphizes into a sense of contentment as they gradually adapt to their countries of origin (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). From their work, Gullahorn and Gullahorn observed the main difference between culture shock and reverse culture shock as residing in the expectations of sojourners. Gaw (2000, p. 86) summarizes these expectations as follows:

- The expectation that the home countries remained static and unchanged; thus, making the transition an easy one
- That returning means an easy transition to their home environment
- That family and friends alike would regard them in the same light as previously.

Szkudlarek (2010) emphasizes what she refers to as the Expectations model, which also encapsulates and describes some of the same issues that Gaw (2000) discusses. Gaw (2000) further reports from his study of returnees and re-entry challenges that those who find the transition process upon their return particularly challenging are more likely to experience maladjustment and interpersonal relational concerns as compared to returnees who experienced fewer challenges in transitioning.

As an example, Skzkudlarek's (2010) study on the experiences of repatriates as they transitioned to the corporate world in their home countries upon returning indicates the unpreparedness on the part of both the returnees as well as their employers.

According to her work, some of the issues returnees faced include workplace re-adjustment; commitment issues, difficulties with transfer of knowledge, productivity, post re-entry turnover, lack of suitable career options, insufficient challenges and responsibilities, lack of understanding and appreciation for knowledge and experiences, mismatched goals of returnee and HR team in home country, and poor support offered to returning spouses (p. 7–9). Collectively, these experiences made the transition difficult for most repatriates. These experiences notwithstanding, employers made no efforts to help returnees to transition to the environment of the home country after their sojourn abroad.

In Dettweiler et al.'s (2015) work as well, they describe their returnees as experiencing a grieving phase in the initial stages, and then slowly transitioning back to their home environment. An older study by Sahin (1990) also reports clinically significant levels of depression and anxiety among Turkish secondary school returnees. Additionally, returnees reported feelings of regret either toward embarking on study abroad or on returning home. In a more recent study on re-entry experiences, Kartoshkina (2015) summarizes re-entry challenges as ranging from psychosocial to socio-emotional issues. She is also quick to point out that although most literature on re-entry focuses on the negative aspects of the experience, there are also positive aspects to re-entry, such as being more culturally aware, confident, assertive, and a feeling of acceptance after returning home. However, feelings of loss, communication problems, changes in cultural identity, and cultural dissonance are common occurrences for sojourners (Kartoshkina, 2015).

Szkudlarek (2010) discusses the theoretical framework of the re-entry process and categorizes them into the affective aspects of re-entry, the cognitive aspects of re-entry, and the behavioral aspects of re-entry. Based on her review of various literary information, the author reflects that most returnees often experience "significant discomfort" (p. 3) upon return which is seen in some circles as more difficult than that experienced during culture shock. This discomfort is compared to the experience of the grief that accompanies bereavement and is said to reach clinical significance in some individuals and may last for as long as 6 months post-return.

Similar to previous models, Martin and Harrell's Intercultural Theory Model argues that re-entry is a complex intercultural phenomenon which comprises cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes; losses and changes in the sojourner; and opportunities for both personal and professional growth; with re-entry adaptation most successful when there is training pre and post the actual re-entry experience. The model itself has five dimensions/domains which will be enumerated briefly. The first dimension, sojourner characteristics, encompasses all demographic, personal, and professional qualities that make up a sojourner's life pre-migration. They include such aspects as their nationality, age, gender, personality type, trainings, and previous experiences. The host environment domain refers to the characteristics of the host environment during the sojourn that may either enhance or derail the sojourners adaptation. These include aspects like the receptiveness of the host nation, the cultural landscape, how often the sojourner is able to communicate with those in their home country, and the magnitude of the differences between cultures. This second domain is seen as important because communication with individuals in the home

country keeps the sojourner informed and updated on any significant changes in the host culture. The third domain deals with the characteristics of the sojourners home country upon return or the difficulties they might face upon return. For students, inflexibility with registration schedules may hurt their re-entry adaptation whereas support from family may help it. Similarly, professionals who are able to return to fields that are similar to where they were prior to the sojourn might experience less difficulty. In the fourth domain it has been realized that sustained communication with family, friends, coworkers, or other significant individuals in the home environment helps returnees charter what may be unfamiliar territory upon their return. In the final domain, it has been observed that successful re-adaption depends on several factors such as the returnee's psychological health, functioning, expectations of the return process, and their established intercultural identity.

This particular model, which is an integration of the W-curve hypothesis and Kim's (2001) system model of adaptation framework, is comprehensive enough to capture most of the complexities surrounding the sojourn and re-entry process. In this chapter, we place particular emphasis on the cognitive, affective, and behavioral issues connected to the returnee experience.

Re-entry and Transition for Students from Sub-Saharan Africa

The re-entry and transition experiences of student returnees from developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa have not yet been sufficiently discussed in the literature. Particularly, in Ghana, the literature on re-entry experiences after studying abroad is underdeveloped. Like other African countries, a number of Ghanaians gain admission and scholarships to continue their education in popular destination countries around the globe. With the nations of the first world increasingly adopting hardline policies and stances toward international migration, many Africans are pursuing higher education at other destinations. In Africa, South Africa is now a popular beacon. Other countries in Asia (China), the Middle East (Saudi Arabia), Eastern Europe (Russia, Ukraine) are all new destinations of higher education and migration for Africans pursuing higher education. Examining the transition experiences of these returnees is important as perspectives may differ from country to country. The reflections on re-entry presented herein cover the experiences of three Ghanaians who sojourned in the UK, US, and South Africa (SA).

They returned to their home country of Ghana after they completed their educational programs. Their challenges were personal, social, economic, technological, and cultural. The purpose of presenting their reflections vis-à-vis the cognitive, affective, and behavioral expression of re-adaptation is to highlight specific aspects of their experiences as regards reverse culture shock, particularly for those who sojourned for extended periods outside of their home countries and cultures. In particular, it reflects the struggles for those who move from third world countries to sojourn for extended

periods in more advanced nations and make the decision to return. It appears that most returnees who are making the transition between the first world and the third world are often unprepared to deal with being back in a third world where things do not work as fluidly as they do in developed nations. The cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of their story that align with the Expectations model, the W-curve hypothesis, and the Intercultural Theory Model are presented.

Implications of These Experiences for the Returnees

Cognitive Impact of Re-entry Experience

In the coverage of re-entry experiences, various frameworks and theoretical models that discussed the re-entry adaptation were examined. There is a general idea that re-entry adaption is mostly observed in the cognitive; affective, and behavioral experiences of returnees:

> I was unprepared for any return difficulties. I assumed that it would be smooth sailing. I was however confronted with confusion and the harsh realities of life. The return home in my mind's eye was supposed to be very exciting (Ama, 1 year in UK).

Cognitively, the returnees' experience reflects a disconnect in re-entry expectations pre-return and experiences post-return. That is, they may experience a dissonance with regards to their beliefs about their home country prior to returning and the reality of being back once they are in their respective home environments:

> Reflecting on my experience of negative feelings towards Ghana's physical and environmental settings, and city planning arrangements, it emerged that I had become extra critical towards my original home environment, following my exposure abroad (Dzifa, 4 years in SA).

This dissonance was described by Gullahorn and Gullahorn as far back as 1963 and is still a salient aspect of current literature on the topic. In addition to the discrepancy in the expectations, there is also a loss of cultural identity that comes with the initial study abroad sojourn and consequent re-entry in which individuals go through a process of identity loss when sojourning as they have to fit into a new foreign culture:

> Following the excitement of returning home, I suffered a repatriation crisis marked by a state of disorientation, a disturbance in lifestyle and an urgent need for psychological readjustment. With the passage of time, I consciously became aware of my own cultural transformation, a product of time spent away and a reflection of a changed cultural identity (Dzifa, 4 years in SA).

Upon their return, they then experience another identity alteration as they try to re-connect and re-establish themselves in their home environments. This is highlighted in what is shared by Dzifa in her narrative. Typically, concerns with gainful employment also remain at the forefront of the returnee's mind:

> I did not have a firm job offer before returning to my home country in July 2016. The lack of a firm job offer became a source of worry to me personally since I could not determine when I would be gainfully employed. Thus, uncertainty had begun to plague me even before I returned (Linda, 9 years in USA).

From the stories of the returnees in this text, there was obviously a discrepancy in their expectations of what going back home would look like and what their reality was. All three described experiences similar to what Martin and Harrell describe in the third domain of their intercultural model. While Szkudlarek (2010) does not specifically identify whether the identity conflict is dependent on length of sojourn, it is quite likely that the longer individuals stay in a new environment, the greater the consequent identity conflict they will have in transitioning to their home environment upon return. Given the rapid developmental changes that had taken place between their sojourn and their time of re-entry, the writers of these narratives expressed the difficulty in adjusting themselves to their countries of origin upon their return.

Behavioral Impact of the Re-entry Experience

Behaviorally, Szkudlarek (2010) reports that as a part of the transition process, sojourners often change their behaviors in response to the needs of their host country. As discussed previously, the longer the time spent in a host nation, the greater the likelihood that there will be many aspects of the sojourners life that will also change. Upon return to the home environment however, returnees have to go through a process of letting go of some of these behaviors that they picked up during their sojourn:

> Owing to the high rates of xenophobic attacks, gang crime, murders, rape and riots prevalent in South Africa, I used to boast about the low crime rate in Ghana. Unfortunately, circumstances seemed to have changed in the last few years. I had the shock of my life, when a week after I returned to Ghana, I was attacked at knife point (Dzifa, SA, 4 years).

Such shocks are not limited to safety as even organizational structure and functioning is affected. Organizational culture is noted by Schein (1985) as consisting of basic assumptions shared by a group relating to internal integration and external adaptation that will aid in problem solving. Once again, the rate at which these behaviors are disposed of depends on their individual personality variables. However, the issue of the timeframe over which these behaviors were picked up becomes an important issue to consider if returnees are to let go of their behaviors:

> The work culture of some of the staff that I met on the unit that I was coordinating could be described as negative due to their actions and inactions. Their attitude to work differed from what prevailed in some organizational cultures especially in the USA. Thus, coming from the United States where work ethics were very strong and coming to an environment where the opposite prevails was a huge challenge to me (Linda, USA, 9 years).

Behaviorally, the returnees explored what changes they made when they were out of their home countries in order to adjust to the cultural environments of the countries

they sojourned in. The juxtaposition of these two experiences led to some form of behavioral distress on their return home as certain behaviors acquired overseas did not fit into the cultural landscape of their home environment:

> Although you have your friends you realize that people have moved on with their lives so you necessarily have to start the bonding process afresh. The other issue I experienced was those who were not my friends trying to tag along or to be considered among my inner circle of friends (Ama, UK, 1 year).

As evidenced from the narrative, those who returned with the expectation of seamlessly fitting back into social and familial circles, had to awaken to the idea that life indeed moved on when they were away, and time had not stood still. This was true not only for social circles but also for on-the-job experiences. The fast-paced fluidity of workplace procedures and processes in the advanced nations they had sojourned was in sharp contrast to some of the rudimentary, archaic, and anachronistic processes in their countries of origin. What they were contending with was their experiences with technological advancement in their countries of sojourn contrasted with the seeming lack of progress in their home countries. Additionally, finding employment had become more difficult than when they went overseas and were having to compete with more people to find a job that was commensurate with their education and experiences. With a culture that carries the stereotype that returnees are supposed to be more successful in comparison to individuals who do not sojourn outside of the country, there was added pressure to maintain or keep up appearances consistent with the cultural ideal around the image of what a returnee represents. All of this obviously made the initial return experience unsavory to say the least.

Affective Impact of the Re-entry Experience

Re-entering an original home environment, after moving to a new country can be exhilarating, but also an overwhelming process that can lead to distress:

> I had immense difficulties dealing with enduring loneliness, the anxiety and stress of being separated from family and friends. Returning home, contrary to what most people expected was a source of great joy and delight for me. I was very expectant to return home to family and friends after being away for such a long period (Ama, UK, 1 year).

Sussman (2002) theorizes that the extent of re-entry distress experienced is influenced by cultural identity strength following a sojourn experience. People's cultural identities may shift perspective after exposure to a different way of life; this change in identity creates a state of dissonance, once the sojourner returns to his or her original home context (Sussman, 2002; Yep, 1998). This state of cultural dissonance results in the experience of reverse cultural shock which translates into considerable psychological distress and social challenges (Kartoshkina, 2015). One common explanation for this experience of shock is attributed to the sense of loss and grief associated with relocating (Butcher, 2002; Chamove & Soeterik, 2006). In the course of relocation, lifestyles are disrupted, experiences are lost, and friendships become strained:

> In the span of four years, I observed how wide my family and friends had expanded their social network, so had I, except that the most recent set of relationships in my social network remained in South Africa or like me had returned to their country of origin. Hence, a number of my newly formed social contacts or associates were now separated by distance. My status and role within former social networks had shifted from its original position to an unstable one. Since my arrival in Ghana, I had observed severally how everyone seemed to have adapted to my absence in the country, such that even after my return, my presence was often ignored or forgotten (Dzifa, SA, 4 years).

Chamove and Soeterik (2006) explain that the feelings of loss associated with these activities are comparable to the experience of those grieving the death of a close or loved one. The grieving process can provide a useful model for understanding the process of re-entry and transition as the sojourn experience comes to an end.

Despite the often-negative impact of the cognitive, behavioral, and affective aspects of the re-entry experience, various research studies indicate that meaning, purpose, and personal growth can result from repatriation difficulties (Brown & Graham, 2009; Pritchard, 2011). The Grief to Personal Growth theory, for example, proposes a pathway from grief to growth as a consequence of loss (Wright & Hogan, 2008). According to this theory, the sojourner experiences an identity crisis following the event of loss resulting in despair, detachment, and confusion, but with time and the necessary support, is able to work through the event of loss. With support, he or she may find new purpose and experience personal transformation (Wright & Hogan, 2008):

> A friend with similar sojourn experience who still resides in the USA made a call for interested parties to join her write about their study abroad experiences. This call for collaborative work was a major turning point for me. Through this writing initiative, this scholar has linked me to various returnees within Ghana and beyond. The opportunity to engage with other scholars who share similar study abroad experiences has given new meaning and purpose to my return and experience of distress. The process of writing in itself provides a sense of catharsis (Dzifa, SA, 4 yrs).

Affectively, we noted that traveling outside of one's country can be exhilarating yet overwhelming with the reverse also being true for those who choose to return home. Most sojourners change in many ways. For example, they may experience shifts in their cultural identity, lifestyle changes loss of family and friends, psychological distress, social and geographical challenges in navigating the changed landscape and norms, and dissociation from shared experiences. Collectively, these may culminate in affective stress for the returnee. This stress and sense of loss has been likened to the process of bereavement for loved ones signifying the monumental impact these experiences have on the returnee. Sojourners need to be prepared for these experiences prior to their return in order to lessen the impact.

Conclusions

Spending time overseas exposes the returnee to a range of unique difficulties upon arrival in their country of origin. Usually, no form of formal support exists abroad or

locally to help maximize the benefits accrued from exposure to overseas experiences and minimize the effects of re-adjustment stress. Drawing from the reflections of the returnees described previously, other academic sojourners are in a unique position to support returnees as they process the experience of loss and grief, upon return to their home country. Reviewing the literature about other people's experiences and connecting with other academic returnees directly is helpful. Their personal experiences help the sojourners gain a deeper understanding of the re-adaptation process and help them accept that with time, the intensity of grief would eventually subside. But it is an even more powerful means of respite, when one is able to reflect on one's own experience. These findings are consistent with the strand of research that considers how reflective writing can help individuals gain insight into their experiences (DasGupta & Charon, 2004). The ability to look inward can help one analyze their feelings or process their emotions as they establish their new identity and embrace the home environment.

Study abroad programs hold many benefits for the host and home countries, as well as the student/professional who travels in between these cultural spaces. These benefits, however, may not be completely realized if the returnee suffers attrition, once home (Arouca, 2013; Levy, 2000; Wielkiewicz & Turkowski, 2010). Rather than relying on supervisors, host institutions need to consider incorporating into the university calendar support structures preparing international students/scholars/professionals toward re-entry (Rose, 2017). Annual workshops, seminars, and counseling services could be helpful activities in this regard. As the Forum on Education Abroad (Forum, 2012) rightly asserts, such activities may encourage reflective thought, articulation, and integration, all of which are essential processes for personal growth and further processing of their overseas experience.

Given their exposure to international knowledge and practices, graduates who have returned from studies abroad have a very significant role to play in promoting sustainable development in their respective countries. In order to reap the full benefits of their citizen's international learning experience, home countries also need to be well versed in the lives of returnees and help facilitate their transition and re-adjustment to the local terrain. Drawing from the above narrative, an association of academic returnees could be formally established, where upon arrival, a new entrant could be assigned to a mentor who can serve as guide and support throughout the transition process, and this entrant can later act as a mentor to a new entrant.

In conclusion, as an academic sojourner, you gain and lose many essential things in life as a result of the sojourn abroad. The experience of loss during repatriation can be an overpowering process, but with the right kind of support, growth can result from loss. Further, gains can be strengthened, sustained, and advanced. In sum, the returnee experience can also be a significant source of growth:

> The economic, social, and cultural experiences that occurred as a result of my decision to return to my home country has revealed the challenges and opportunities that can either propel me to make a significant impact in my home country or accept the status quo that originally prevails. I fall into the class of those that have purposed to make an immense impact in my home country despite the challenges that I am confronted with (Linda, USA, 9 yrs).

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Chapter 15
Re-imagining International Doctoral Students as Diasporic Academics

Sherrie Lee and Dely Lazarte Elliot

Abstract The presence of international scholars at Western institutions is part of the larger phenomenon of internationalization of higher education. These scholars have been referred to as diasporic academics who act as knowledge brokers in transnational network flows, most obviously seen in the global academic elite with multiple affiliations. The potential of international doctoral students as diasporic academics, however, has not yet been sufficiently explored by the scholarship, particularly their implications for doctoral education. Instead, these foreign scholars are at times sadly portrayed as if they were merely research commodities, or even perceived to be deficient by 'Western standards'. Literatures focusing on intercultural doctoral supervision help address these issues by recognizing how doctoral candidates' cultural histories, identities, and intellectual resources can contribute to more equitable power relations in Western academe, rather than simply be construed as problematic. As a personal response, we have reflected on our own doctoral education experiences, articulating the risks and rewards of positioning ourselves as transnational knowledge brokers and co-creators of new forms of knowledge. We propose that institutions and supervisors are able to play a much more active role in nurturing their international doctoral students as diasporic academics, with a view to inspiring these students to envision themselves as diasporic academics and critically engage with their transnational networks.

Keywords International doctoral students · Diasporic academics · Doctoral education · Intercultural supervision

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_15

Introduction

The growing middle-class in Asian countries has contributed to the demand for overseas education, as evidenced by the majority of Asian international student populations in many Anglophone institutions (Altbach & Knight, 2007; OECD, 2017). International student enrollments are not only revenue-generating, but as a result of the globalization of the higher education sector worldwide, they also contribute to enhanced status and resources for the institution, particularly in the case of doctoral students (Berquist, 2017; Larner, 2015; Taylor & Cantwell, 2015). Global ranking systems for universities even use internationalization activity as a proxy for quality and excellence, arguing that international student enrollments are not only important in determining institutions' 'performance and quality' in global rankings because those at the doctoral level have the potential to contribute to research and development and innovation, as well as address socio-economic challenges in their host countries (OECD, 2017). Pursuing a doctoral study overseas equally benefits sending countries, as seen in the case of students coming from low-income countries studying abroad as part of capacity-building programs supported by home or host country scholarships (Burgis-Kasthala, Kamiza, & Bates, 2012).

Across OECD countries, international students on average account for 5.6% of total enrollment in tertiary programs, but they comprise over 25% of all enrollments at the doctoral level (OECD, 2017), with the US as a prominent recipient of international doctoral students, particularly in the areas of science and engineering (Redden, 2017). New Zealand and UK demonstrate figures well above the average, with about 20% international student enrollments in tertiary programs, and over 40% at doctoral level (OECD, 2017). In New Zealand, the high proportion of international doctoral students has been suggested to have contributed significantly to improvements in the country's university rankings (Berquist, 2017) and research impact such as increased numbers of publications (Ministry of Education, 2017). In the UK, the figures are relatively higher leading to an unmissable presence of international doctoral learners. To illustrate, based on the 2018 HESA data, over half (57%) of full-time Ph.D. students are international students, that is, 20% from other EU countries and 37% from non-EU countries (The Royal Society, 2018). There is also evidence from the literature to suggest that some international doctoral students end up working in their Western host countries (e.g., McAlpine, Amundsen, & Turner, 2014; Rizvi, 2005; Sutherland, Wilson, & Williams, 2013). This implies continuing contribution, of an academic nature or otherwise, from these international scholars.

The value of international doctoral students in terms of enhancing institutional reputation and contributing to the country's economic competitiveness is so entrenched in the discourse of the 'globalized higher education' that it has become 'both normalized and normative' (Taylor & Cantwell, p. 435). Yet, there is limited discussion, let alone a critical examination, of how these emerging scholars are valued in ways that take into consideration their heterogeneity (as opposed to a homogenous entity of 'international doctoral students'); the differences between their epistemological and cultural backgrounds, and that of their host institution; and how their aspirations

intersect with host institutional expectations and norms. Instead, these scholars tend to be simplistically perceived as mere customers, or consumers of international education, irrespective of what they could offer, afforded by the complexity and richness of their identities, abilities, and career trajectories. Such attitudes when driven to extremities may undermine the potential of international education to facilitate intercultural understanding and dialogue. At times, it may even lead to potential national tensions that could arise from blanket study visa bans in the US (O'Malley, 2018), or the instability of the research environment created the Brexit outcomes in the UK (Highman & Marginson, 2018).

It can be argued that critical theorizing combined with thoughtful application becomes necessary to counter the homogenizing effect of the internationalization rhetoric, and increasing polarizing political climate in major host countries of international scholars. In this chapter, we propose to use the concept of *diasporic academics* as a lens through which international doctoral students can be recognized as transnational individuals who embody particular linguistic, cultural, and epistemological resources that can be used in their engagement with not only their chosen research endeavors but also the host institutional environment, and the wider global network of academia, research, and professional interests. Our intention is to acknowledge, promote, and seek ways to harness these rich resources that can potentially enrich the academic and social environments of which they become part during their international education and beyond.

Diasporic Academics as Knowledge Brokers

Conceptually, the term *diasporic academics* is yet to gain traction in the multidisciplinary field of international education; diasporic academic practices need to be seriously considered. Scholars Yang and Welch (2010) and Larner (2015) note that while the human capital of these intellectuals has been acknowledged in the discourses of globalization and the internationalization of higher education, their scholarly practices, career development, and personal aspirations often remain under-examined. Their studies, in particular, highlight the value of diasporic academics serving as bridges between sending (home) and receiving (host) countries. Diasporic academics are those who have relocated from their home country to their host country, and are based in their host institution engaged in academic or research work. These individuals may be overseas postgraduate students who stay on in their host countries to take up academic/research positions, or those recruited from other countries (Larner, 2015). Referring to diasporic academics as *knowledge diaspora*, Yang and Welch (2010) define these individuals as 'rooted in their own cultures and affected by national realities, [and who are concurrently] … part of an international knowledge system, and interact with institutions and ideas from abroad' (Yang & Welch, 2010, p. 595).

Yang and Welch (2010) highlight that this international knowledge system tends to be 'fundamentally unequal' with a few Anglophone countries at the center, while the rest remain on the periphery of academic power and influence, thus privileging Western-centered thought and power relations. Nonetheless, they maintain that the unpredictable forces of globalization mean that the power distribution is 'fluid and changing'. Thus, while diasporic academics who move from the Global South to the North, for example, appear to 'consolidate host countries' research hegemony', they may also have opportunities to '… modify global asymmetries and unidirectional flows' (Yang & Welch, 2010, p. 595). Larner (2015) similarly draws attention to the shifting power relations in the global knowledge system. She highlights how diasporic academics are called upon as knowledge brokers to bridge gaps in 'linguistic, cultural and national divides' (Larner, 2015, p. 202), as seen in the example of Chinese universities explicitly encouraging their diasporic scholars to co-publish with Western academics. Western universities and research institutions themselves have become increasingly aware that cross-border initiatives work best when premised on mutual exchange and benefit, rather than one-way asymmetrical outcomes, for example, in projects that emphasize sensitivity toward local knowledge and demands (Larner, 2015).

However, despite the potential for the work of diasporic academics to promote more equitable knowledge power relations, Larner (2015) also notes the emergence of 'a new global academic elite' who rotate between leading institutions, typically seen in global entrepreneurship programs, as well as areas such as bio-technology, advanced composites, and life sciences. Such trends, Larner argues, are symptomatic of capitalist tendencies in creating global knowledge networks. The presence of such elites further suggests that diasporic academics are themselves embedded in a hierarchy of power relations over knowledge, status, and connections.

Notwithstanding the uneven and unpredictable power relations and knowledge distribution concomitant with diasporic academics, we believe there needs to be a more critical reflection of diasporic academics' positions as cultural and knowledge intermediaries, rather than assume that the positions is scripted by the internationalization discourse. We also believe this reflection needs to be undertaken, first and foremost, by diasporic academics themselves, particularly those in the period of 'emergence', that is, when they are engaged in postgraduate research such as their Ph.D. study. It is to be argued that it is at this stage of their academic lives where they have immense opportunity to identify and develop their diasporic value, informing both their personal growth and professional development. Hence, we now turn to some literature related to how international doctoral students are positioned culturally and epistemologically at Anglophone institutions, to better make sense of their roles as emerging diasporic academics.

Reframing International Doctoral Students as Diasporic Academics

The literature on international students often highlights the economic benefit of their presence in Western universities but with much less focus on the benefits of linguistic and social resources that these foreign students bring to the host institution. Instead, mainstream literature is typically marked by deficit discourses of these students lacking in language and academic skills, and other acceptable learning characteristics (Marginson, 2014; Ryan & Louie, 2007; Tran, 2011; Tran & Vu, 2018). With international doctoral students, the literature casts such deficits as problems to be solved as part of 'project management', often appealing to the need for 'clear and explicit communication and negotiation' between the international doctoral students and their advisors or supervisors (Manathunga, 2017, p. 114). However, even when practical advice is offered to educate and empower international students, it does not necessarily challenge the unequal power and social relations of intercultural supervisory relationships that can result from the epistemological and cultural hegemony exercised by the host country/institution/supervisors (Manathunga, 2017; Kidman, Manathunga, & Cornforth, 2017; Singh, 2009, 2017). In addition, the institutional label of 'international student' may serve to accentuate their difference by associating it with weakness and passivity rather than the 'array of geo-political, social, cultural, historical and language backgrounds' that students bring with them (Fotovatian & Miller, 2014, p. 288). Taken together, even prior to exploring how international doctoral students can be valued as diasporic academics, it could be argued that there needs to be a semantic shift of how these emerging scholars are referred to.

Emerging diasporic academics, as we have chosen to acknowledge them, are not necessarily unaware of the underlying existential tensions that exist in their non-Western selves undertaking their scholarly endeavors in a Western environment, and supervised by Western scholars. To illustrate, Fotovatian and Miller (2014) note how Asian doctoral students studying education at an Australian university in their study felt they were judged by their Anglophone community on their legitimacy as English language teachers. A participant named Ratna (pseudonym), for example, felt judged by her native speaking interlocutors on her professional legitimacy: 'The most difficult thing for me is that, you know, because I am an English language teacher, you know, I feel I expose myself to a lot of evaluation. I mean they say, oh you are an English teacher and your English is like this!' (Fotovatian & Miller, 2014, p. 291). In Kidman et al. (2017) study of a group of doctoral students from Southeast Asia, Africa, South America, and the Pacific, participants expressed disappointment at their supervisors' lack of interest in their cultures and how their cultural backgrounds could contribute to their research, as well as anger at their negative stereotypes of participants' home countries. As the authors note, these 'supervisors [were] positioned, tacitly, as white saviours who impart Northern/Western knowledge to Southern students who will then be intellectually empowered to 'fix' their countries' problems [, … giving …] little acknowledgement to the cultural, historical and linguistic knowledge that international students bring to their studies'

(p. 1210). In this ‘assimilationist’ pedagogy, as Manathunga (2017) calls it, not only are Northern/Western knowledge and theory seen as universal, there is no recognition of ‘students’ personal, intellectual and professional histories or the histories of their societies and cultures’ (p. 118).

Several responses have been offered to mitigate the power and epistemic imbalance between international doctoral students and their Western supervisors, notably from the supervisors’ perspective (see Elliot & Kobayashi, 2018; Manathunga, 2017; Kidman et al., 2017; Singh, 2009, 2017). To illustrate, Kidman et al. (2017), writing in a New Zealand context from a post-colonial perspective, highlight the benefits of international doctoral students aligning themselves with ‘academic allies’ such as the indigenous Māori and Pacific colleagues who historically have had to challenge impositions of knowledge and power from colonial forces. Such allies ‘were able to throw light on the knowledge–power relationships and modes of knowledge production within the faculty and help students develop new strategies for navigating the doctoral process’ (p. 1218). In other words, international doctoral students found refuge in interacting with and seeking advice from those who were somewhat similarly displaced from their linguistic and cultural contexts.

Another response foregrounds the supervisors’ responsibility in engaging in trans- or intercultural supervision practices. Manathunga (2017), for example, promotes transcultural supervision pedagogies that are premised on ‘a deep respect and curiosity’ about students’ geographies, as well as their personal and cultural histories. The goal of transcultural supervision, as Manathunga describes, is to provide opportunities ‘for … students to blend aspects of their own knowledge with Western knowledge to create unique, new knowledge, [as well as recognising] that … students may require structured opportunities to build their confidence in their own knowledge and in acquiring Northern knowledge before they can become independent researchers’ (Manathunga, 2017, p. 121). Examples of structured opportunity include active mentoring of students in publishing, networking, and other research career abilities to help them ‘build promising futures as independent scholars’ (Manathunga, 2017, p. 120). Some may even argue that this needs to be part of every supervisor’s remit. In a Danish study, supervisors were found to consciously use their intercultural proficiency to pursue more equitable or symmetrical relationships, such as reducing barriers created by the power imbalance and promoting the idea that it is acceptable for students, particularly those from Asian cultures, to disagree with their supervisors (Elliot & Kobayashi, 2018).

Yet another response is a commitment to intellectual reciprocity as vigorously argued by Singh (2009, 2017). He calls for a deep and serious recognition of, and response to what he regards as ‘cross-cultural ignorance’ (Singh, 2009), and by pursuing ‘post-monolingual research methodology’ (Singh, 2017). In the pedagogical context of doctoral supervision, cross-cultural ignorance involves a humility that enables supervisors to recognize that there is a vast array of knowledge they do not yet understand. What may result from this ignorance is intellectual reciprocity which ‘sees the supervisor and students acknowledge their mutual ignorance, including mutual ignorance of research and supervisory practices, while recognizing each

other as intelligent beings' (Singh, 2009, p. 195). Singh (2009) cautions that intellectual reciprocity is not about proving that all intelligence is equal. Instead, a claim of intellectual equality ought to empower international doctoral students to challenge dominant Anglophone perspectives, as appropriate, and likewise critically look into their own 'multilingual communicative repertoires' to engage with knowledge from their own cultural and national contexts, and in doing so create new knowledge. Bilingual doctoral students can exploit the merging of the two sets of knowledge and in turn, benefit from more advanced knowledge that is recognizable in both languages (Singh, 2009).

Singh (2017) reports specifically on how doctoral students use their multilingual communicative repertoires in what he terms 'post-monolingual research methodology'. He explains that such a framework enables multilingual doctoral students (i.e., those who can speak other languages in addition to English), to do two things:

(1) make original contributions to theoretical knowledge by using concepts, metaphors, images, and modes of critical thinking from their full linguistic repertoire, and
(2) deal with the tensions created by English-only monolingual theory, research, and education, including rigidities associated with just using English and theories available in English (Singh, 2017, p. 2).

Singh questions the assumptions that English-medium instruction and research sustains, and is sustained by, the internationalization of higher education, and argues the need to redress the marginalization of non-English/Western 'theoretic-linguistic' resources. He highlights the common English-only monolingual practice of using the voices of 'others' (e.g., international students, immigrants, indigenous people) as data sources to test existing Western theory. In post-monolingual research methodology, the purpose is not mainstream multilingual doctoral students' voice, but to 'declassify the division of intellectual labor which assigns theory to English, and data to other languages … [and] explore the intellectual divergences in [students'] full linguistic repertoire to produce resources of theorizing' (p. 5). Singh provides Chinese doctoral students' work as an example, showing how concepts, metaphors, images, and modes of critical thinking in Zhongwen (Mandarin) are used as analytical concepts in research written in English. For example, Singh's doctoral student Qi developed the Anglo-Zhongwen concept of 'networked-hutong siwei' to explore alternatives posed by the dilemmas of transnational education. 'Hutong' is a Mongolian word which refers to narrow alleys in residential communities in large Chinese cities such as Beijing which have now become tourist attractions, while the 'siwei' means thinking in Mandarin. In Qi's novel and analytical concept, a networked-hutong siwei 'refers to transnational educators thinking critically about the interconnectedness among the hutongs (and their languages and intellectual cultures), so as to open up and multiply their options for action' (Singh, 2017, p. 10).

These various supervisor-led responses are just as valuable for doctoral students who wish to explore how they can develop themselves as diasporic academics. This can be summarized as follows: seeking like-minded alliances, such as those who identify as diasporic or who are similarly 'displaced from home'; (ii) being engaged

in trans- or intercultural supervision practices; (iii) and using the very epistemological, linguistic, and cultural resources of one's diasporic roots and branches to formulate one's contribution to academic endeavors. These ways of enacting diasporic selves, nonetheless, pose challenges that require support from others involved in the doctoral education process such as institutions, peer groups, and, of course, doctoral supervisors themselves.

Underlying the challenge of engaging as diasporic academics is sustaining interpersonal relationships, and more importantly, a commitment to intercultural and intellectual negotiations. It may seem an uncomplicated task to seek out kindred spirits who provide an environment where being diasporic is celebrated rather than marginalized. One potential challenge, however, would be sustaining the organizational aspects of such connections. While it may be relatively easy to identify potential like-minded peers, coming together regularly on the basis of common goals and aspirations may seem to detract from the high-pressure and high-stakes task of completing one's doctoral study. Nonetheless, fostering culturally sensitive peer support among international doctoral students is important and can be facilitated through more formal structures such as faculty-led initiatives and student associations (Lee, 2017). Engaging in meaningful intercultural supervision experiences poses even greater challenges. While clearly laudable, both student and supervisor need to actively engage with each other's knowledge and cultural biases, something which can be emotionally and intellectually perplexing for students at least (e.g., Wang & Li, 2008; Xu & Grant, 2017), and requiring supervisors to have the desire and skills for managing intercultural supervision (Vaccarino & Li, 2018). To truly address the power imbalances in knowledge creation, in fact, to create new knowledge altogether, adopting a multilingual/frame of reference, rather than attending to the English/Western expectations in academe, appear necessary to build bridges across intellectual histories and cultures. Yet, this approach clearly needs the conviction and leadership of both the supervisor and multilingual student to bring this vision to fruition. The subsequent section demonstrates how each of us has responded to the various challenges highlighted, through personal biographies of our diasporic academic journeys.

Reflections of Diasporic Academics

In sharing biographical snippets of our doctoral (supervision) journeys, we hope to be catalysts of ideas and actions that expand and enrich the repertoires emerging diasporic academics. Sherrie is from Singapore and completed her Ph.D. study in New Zealand. Using her experiences in her own doctoral journey, she actively mentors doctoral students in helping them achieve their goals, and is an advocate for deeper engagement between emerging diasporic academics and their host communities. Dely, on the other hand, hails from the Philippines and has been working as an academic in Scotland for several years now. As a former doctoral student in the UK herself, who now serves as a supervisor to several international Ph.D. students,

her personal experience complements and enhances her research-based knowledge, theoretical arguments, and the supervision practices that she adopts with her doctoral students.

Sherrie—Emerging as Diasporic Through Disjuncture

Before I started my doctoral studies, I was a polytechnic lecturer in Singapore, a job that provided me a professional identity of being a respected teacher of writing and communication skills, as well as being a valued colleague and employee. Singapore is a former British colony, and while being multiethnic and having bi/multilingual policies in education and civic engagement, the English language has always been the most important language for claims of political neutrality, cross-ethnic communication, and in the national discourse of survival as a small national state, for economic engagement with the global economy. My upbringing was in middle-class Chinese family where notions of filial piety, respect for elders, and modesty were strongly ingrained. My parents were educated in English, and apart from conversing in rudimentary Hokkien (a Chinese dialect) with elders, the English language was essentially my 'mother tongue' and 'home language'. My education was an English-medium one, with Chinese learnt as a second language. My worldview could be described as somewhat Anglo-American but limited to the cultural exposure of books, music, and movies. However, any idea of 'freedom' or 'self-expression' was heavily tempered with family and societal expectations of self-restraint and group solidarity.

Before I left Singapore, I was a self-assured professional with a 'native-like' command of English (as Singaporeans and foreign friends have commented), and full of, perhaps misplaced, confidence about succeeding in my doctoral study. My supervisors were not particularly interested in my socio-cultural histories or how they could influence my research, but they were nonetheless respectful when discussing my ideas and analytical decisions. However, similar to the issues raised earlier of international doctoral students' interactions with their Western academic community, I found it near impossible of gaining legitimacy as a professional or an academic in the wider faculty (Fotovatian & Miller, 2014), not so much because I felt being judged, but because there was simply little interest. Was I too foreign looking and too far removed from their own sphere of knowledge and experiences? I have asked this to a few domestic White academic staff, and all politely said that could not be the case. But when I posed this possibility to my fellow 'international' doctoral mates, their nods (whether in pained laughter or heavy sighing) confirmed my suspicion. I often excused my host community's 'cross-cultural ignorance' (Singh 2009), and disregard for my cultural history (Kidman et al., 2017), but of course, such gestures did nothing to change the situation, and neither was my academic identity and experience uplifted.

It was only when I attended a conference that was directly relevant to my field of international education (which makes the prior reflection sadly ironic), that I was surrounded by professionals, academics, and other doctoral students who took an

interest in understanding who and how and why I was. It was then I fully realized that I needed to engage with an epistemic community outside my institutional environment. There is a Chinese saying 对牛弹琴 (lit. to play the lute to a cow) which describes offering something of value to an unappreciative crowd. My cultural lute was falling on deaf ears (and blind eyes) in a community that was supposed to nurture their emerging academics. So I took my lute and played it elsewhere. I sought out allies outside my faculty, seized publishing opportunities, and engaged with the virtual epistemic community through blogs and social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. It was through engaging with my epistemic community through Twitter that I 'met' Dely. Through a series of serendipitous likes, re-tweets, and comments, we found ourselves 'allied' to each other through our common interests of international students' well-being and doctoral mentorship.

Gaining confidence through my engagement with allies and fellow diasporic academics, it was becoming clear to me that my very diasporic status provided me unique insights into my research interests, and I ventured to position myself as an expert in the field. For example, I applied to be a reviewer for *Journal of International Students* which I have now worked with for the past two years. I am particularly drawn to the journal's commitment to mentoring international doctoral students in publication and academic engagement. With the full support and encouragement from my supervisors, I convened a symposium for a national education conference on the topic of international education. I also joined the executive committee of a professional organization related to international education in New Zealand, and have been provided numerous opportunities to demonstrate my leadership skills as I worked cross-culturally with various local professionals. The mix of research and professional engagement enabled me to tap into my 'multilingual communicative repertoires' (Singh, 2017), and increased my analytical insight into my own research of Chinese international students using their own linguistic and cultural resources for learning, as well as my own translation practices in the research process. Perhaps I can be grateful for the initial absence of transcultural authenticity which after all motivated me to seek treasure elsewhere. And indeed, I have found great treasure.

Dely—Diasporic Academic as Mediator of Differing Academic Cultures

As a diasporic academic, I consider myself to be in a privileged position with the invaluable insight that I gained from undertaking my Ph.D. in a country that is seen to have a large 'cultural distance' from either where I originally came from (the Philippines) or where I resided for several years (Thailand). My postgraduate experience as an international student in another Asian country, that is, Thailand, and subsequently in England provided points of comparison for what it really means to learn in an international context. While undertaking a Master's degree in Thailand

was smooth sailing, I was faced with unforeseen adjustments upon starting my doctoral studies in the UK, not merely because of the higher expectations or greater level of independence associated with the latter. Although both of my experiences as a postgraduate student occurred in an international setting with academics coming from various parts of the world, the experiences were far from identical. Looking back, the shared 'academic cultures' between the two Asian countries was crucial in facilitating my overall societal adjustment and successful completion in Thailand despite existing distinct cultural differences, such as languages, religious beliefs, and societal values. In contrast, the very different philosophies and traditions that underpin the learning pedagogies, classroom practices, and course assessments in the UK demanded a different type of pedagogical and psychological adjustment that challenged, even contradicted, my original conception of education, particularly: (a) expectations from teachers and learners; (b) what effective learning means; and (c) what criteria for assessment are valued. Needless to say, my first-hand experience of this unforeseen struggle stimulated a great interest in the theoretical (psychological) conceptualization as well as practical utility or application of 'intercultural academic transitions' that forms part of many international students' experience, especially for those coming from different academic cultures who get immersed in Western style education.

To welcome international learners is good, but I would argue that a genuine attempt to increase university staff members' understanding of the other manifestations of academic cultures confronting international learners is far more important. Not addressing paucity in this understanding is likely to lead to a simplistic misunderstanding that some groups of international learners lack the capacity to learn, when what is arguably needed is for students to realize that it is a different set of learning tools that they require to flourish. What seems to be missing is the 'meeting of the minds' where there is an attempt by the staff in host institutions to understand their students and 'see' them beyond their difficulties. Only then will staff be able to appreciate and value the strengths that these students bring with them. Among students, an explicit understanding of what is required from them can powerfully scaffold their capability to operate in a new academic culture, and in turn, excel in it. By the nature of who they are, that is, diasporic learners, the majority of international learners do offer unique intellectual resources; yet, these resources lie dormant and untapped. This points to a justified call to recognize, promote, and seek ways by which these resources can be harnessed. Arguably, this will not merely empower international students, but is also likely to enrich their entire educational experience and maximize their contribution, assisting the realization of an enhanced experience for the whole academic community—with international and local students and staff members altogether.

Following further reflection on this insight, combined with practical wisdom from more experienced colleagues in the field and with my role as a Ph.D. supervisor, inspired me to try out some strategies tested in another context, which I thought could assist in uncovering international doctoral students' inherent strengths. An effort to learn about the learner's strengths comes in a number of formal and informal ways—from a casual chat in the park to involving them in reviewing a manuscript

(with permission from the editor), inviting their thoughts on and critiques of a half-developed paper and/or co-presenting at a local or international conference. These strategies have a shared goal, that is, to invite doctoral students into the discourse rather than simply providing them with writing tips and techniques (Daley, Guccione, & Hutchinson, 2017).

A specific example that I would like to share is one where we endeavored to bring out the collective strengths from a group of international doctoral students through embarking on a collaborative writing project, which enabled them to write in pairs and serve as critical friends while promoting supportive relationships along the way (see Cai et al., 2019). What is worth highlighting is that in the end, the two supervisors involved in this project equally benefited through giving feedback, and reflection on the insightful ideas arising from the group discussions. (For more information on this activity, see: http://www.ukcge.ac.uk/article/authentic-writing-experience-international-pgrs-390.aspx.) At the institutional level, efforts to offer funding for small-scale projects that international doctoral students could initiate themselves should not be underestimated because this could serve as an outlet that encourages student agency leading to realization of diasporic potential. From conceptualizing the design until the execution of the project, these students can build upon their interests and strengths, with a view to both supporting and harnessing potential from diasporic learners. Altogether, these various examples of efforts from individual staff, through to organizing group activities for international doctoral students and receiving support at the institutional level are seemingly small steps but arguably effective and complementary not only in supporting emerging diasporic academics but also in creating a research culture that truly benefits everyone, that is, both students and staff, local and international alike.

Conclusion

International doctoral students, as we have argued, have been often problematically construed as mere economic contributors and they ought to be valued instead as diasporic academics in terms of their capacity as linguistic, cultural, and epistemological mediators between nations and groups. International students are more often than not perceived in deficit terms, even at the doctoral level. However, we believe that as scholars embarking on important research projects, international doctoral students are in the position to challenge this deficit framing by harnessing their potential as emerging diasporic academics. As we have articulated in our personal reflections, it is important for both student and supervisors to first recognize that the differences that international doctoral students bring to their Anglophone or Western contexts are rich and powerful resources that ought to be celebrated and utilized for the benefit of both student and the wider academic community. Although cross-cultural engagement may entail distinct challenges, these can arguably serve as catalysts for personal growth among all parties involved, potentially leading to other vital internationalization research agendas. Finally, just as it takes a village to raise a child,

so too does it take a community, however defined in an increasingly globalized and mobile environment, of 'diasporic-friendly' allies to nurture and encourage diasporic academics to be courageous in their endeavors, and to do so with purpose and pride.

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Part V
Rethinking Perspectives to Rethinking Practices

Chapter 16
International Students and Their Academic Experiences: Student Satisfaction, Student Success Challenges, and Promising Teaching Practices

Clayton Smith

Abstract This chapter calls for rethinking education across borders by examining the North American international student academic experience with particular focus on enhancing student satisfaction and promising teaching practices, and increasing the faculty role in campus internationalization. To meet our goals of achieving diversity, inclusivity, and internationalization within an increasingly challenged political and socio-economic context, we must turn our attention to enhancing the international student academic experience. An important first step involves paying more attention to the international student success factors along with satisfaction of international students within the classroom and across the student experience. Additional institutional actions for enhancing the international student academic experience institutions are suggested.

Keywords International students · International student satisfaction · International student success · Promising teaching practices

Introduction

> Whether you are a decision maker, faculty member, or a student affairs educator who is a citizen of the United States working in a domestic setting, a citizen of the United States working abroad in higher education, or an international working in the United States or around the world, your contribution to the internationalization conversation is essential. You have a perspective about the student experience that is fundamental to providing high quality and empowering education that embraces the increasingly internationalized world in which we and our students must be prepared to live (Roberts, 2015, p. 13).

The world of education abroad is changing. We have seen the election of an American president who has made international student mobility challenging within the context of the "Make America Great Again" campaign. The United Kingdom (UK), another leading destination for study abroad, adopted "Brexit" and will soon leave the European Union which will likely limit European student mobility in the UK.

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_16

A human rights-related diplomatic feud led Saudi Arabia to withdraw its students from Canadian universities and colleges, resulting in most Saudi Arabian students leaving Canada. Situations like the above point to a challenging world for students seeking a post-secondary education abroad.

Colleges and universities in the U.S. and Canada are increasingly becoming ethno-culturally and linguistically diverse which is partially due to increasing enrollment of international students. Currently 1.4 million international students choose to study at Canadian and U.S. post-secondary educational institutions, which increased by 7.1% between 2015 and 2016 (Canadian Bureau of International Education, 2016; Institute of International Education, 2016).

This has led many institutions to adopt internationalization as an institutional priority. Knight (2004) identifies internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 2). A 2017 American Council on Education survey of U.S. colleges and universities found that nearly three-quarters (72%) of responding institutions grew their internationalization efforts in recent years (Helms, Brajkovic, & Struthers, 2017). Top reasons included improving student preparedness for a global era, diversifying students, faculty and staff at the home campus, and becoming more attractive to prospective students at home and overseas. A 2014 Universities Canada survey reported that the pace of internationalization has accelerated at most (89%) in Canadian institutions.

Currently, internationalization focuses primarily on external areas, including education abroad and student exchange, recruiting international students, and institutional partnerships (Gaulee, 2018; Helms et al., 2017). Curriculum and faculty development are considered lower priorities. However, this is expected to change as more institutions are developing academic-related internationalization initiatives (e.g., international or global student learning outcomes, related general education requirements, foreign language requirements). Robin Metros Helms, Director of the American Council on Education Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement, suggests that "We need to make sure that faculty are engaged in and central to internationalization efforts" (Redden, 2017).

Diversity and inclusion are increasingly seen as important institutional objectives. Most North American higher education leaders would agree that we have a responsibility to promote diversity and inclusion for all our students, including both domestic and international students. Kirwan (2016), Chancellor Emeritus of the University System of Maryland, identifies three key benefits: enriching learning experiences for all students, widening access to higher education to increase diversity of future global leaders, and increasing availability of fulfilling careers and high quality of life. To build inclusive campuses, we have the ethical responsibility to embrace cultural and linguistic diversity and to integrate it into all aspects of the student experience, including our classrooms.

Meeting the various global challenges that confront international students and student mobility require faculty to be more engaged in internationalization efforts by paying more attention to international student success factors along with satisfaction of international students within the classroom and across the student experience. An

important first step in assessing the international student academic experience is to ask international students about it. The next section delves into international student satisfaction with their learning experiences.

Student Satisfaction with Learning Experiences

The decision to study abroad in the future will likely be reliant on the perception of students regarding their anticipated student academic experience. Given the increasingly challenged political and socio-economic education abroad environment, the quality of the student learning experience will be closely monitored by students, their families, and sponsoring governments. In order for North American colleges and universities to continue to attract education abroad students, educational leaders will need to ensure that they are offering learning experiences that create value for students that include language and learning support, teaching and research excellence, experiential learning, and work experience opportunities.

Current satisfaction among international students studying at Canadian and U.S. colleges and universities is high. Garrett (2014), former North American director for i-graduate, a United Kingdom-based educational research company that tracks and benchmarks international student satisfaction, found that international student satisfaction and willingness to recommend the institution at both Canadian and American institutions was higher than the average reported by international students globally. High scores on another survey were also reported at Canadian institutions, with 90% of international students being either very satisfied or satisfied with their educational experience (Canadian Bureau of International Education, 2014).

One of the best measures of student satisfaction for international students studying at Canadian and U.S. institutions is the International Student Barometer (ISB), which is administered each autumn by i-graduate. The ISB tracks and compares the decision-making, expectations, perceptions, and intentions of international students from application to graduation in areas that include the application process, inquiry to acceptance, arrival and orientation, the learning experience, the living experience, support services, and propensity to recommend the institution to other international students. Results are benchmarked against competitor groups, and national and global indices. The 2016 ISB Wave included 159,959 students at 196 institutions in 17 countries, including 19,767 who attended U.S. and Canadian institutions (i-graduate International Insight, 2017). ISB findings (i-graduate International Insight, 2017) suggest that international students are largely satisfied with their academic experience at Canadian and American colleges and universities. Nearly nine of ten (89%) indicate that they are satisfied with the learning experience, which is slightly higher than non-North American institutions (87%) and the global index (87%).

i-graduate International Insight (2017) reported topics which American and Canadian international students scored higher than non-North American international students, in terms of student satisfaction, include: academics' English, assessment,

careers advice, course content, course organization, employability, good teachers, quality lectures, laboratories, language support, learning spaces, learning support, marking criteria, multicultural environment, online library, opportunities to teach, performance feedback, physical library, size of classes, technology, topic selection, virtual learning, and work experience. Topics where non-North American international students scored higher than American and Canadian international students include expert lecturers and managing research. American and Canadian international students and non-North American international students scored the same on research. Table 16.1 displays learning satisfaction of international students by country in which their institution is located.

International student perceptions of the learning experience varied by country of origin (i-graduate International Insight, 2017). Looking at the top countries of origin for Canada (China, India, South Korea, France, the U.S., and Nigeria) and the U.S. (China, India, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and Canada), international students from France, China, India, Nigeria, and Canada had the highest satisfaction while those from Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and the U.S. had lower satisfaction levels. International student satisfaction was higher at four-year Canadian and American colleges and universities than two-year Canadian and American institutions or non-North American two-year institutions. Table 16.2 displays learning satisfaction of international students by leading countries of origin.

Little variance in international student satisfaction of the learning experience was found for gender (i-graduate International Insight, 2017). Some areas where differences were found include study level, program, study time, study stage, and age. Common topics cited by more than one student type include: careers advice, employability, language support, managing research, opportunities to teach, research, and work experience. These areas merit consideration for potential institutional improvement to enhance international student satisfaction. Table 16.3 displays low and high satisfaction where the difference is greater than 5%.

Satisfaction with the student experience often goes beyond those aspects that are easily measured. For many, the experiences rooted in engagement with other cultures and ways of knowing, becoming more open-minded regarding social issues and political topics, building relationships with others (e.g., students, faculty, staff, administrators) from other nationalities form some of the major takeaways of the study abroad experience. These need to be taken into account in any calculus involving the international student experience.

While international student satisfaction with their learning experiences is generally high, international students face various academic and non-academic challenges as they enter and move through the North American student experience. The next section will explore some of these challenges.

Table 16.1 Learning satisfaction by host country

	Host country				
	Canada	U.S.	Canada and U.S.	Non-North American countries	All countries
Learning overall (%)	89	90	89	87	87
Topics					
Academics' English (%)	94	95	94	92	92
Assessment (%)	91	92	92	88	89
Careers advice (%)	82	81	81	71	72
Course content (%)	90	91	90	89	89
Course organization (%)	88	91	90	84	85
Employability (%)	86	84	85	78	79
Expert lecturers (%)	93	94	93	94	94
Good teachers (%)	89	90	90	88	88
Laboratories (%)	92	92	92	91	91
Language support (%)	91	89	90	89	89
Learning spaces (%)	93	93	93	89	90
Learning support (%)	91	93	92	89	89
Managing research	NA	88%	88%	90%	89%
Marking criteria (%)	89	91	90	83	84
Multicultural (%)	92	88	91	90	90
Online library (%)	92	92	92	91	91
Opportunities to teach	NA	83%	81%	72%	73%
Performance feedback (%)	90	91	90	84	85
Physical library (%)	90	93	91	90	90
Quality lectures (%)	91	91	91	88	89

(continued)

Table 16.1 (continued)

	Host country				
	Canada	U.S.	Canada and U.S.	Non-North American countries	All countries
Research (%)	89	87	88	88	88
Technology (%)	91	94	92	91	91
The size of the classes (%)	91	90	91	89	89
Topic selection (%)	90	89	90	87	87
Virtual learning (%)	92	93	93	91	91
Work experience (%)	81	78	79	69	70

Note Adapted from i-graduate International Insight (2017). Reprinted with permission

Table 16.2 Learning satisfaction by country of origin

Country of origin	North American 2-year or community colleges	North American 4-year colleges or universities	All Canadian and U.S. institutions	Non-North American institutions	All institutions
Canada	NA	90%	90%	85%	86%
China (%)	92	92	92	90	91
France	NA	95	95	88	88
India (%)	92	92	92	90	91
Nigeria (%)	89	93	90	90	90
Saudi Arabia (%)	81	86	85	84	81
South Korea (%)	79	87	82	81	81
U.S. (%)	89	90	89	87	87

Note Adapted from i-graduate International Insight (2017). Reprinted with permission

International Student Success Challenges

The impact of various academic and non-academic challenges that international students face during their education abroad experience coupled with the increasingly challenged political and socio-economic climate may result in institutional challenges in maintaining or increasing its international student enrollments. While international students participate more in "effective educational practices" than

Table 16.3 Learning satisfaction by student type (more than 5% difference between low and high satisfaction levels)

Area	Topic	Low	High
Study level	Work experience	Foundation course (74%)	Other (82%)
	Multicultural	Foundation course (84%)	Undergraduate (92%)
	Language support	Foundation course (85%)	Other (92%)
Program	Employability	Subjects allied to medicine (89%)	Social studies (79%)
	Research	Language-literature (80%)	Eastern, Asiatic, African, American, and Australasian languages and literature (97%)
	Managing research	Mass communications and documentation (78%)	Historical and philosophical studies (100%)
	Assessment	Medicine/dentistry, social studies, creative arts/design (88%)	Eastern, Asiatic, African, American, and Australasian languages and literature (100%)
	Careers advice	Historical and philosophical studies (77%)	Tourism and hospitality (86%)
	Work experience	Joint honors or multisubject degree (60%)	Tourism and hospitality (88%)
Study time	Employability	Other (86%)	Student abroad (90%)
	Managing research	Other (86%)	Student exchange (95%)
	Opportunities to teach	Study abroad (63%)	Other (90%)
Study stage	Careers advice	Last year (77%)	First year/single year (84%)
	Opportunities to teach	Last year (75%)	First year/single year (86%)
Age	Course content	50 + (84%)	18–20 (94%)
	Employability	30–39 and 50 + (79%)	18–20 (89%)
	Quality lectures	50 + (80%)	Under 18 (95%)
	Good teachers	50 + (75%)	18–20 (92%)
	Expert lecturers	50 + (76%)	18–20 (95%)
	Research	50 + (84%)	Under 18 (93%)
	Managing research	19–20 (80%)	21–24 (90%)
	Learning support	50 + (78%)	Under 18 (94%)
	Careers advice	50 + (70%)	18–20 (86%)
	Language support	40–49 (82%)	50 + (96%)
	Work experience	50 + (68%)	18–20 (85%)
	Opportunities to teach	18–20 (70%)	21–24 (92%)

Note Adapted from i-graduate International Insight (2017). Reprinted with permission

Fig. 16.1 Factors influencing international student success

their American counterparts (Zhao, Kuh, & Carin, 2005), they report greater academic challenge, more interactions with instructors, more engagement in diversity-related activities, and greater gains in personal and social development, practical competence, and general education.

Several academic and non-academic factors have been identified as influencing the educational success of international students. Academic challenges include: language challenges, exclusion from group discussions, cultural-related learning differences, academic support issues, and adjustment to a new educational system. International students also face a wide array of non-academic challenges. These challenges include cultural adjustment, social issues, and finances. Figure 16.1 shows the academic and non-academic factors that impact international student success. It is important for institutions to develop an institutional approach for addressing these challenges, rather than the common technique of assigning these duties to an overworked international student center.

Academic Challenges

Language barriers. Language barriers, especially oral communications in English, are perceived by international students as a major challenge (Zhang & Zhou, 2010). Language difficulties emerge from different accents, rate of speech, and pronunciation (Wu, Garza, & Guzman, 2015). They result in international students putting in more hours than host students to complete reading, writing, and presentation

assignments (Brunton & Jeffrey, 2014; Cruikshank, Chen, & Warren, 2012; Wang & Byram, 2011). They also create a feeling of inequality in the classroom (Foster & Stapleton, 2012; Kim, Tatar, & Choi, 2014; Valdez, 2015). Many find it difficult to communicate with instructors and their peers in class. Some instructors doubt the ability of international students to complete course assignments, encourage international students to take developmental classes, and criticize international students' accents (Beoku-Betters, 2004). Lack of English proficiency is a barrier for successful participation in the host community (Liu, 2011).

Exclusion from group discussions. Most instructors employ some form of group work in their teaching, which requires students to have good written and verbal English skills. Students with low language proficiency are often unable to engage in group discussions or participate in class presentations even if they have topic knowledge (Yates & Thi QuynhTrang, 2012). This frequently results in international students sitting together and speaking their native language, which limits interaction with domestic students (Brunton & Jeffrey, 2014; Harrison & Peacock, 2010; Trahar & Hyland, 2011). This can lead to domestic students giving up on interaction with international students (Cruikshank et al., 2012).

Cultural-related learning differences. International students with different cultural experiences may perceive a learning environment differently, especially when compared with native students (Koul & Fisher, 2005). In North America, emphasis is placed on independent and critical thinking, problem-based learning, interpreting information, and developing and communicating knowledge. Many international students come from educational cultures where priority is given to memorizing, understanding, and reproducing information (Eaves, 2011; Elmgren & Henriksson, 2014; Kennedy, 2002; Tavakol & Dennick, 2010; Valiente, 2008). International students are more accustomed to listening and learning rather than speaking in class (Edwards & Tonkin, 1990).

Another challenge is moving from a teacher-centered educational system to student-centered education (Evans & Stevenson, 2011; Foster & Stapleton, 2012; Tian & Lowe, 2013; Valdez, 2015; Wang, 2012; Yates & Thi QuynhTrang, 2012). In teacher-centered classrooms, instructors are responsible for knowledge transfer and the student's learning style is passive, while in student-centered classrooms, students take an active role in the learning process. For example, moving from exam-oriented assessment to essay writing can be challenging (Khozaei, Naidu, Khozaei, & Salley, 2015; Sheridan, 2011) for international students since writing academic essays is new for many students (Janjua, Malik, & Rahman, 2011; Saravanamuthu & Yap, 2014).

Adjustment to a new educational system. Joining a new academic environment is difficult for international students. For many, they have experienced "large power distance school settings" where instructors are treated with respect and the education process is teacher-centered. In contrast, in North American institutions, teachers and students co-exist in an academic environment where they are more equally treated and the educational process is more student-centered (Hofstede, 1997). International students also report that education moves at a faster pace and instructors use teaching methods that require greater student participation (Zhai, 2002).

Academic integrity is often understood by international students differently from those educated in North America. This is partly related to low English language proficiency and differing cultural understandings of citation and referencing (Chien, 2014). For some students, rephrasing original text is a "disgraceful act" which shows a lack of respect for the author or researcher, and results in some students not fully citing original work.

Academic support issues. Many international students require academic support to be successful. Student services are designed to help students transition to and be successful in the North American academic culture. Some of the more common supports needed by international students include academic advising, academic integrity, learning resources (e.g., library, computer center), as well as verbal and written communication support. Increasingly, institutions are "reimaging and recasting" academic support services to make them "more responsive to this new breed of student's academic, social, and emotional needs" (Fischer, 2011).

Non-academic Challenges

Cultural adjustment. Adjusting to a new culture is difficult. This is because it impacts nearly all aspects of student life, including living arrangements, community participation, socialization, communication, eating practices, and food consumption (Andrade, 2009). This can lead to culture shock. Zhang and Zhou (2010) identified culture shock as the top challenge for international students.

International students often do not bring family members with them to North America, and thus many experience more severe adjustment issues than domestic students who can travel home more frequently. Transition, while a concern for all students, is especially relevant for international students who have traveled from another part of the world to be part of their academic communities. As an example, approximately one-quarter of Mandarin-speaking students encounter adjustment issues (Chen, 2011).

International students face difficulties in their social life. For example, when international students participate in social events, they are faced with unfamiliar communication patterns, which can lead to awkwardness in social interaction.

Social Issues. International students perceive isolation and loneliness when they are studying in North America. Their ability to handle academic and social demands is strongly associated with social support (Fritz, Chin, & DeMarini, 2008; Zhang & Goodson, 2011). Social support has been shown to reduce stress, promote positive health outcomes, and moderate the effects of stress on mental health symptoms (Rice et al., 2009). When having difficulties or psychological concerns, international students often lean on family and friends (Wu et al., 2015). They sometimes look to overcome their social challenges by taking an active role in student life, which can include joining student organizations, participating in campus activities, and broadening their social network (Wu et al., 2015).

International students are often impacted by the pressure of parents' expectations. These expectations include achieving English proficiency, completion of undergraduate or graduate study, financial support, and a future career (Wu et al., 2015).

Stereotypes and negative attitudes, some of which result in incidents of racism, are experienced by international students (Smith, & Demjanenko, 2011). Findings from one study (Charles-Toussaint & Crowson, 2010) found that American students believe that international students pose threats to their social status from anti-immigrant prejudice. This can lead to international students becoming marginalized in class or in social events.

Financial. International students are often overwhelmed by financial considerations. The main sources of dissatisfaction for international undergraduate students at U.S. institutions relate to finances (Choudaha & Schulmann, 2014). Key among their concerns is access to internships, affordability, and availability of scholarships and need-based financial aid followed by meal plans and housing quality. Another challenged faced by U.S.-based international students is limited access to work off-campus (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.). A 2009 survey conducted by the Canadian Bureau of International Education found one in five students calling for lowering tuition fees for international students and one in ten suggesting that institutions provide scholarships or bursaries for international students.

Promising Teaching Practices

One of the key ways to enhance faculty involvement in campus internationalization and increase student satisfaction and institutional enrollment health is to make use of promising teaching practices for teaching culturally and linguistically diverse international students. The traditional lecture is increasingly being replaced or complimented by more active-learning and differentiated instruction approaches; yet, few instructors have received formal training for intercultural learning or inclusive education (Paige & Goode, 2009).

An important element for teaching international students is creating an inclusive learning environment. Kinsella (1997) suggests using teaching practices that include providing increased contextual information and linguistic support, offering specific learning and study approaches, and having greater opportunities for classroom interaction and participation.

Another essential component for enhancing international academic success is putting culturally responsive teaching into practice in the classroom. Gay (2010) outlines four principles designed to help instructors bring culturally responsive teaching into their classrooms, including developing a cultural diversity knowledge base, designing culturally relevant curricula demonstrating cultural caring, building a learning community, and engaging in cross-cultural communication. She suggests that culturally relevant teaching is:

> contingent on…seeing cultural differences as assets; creating caring learning communities where culturally different individuals and heritages are valued; using cultural knowledge of ethnically diverse cultures, families, and communities to guide curriculum development, classroom climates, instructional strategies, and relationships with students; challenging racial and cultural stereotypes, prejudices, racism, and other forms of intolerance, injustice, and oppression; being change agents for social justice and academic equity; mediating power imbalances in classrooms based on race, culture, ethnicity, and class; and accepting cultural responsiveness as endemic to educational effectiveness in all areas of learning for students from all ethic groups (p. 31).

Differentiated instruction can be used to enhance the learning experience for international students. Traditionally, differentiated instruction is used to impact learning for students with varied learning readiness, personal interests, and culturally framed ways of knowing (Tomlinson, 2014). It seeks to maximize each learner's experience by adjusting instructional tasks by building on student strengths (Tomlinson, 1999). It is also helpful with the teaching of international students. One study (Martin-Beltran, Guzman, & Chen, 2017) found that instructors can use discourse differentiation to mediate learning opportunities among students with a wide range of language expertise. This can lead to fostering collective thinking to create a fertile context for language learning among students with diverse backgrounds.

Recently, Dimitrov and Haque (2016) developed a model for Intercultural Teaching Competence for instructors to use as a tool for reflection as they look to teach students from differing cultures. The model consists of 20 instructor competencies which are fit into three categories, including foundational skills, facilitation skills, and curriculum design skills. The model should be helpful to instructors who are looking to enhance the learning experience for international students.

The role of faculty goes beyond the classroom. For international graduate students, the academic experience is impacted by the academic supervisory relationship between faculty members and students (Curtin, Stewart, & Ostrove, 2013; Glass, Kociolek, Wongtrirat, Lynch, & Cong, 2015). They depend on their supervisors to learn about academic performance standards, research assistant duties, and for advice about their academic programs. Academic faculty members also support their graduate students when they provide post-graduate employment information and assist students with post-graduation employment (Nunes & Arthur, 2013).

There are many other promising teaching practices that are being used to enhance the learning experience of international students. These include practices that fall into these areas: academic support, active learning, assessment, assignment development, class preparation, communicating outside of the classroom, diversity and inclusion, expectation clarification, feedback, group work, language proficiency, lecture design and delivery, needs assessment, positive learning environments, specialized terminology, study techniques, verbal communications, and visual communications. When embraced by faculty, the use of promising teaching practices can lead to enhanced student satisfaction, higher student retention, and eventually more effective student recruitment.

Further Research

Further research is needed to establish the role of internationalization in helping institutions to achieve diversity and inclusion. We also need to expand the international student satisfaction research into the teaching and learning literature to establish which "effective" teaching methods are most closely associated with student satisfaction and student learning. Other areas meriting further research include:

- why students from some countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia and South Korea) have lower student satisfaction levels;
- why certain aspects of study level, program, study time, study stage, and age result in lower student satisfaction levels;
- why international students participate in more "effective educational practices" than their American counterparts;
- what techniques improve group work dynamics for international students;
- which academic and social support methods enhance transition to the North American learning environment;
- which practices minimize financial barriers on international student retention;
- what approaches work most effectively to limit racism experienced by international students; and
- which practices are most helpful for supporting international students through culture shock.

Conclusion

The education abroad landscape today differs greatly from the recent past and will likely evolve significantly in the near future. "Make America Great Again", Brexit", and the various challenges facing student mobility in Canada, Australia, and many other countries have created a need to rethink the way we engage in campus internationalization. We can no longer delegate internationalization those with a passionate interest in international education. Senior administration, faculty, and staff from across the institution will need to combine their efforts to ensure the international student experience remains strong and institutional international student enrollment health is maintained.

North American colleges and universities have demonstrated that they can enroll international students by developing strong student recruitment initiatives. However, to meet our goals of achieving diversity, inclusivity, and internationalization, we must turn our attention to enhancing the international student academic experience. This will require faculty to be more engaged in campus internationalization efforts. An important first step involves paying more attention to the international student success factors along with satisfaction of international students within the classroom and across the student experience.

Some other steps institutions could take to enhance the international student academic experience include:

- Assess and benchmark international student satisfaction with their in-class and out-of-class teaching and learning experiences;
- Identify the institution-specific international student success factors that are most relevant to students and develop strategies and interventions to minimize any factor(s) that may be negatively impacting student learning;
- Identify promising teaching practices that connect with high levels of student satisfaction and student learning; and
- Provide faculty with professional development that includes training for inter-cultural learning and inclusive teaching practices, differentiated instruction, and related teaching practices to enhance the learning experience of international students.

The outlook for increasing international student success at North America colleges and universities is high.

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Chapter 17
Towards Building Intercultural Competence for Greek and International ERASMUS Students

Ourania Katsara

Abstract A key issue in language policy (LP) is the relationship between the concepts of policy and practice. This article discusses the role of the teaching method in classroom language practices in reshaping LP. It shows how the interplay of the hat sequence of Edward De Bono's six thinking hats (1985) method could help to practically develop intercultural competence in a way that raises critical cultural awareness (CCA) in a theoretically robust manner for Greek and incoming international ERASMUS students. Specifically, the article responds to the gap in the literature referring to the need to research policy issues within language practices offering some implications about the use of CCA as the underlying conceptualization of language teaching and learning which informs a LP that focuses on it in actual interactions among students. Parameters for further research in designing a comprehensive departmental intercultural competence LP are also offered.

Keywords Critical cultural awareness · ERASMUS students · Greek students · Intercultural competence · Language policy

Introduction

Language policy work in higher education is a complex issue. Spolsky's (2004) ideas about language policy indicate that it is about choice and can be viewed as comprising of three closely intertwined elements: language management, defined as (a) "the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use" (p. 11); (b) language beliefs or ideology, which he defines as being "what people think should be done" (p. 14); and (c) language practices, that is, "what people actually do" (p. 14). There is some scholarship on language policy that builds on the above tenets, recognizing the complexity of policy in relation to practice. As Lasagabaster (2015) states not all universities have explicit and written language policies; policies are instead derived from language practices and/or beliefs. This means that the three components are

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_17

interconnected (Hu, Li, & Lei, 2014) often being in partial contradiction or conflict (Dafouz & Smit, 2014). Shohamy (2006, pp. 53–54) posits that when LPs are not stated explicitly, they must be derived implicitly by examining a variety of de facto practices (also see Amir & Musk, 2013). However, as Shohamy explains, since de facto policies could be hidden and involve overt or covert mechanisms of language, formal language documents are often declarations of intent that can be easily manipulated and contradicted. Björkman (2014) and Cogo and Jenkins (2010) argue that examination of language practices is important because attention on actual language practices in any LP documents will not create a mismatch between ground reality and policy rhetoric.

Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh (2009, p. 263) believe that LP is an "evolving" entity that is "shaped" and "reshaped" and then embedded in multiple resources. Finally, Amir and Musk (2013) argue that a new concept "micro-level-policy-in-process" aiming to focus LP on the LP in-process rather than the LP-as-workplan, that is, language policy in actual interactions considers LP to be seen as situated and continually changing moment by moment.

However, mainstream discourse about language policy continues to view policy and practice as two separate domains, often as mismatching notions. Consequently, for instance, Bonacina-Pugh (2012) argues that the majority of studies have analyzed language practices in terms of whether a policy is being implemented or resisted to, rather than looking at how practice constitutes policy as well.

This chapter argues that there is a need to conduct research on policy issues within language practices. It uses a case where policy is a key issue in exercising language practices in the ERASMUS program created in 1987. This program is aimed at promoting and facilitating mobility in higher education while encouraging language learning, (Mitchell, 2012). In addition, ERASMUS from its inception has also been promoted by the European Commission as an exercise to "forge a European consciousness" (Papatsiba, 2006. p. 99).

The chapter discusses the use of teaching methodologies in shaping LPs. Liddicoat (2004) argues that LPs can influence decisions about teaching methodologies either directly by the use of explicit suggestions about teaching methods in classroom practice or indirectly through the conceptualization of language learning which underlies the policy. Liddicoat (2002) argues that in the EU, one of the goals of language education is LP interculturalism, implying interactions between nation states of the EU being framed in terms of the need to use intercultural skills to facilitate freedom of movement among the citizens of the EU within the EU. Liddicoat (2002) argues that an integrated borderless Europe implies the ability to negotiate cultural differences on both those who move into a new linguistic and cultural environment and those who already live in it. Building on Liddicoat's (2004) work, the article suggests the use of the teaching method of six thinking hats by De Bono (1985) for developing students' critical cultural awareness (CCA) taking into consideration the teaching context and the LP in a Greek university department.

Greece is an interesting case to examine since even though in the Greek educational macro policy, undergraduate programs of study at tertiary education may include foreign language teaching courses, this LP does not address language issues

from the planning perspective. For example, there is no explicit reference to multilingualism, intercultural competence and enhancement of regional or minority languages for promoting cultural democracy and democratic citizenship, which refer to planning happening at a range of various levels with different aims in order to promote linguistic diversity in Europe (Liddicoat, 2002).

In addition, the Greek mentality dictates that learning a foreign language focuses on linguistic rather than cultural communicative competence. According to Gakoudi, Griva and Karanikola (2013), Greek students in four universities in Northern Greece did not appreciate the English for academic purposes (EAP) course as a discipline and were more willing to improve their skills in general English. The researchers suggested that EAP teachers should try to negotiate the content and goals of EAP in order to adapt them to students' needs and local conditions.

Literature Review

Integrating Critical Cultural Awareness into the Curriculum

There is evidence in the literature that some scholars have explained language policy as a tool for guiding language education for cultural/contextual awareness. Liddicoat (2008) argues that language teaching involves exploitation of language functions within a cultural context. He believes that teachers need to train students to notice when their culture differs from that of others before these differences create any communication problems.

Byram (1997) expostulates that becoming interculturally competent involves recognizing differences and variations within one's own culture and within other cultures. The main issue refers to the distinction between Big Culture and little culture (Alatis, Straehle, Gallenberger, & Ronkin, 1996). Big Culture is what human beings make, and what they consciously transmit from generation to generation (Bennett, 1998). Examples of Big Culture are: economic, political, linguistic, historical, geographical systems, works of art, music, literature and so on. On the other hand, little culture refers to psychological features, assumptions, values and needs, often expressed non-verbally or implicitly. It's a group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment (Bennett, 1998). Examples include customs, traditions or practices that people carry out as part of their everyday lives.

This distinction of the Big C and little c was further improved with the expansion of the definition of culture to include how a specific culture behaves and interacts (Lange, 1999). Such a categorical approach indicates that "the products and practices are derived from the philosophical perspectives that form the world view of a cultural group"—3Ps (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999, p. 47). This cultural context dictates that cultural products are the tangible (e.g., painting, a sculpture etc.) or intangible (e.g., a political system, a system of education etc.) creations of a particular culture. They reflect a culture's perspectives.

Practices are patterns of social interactions, behaviors and involve the use of products (e.g., rites of passage, use of the forms of discourse, etc.). Finally, perspectives are the philosophical perspectives, meanings, attitudes, values, beliefs, ideas that underlie the cultural practices and products of a society representing a culture's view of the world (e.g., attitudes toward foods, attitudes about what is funny etc.).

According to the Standards for Foreign Language Learning (1999) proposed by The American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), effective practices in teaching culture dictate that: (a) students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices and perspectives of the culture studied, and (b) students demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the products and perspectives of the culture studied.

The ACTFL standards highlight the value of critical cultural awareness (CCA), which is defined as "an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (Byram, 1997, p. 53). Byram (1997) asserts that in order to help learners evaluate practices, products and perspectives of the target culture, CCA needs to be built in three steps. First, students must be given time to identify and reflect on their preconceived ideas and stereotypes toward individuals from the target culture. CCA can help students determine whether or not these judgments are rational or not (Byram, 2008). This process refers to the critical evaluation of ideologies that might lead to intercultural conflict (Yulita, 2013, p. 205). This intercultural type of learning is suggested to be conducted in cooperation between students and teachers where students work together to control their learning direction and the teacher acts as a guide throughout the discovery (Byram & Guilhelme, 2000). The second step in the process toward building CCA begins after students' examination of their beliefs. The teacher is encouraged to design activities that encourage students to consider new values and beliefs based on facts discovered during the first step. During the second step, students use information identified in the first step in order to defend with thoughtful reasoning their beliefs about the target culture. As a result, learners' beliefs will evolve and therefore a deeper understanding of the foreign culture will be achieved (Deardorf, 2006). The final step in developing CCA is to create real or simulated opportunities for interactions with individuals of different cultural backgrounds and worldviews (Byram, 1997). Byram argues that this provides the opportunity to students to engage in negotiation of beliefs with those who may not always share similar worldviews.

Sawyer (2014) maintains that the appropriateness of criticality as an approach in education might cause some misinterpretations in Byram's (1997, p. 53) definition of CCA in some cultures, such as Asian cultures. However, he asserts that Byram's suggestion to "evaluate critically" is not to express criticism but to raise awareness of unconscious assumptions by encouraging the learner to (a) ask questions to oneself about how identities, values and practices have developed and (b) be curious about the same items for cultural of others. Furthermore, Sawyer (2014) argues that Byram's specification of "explicit criteria" for evaluation gives group members of different cultural background the ability to pinpoint and express differences such that conflicts could be resolved with minimum negative emotion. The main implication is that by

the use of CCA students could be trained to reduce cultural conflict since it allows them to explore various cultural biases and stereotypes (Yue & Ning, 2015).

Approaches to Cultural Content in Language Teaching and Learning

According to Liddicoat (2005), language teaching content can focus on the culture as an external body of knowledge being acquired by the learners as a recalled piece of information or it can focus on engaging with issues of identity encouraging, thus the learners to participate in a process of displacing their existing cultural positions and engaging with a new culture.

The importance of engaging with issues of cultural identity is discussed by Planken, Van Hooft and Korzilius (2004), who developed a program of foreign language "communication tasks" framed in relevant globalized business environment and students will become part of upon graduation. Raising awareness and production tasks were incorporated into the first-year intercultural business communication (IBC) program of the Dutch University of Nijmegen and it has been suggested that these tasks could promote intercultural learning that could raise students' cultural diversity awareness and understanding of different behaviors.

In similar lines, in a survey by Hatoss (2006), it was found that international students reported that their cultural learning experience viewed students as learners and sources of cultural knowledge at the same time since teachers encouraged them to talk about their cultures. However, no systematic approach to culture teaching was revealed, suggesting further research on the need to place culture teaching as a central part of language teaching programs.

The Case of University of Patras

The university has been awarded by the European Commission the ERASMUS Charter for Higher Education 2014–2020, and has conducted within the frame of the LLP/ERASMUS program of studies bilateral agreement with over 400 European universities in order to facilitate mobility of students, teaching and administrative staff. Three ERASMUS Mundus programs are also run at the university. An internationalization strategy has been gradually embedded in all academic and research activities of the university and staff members participate in activities related to curriculum upgrade and synchronization. For example, one aspect of the university's internationalization strategy refers to the use of English as a medium of instruction for incoming ERASMUS students. In many cases, incoming ERASMUS students attend offered courses in English at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. In some departments though, ERASMUS students follow individual study programs

with private tutoring. For example, there are cases where incoming students are required to submit a number of essays in English as a way of proving their knowledge of the course offered getting an exempt from sitting exams in Greek.

The Foreign Language Teaching Unit (FLTU) in University of Patras provides the teaching of English, French, German and Russian. The function of language teaching in the academic environment is often downgraded and the FLTU lacks control over decision-making since some aspects of the LP, for example, the inclusion and/or removal of language courses, the number of courses taught, the level of language attainment and the proof of language competency are dependent on the views and decisions of power holders at the university.

However, the FLTU organized a day event and one of its aims was to discuss ideas for further improvement of the teaching of foreign languages at universities. On this day of the event, Stamelos (2016) asserted that an important role of foreign languages refers to the interaction of foreign and native students. He maintained that this fact admits existence of different cultural identities within the university institution and the need to make it a significant differentiating characteristic of the institution. The main implication is that Stamelos appeared to highlight the value of internationalization, which is often discussed in relation to physical mobility, academic cooperation and academic knowledge transfer (Teichler, 2009). He argued that it is worth developing competencies to facilitate mobility, implying that intercultural communication skills are crucial in implementing an international dimension in teaching and learning. Building up to this suggestion, Sifakis (2016) in the same event argued that language for specific purposes (LSP) teachers could contribute in a number of ways when they are given the freedom by the departments to work autonomously by using a post-method pedagogy.

The suggestions put forward by the speakers in the event reflect the arguments made by Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech (2014) who stressed that micro-level policy is needed to address specific language education needs where there is absence of macro-policy to address these needs. It is suggested that local actors assume agency to design and implement a language planning solution to meet the perceived local needs.

The main implication is that University of Patras has no clear standing of LP planning, indicating the value of individual teachers' efforts. The current LP seems to indicate the need to design teaching programs embracing intercultural communication tenets which could help in proposing a concerted language planning policy.

Suggested Teaching Method: The Six Thinking Hats

Under the circumstances discussed above, the department would benefit from the "customized typology" of internationalizing the curricula devised by Eisenchlas and Trevaskes (2003). This typology links four areas: (a) learning aims; (b) specific concepts of culture that are relevant to the internationalization process; (c) the learning

contexts within which these concepts are presented and (d) the types of learning tools used to present these concepts (p. 89).

In this way, Eisenchlas and Trevaskes (2003) argue that educators could provide opportunities that explicate the meanings of culture and internationalization within the university context. Specifically, a suggestion could be to use the international and local students' experiences as a classroom resource. Based on their typology the current paper suggests that areas could be explored as follows:

- Learning aims: using students as learning resources in understanding cultural practices and attitudes.
- Concept of culture: 3Ps (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999).
- Learning context: Inside the classroom: whole class and small group work.
- Learning tools: problem-solving activities and intergroup discussions.

Therefore, it is evident that the use of post-method pedagogy is suggested where the teacher's role in designing activities is vital. As Kumaravadivelu (2001) explains, post-method draws on the teacher's individual conceptualizations of language, language learning and teaching, his/her knowledge of the learners' needs, interests, enthusiasm and learning styles, and his/her understanding of the teaching context.

A suggested approach for designing class activities is based on the well-known Edward De Bono's six thinking hats technique (1985). This method provides a parallel thinking model to get the most out of critical thinking discussions. The main idea is to have the group only "wear one hat at a time", the perspective indicated by the hat color when considering a problem. Specifically:

- White Hat—pure facts, information known or needed.
- Yellow Hat—optimism, value arising from the issue.
- Black Hat—the devil's advocate, negative judgment.
- Red Hat—emotions and feelings, hunch and intuition.
- Green Hat—creativity, alternatives and new ideas.
- Blue Hat—managing the thinking process, conductor of an orchestra.

This approach helps learners view culture as a product which is constructed through interaction since it provides the opportunity to discuss different perspectives. Kramsch and Nolden (1994) argue that culture is understood as an interactionally constructed product referring to the transformational engagement of the learner in the act of learning, which involves learners in oppositional practice in order to develop an intercultural identity. Intercultural approaches encourage cultural mediation skills providing opportunities for students to develop necessary learning skills to help them become cultural mediators by noticing, comparing and reflecting on encultured ways of speaking and acting (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 20.4).

Teaching Process

Teachers are suggested to explain the method to students in advance clarifying the aims and objectives and divide the class into six groups of five students each with each group having a hat of a different color. It would be reasonable to hand over the blue hat to the teacher. The rule should dictate that during group discussions only the person holding the hat could speak. It will then be passed to another member of the group so that they could all contribute. Members on smaller teams can wear multiple hats, provided that each team has all colored thinking hats represented.

There are some limitations in relation to the use of the technique, since as Szyarto (2011) argues, the technique's effectiveness is limited by the students' attendance and quality of participation. The assumption is that students will be intrinsically motivated and committed to collaborate and serve their role. The length of a course may also be a limitation.

Suggested Activities

One way to develop CCA in the foreign language classroom is by directly addressing stereotypes through the examination of critical incidents, which is about puzzling intercultural situations involving some type of conflict (Lebedko, 2013). The six thinking hats could help students deal with this conflict. The process is described below.

Instructions

Form groups of five students for each group and ask them to read a specific incident (text 1) and some background information (text 2). Then, the teacher is suggested to explain the definition of culture, namely the 3 Ps (National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, 1999) giving a handout to students and asking them to think about the different cultural backgrounds of the participants in the incident to discuss the story.

Example of a Critical Incident

Text 1 (Critical incident): A German manager, originally from Berlin came to Athens to discuss with a manager of a Greek company about possible joint collaboration regarding new technologies of fertilizing and watering crops. After having a constructive discussion, the Greek manager told him that he would give him an answer

by midday the next day. The following day the German manager phoned the secretary who informed him that the manager hasn't decided yet on the matter. The German manager pressed for a response saying that his Greek colleague told him that an answer would be announced at midday. Then the secretary underlined that midday in Greece could mean up to 4 p.m. The German manager phoned again at 4 p.m. and when the secretary informed him that the Greek manager has planned to give him his definite decision the following day, he got upset yelling: "Are you stupid? Oh, Greeks are all the same. We can't count on your punctuality".

Text 2 (Background information): According to Pavan (2009) Greeks appreciate and defend their freedom where time cannot be slavery. Pavan argues that Greeks feel that events will happen sometime in the future and thus they do not schedule their day. Even though punctuality is high in working venues due to increased contacts with foreign business, it can be flexible and exhibit some disorganization. In addition, Greeks tend to do things at the last moment or postpone things to the following day. Considering the future uncertain, they make use of extensions even if this is to their disadvantage. On the other hand, Kavalchuk (2011) notes that the German perspective indicates that unfulfilled promises can lead to conflicts. Germans believe that structuring isolated segments of time help to scale a task down into successive stages in order to concentrate on the content of each stage. Additionally, for Germans, disputes are not signaling the end of cooperation but a process of finding a mutual ground of a situation. Moreover, when working with Germans, it is expected to make critical objective comments in order to improve or optimize products, processes and conditions. This means that Germans assume that their colleagues will be interested in direct feedback including criticism.

The information offered in text 2 shows that communicating is not only a matter of language but a question of context, that is, the role of the participants and the subject they deal with (Hymes, 1972). Willems (2002) argues that negotiation of context requires insight into the nature of culture and a willingness to establish real contact possessing the appropriate linguistic and pragmatic skills to do it. It would be useful for the teacher to use published research findings to prepare short texts for similar activities because such evidence indicates the merits of looking at an issue from a variety of angles reflecting the aim of the discussion itself. One result of this type of lesson is that it helps learners visualize how cultural values and beliefs play a role in the types of interactions occurring in different societies even when the same language is used (Byram, 2012).

Steps in Analyzing the Critical Incident

Step 1 (identify the 3Ps): The teacher is suggested to ask the students to recognize the 3Ps in the information provided in both texts. This step offers the chance to students to engage in the first stage of developing CCA as described by Byram (1997), namely to identify and to reflect preconceived stereotypes toward individuals of the target culture. The 3Ps are analyzed below:

Product: Technologies of fertilizing and watering crops.
Practice: Decisions about business collaboration are not always taken within an agreed time schedule (Greek). Unfulfilled promises show lack of professionalism (German).
Perspective: Differences in perceptions of time. Time is an element that cannot be managed (Greek). Time involves structuring isolated segments of time in order to scale a task down into successive stages and concentrating on the content of each stage (German).

Step 2 (use the 6 hats): The second step suggested is to ask students to discuss the 3Ps using the following hat sequence: blue hat, white hat, red hat, yellow hat, black hat and green hat. This sequence of hats offers the chance to students to engage in the second stage of developing CCA as described by Byram (1997), namely to encourage students use with reasoning information identified in the first stage in order to acquire a deeper understanding of their beliefs about the target culture. An indicative dialogue between the teacher and the students themselves in described below:

Blue hat: The teacher could use the following questions to organize the discussion: What do you think happened? Why? How could the misunderstanding have been prevented?
White hat: The Greeks tend to do things at the last minute so it might be useful not to expect a definite answer straight away.
Red hat: I feel upset/surprise/alertness/indifference.
Yellow hat: This laid-back attitude to time might give you the chance to think things through without getting stressed about meeting deadlines. I guess, you can always ask for an extension yourself.
Black hat: I think that punctuality is very important when it comes to being a professional. Business is money and there is no time to waste.
Green hat: I believe that it would be helpful to arrange a second meeting in order to announce decisions instead of phoning to get an answer. This might help to minimize any misunderstandings since it provides the opportunity to embark on constructive discussions in order to find a way of a mutual understanding of the situation and therefore find a solution that suits both parties.

Some Implications and Conclusions

The paper argues that the choice of the six thinking hats method offers the opportunity to both Greek and incoming international ERASMUS students to analyze critical incidents and thus develop their CCA. These ideas indicate that the suggested method uses CCA as the underlying conceptualization of language teaching and learning which informs a LP that focuses on LP in actual interactions among students. This process implies that the suggested teaching method could help in integrating a market orientation into the department's strategic language planning by

viewing globalization as a reciprocal relationship and expanding thus the mission of the department as global venture rooted in national service (Douglass and Edelstein, 2009).

What is more, such an approach indicates that the department is likely to reflect the global international education and market-place. The suggested focus of LP in the department indicates a way where internationalization is seen as the engine of globalization (Mitchell & Nielsen, 2012, p. 9). As argued by Mitchell and Nielsen (2012, p. 10) universities internationalize their behavior when reshaping their purposes to attract international students, concentrate on internationally advantageous educational programs and so on.

In addition, the use of post-method pedagogy is suggested to justify an explicit teaching methodology, in this case the six thinking hats in classroom language practice. This methodology provides the basis for the development of an evolving departmental language policy that embraces the principle that policy and practice are two concepts that need to be complementing each other by adopting a "micro-level-policy-in-process" (Amir & Musk, 2013), which promotes communication among students. This discussion contributes to the LP literature by underlining the importance of method in classroom practice, since as Liddicoat (2004) notes few studies of LP have focused on the place of methods in such policies. The main implication is that language education must shift focus on desirable practice (whether or not policy provides explicit guidelines).

Future analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from the student population would prove useful in order to identify the extent to which the six thinking hats method corresponds to the needs and learning styles of both Greek and incoming ERASMUS students. Students' feedback could be valuable in order to identify parameters that need to be further investigated in order to design a comprehensive departmental intercultural competence LP.

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Chapter 18
Acculturation and Well-Being Among International Students: Challenges and Opportunities

Zi Yan

Abstract In this chapter, we first review how acculturation, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical factors influence international students' different health behaviors; then we discuss practices and strategies that colleges and universities may adopt to facilitate health behaviors and well-being of their international student population. While transitioning from high school to college, all college students have to go through the process of adapting to new educational and social environments. This process is particularly stressful for international students due to different backgrounds in terms of cultural values, languages, academic preparations, and study habits. With limited internal and external resources, those challenges may pose risks to international students' health and well-being. For instance, research has shown that international students gained stress, body weight, increased consumption of unhealthy diet, and used drinking to cope with stress after they came to the U.S. In addition, international students' well-being has been closely influenced by the political climate related to immigration policies, which will also be discussed in this chapter

Keywords Acculturation process · International students · Health · Higher education · Trump era · Well-being

Acculturative Stress and Substance Use

Acculturation is defined as a process of adjustment and adaptation to a new culture involving varying instances of cultural learning, maintenance, and synthesis (Berry, 2005; Bista & Gaulee, 2017; Chun, Chesla, & Kwan, 2011). Upon arrival at the U.S., international students start their journey on acculturation. This process happens not only in their academic world such as studying in English, getting along with their American classmates, and getting used to their professors' teaching style, but also in other areas, such as exploring different foods, making friends with different cultural backgrounds, dealing with loneliness, and so forth. While this process may be an

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U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_18

exciting journey for some international students, for some other international students, it could be very stressful, particularly in situations when international students are avoided by local students (e.g., Gaulee, 2018). Acculturative stress is a prominent risk factor for substance use, including drinking, smoking, and predictor of negative drinking consequences (e.g., physiological hangover symptoms and physical or sexual assault) among international students (Hensershot, Dillworth, Neighbors, & George, 2008). To which degree the international students experience acculturative stress depends on how students individually evaluate the situation, whether they have the supporting networks, and how well they are able to use skills to cope with the situation. For international students who experience high acculturative stress and perceive low coping resources, they are more likely to experience stress, anxiety, and even depression (Suinn, 2010; Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006). Those psychological states have been linked with negative health behaviors such as drinking and smoking (Schnetzer, Schulenberg, & Buchanan, 2013; Mee, 2014).

Approximately one in every seven college students had 10 or more drinks on one occasion (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2013). International students had a high alcohol usage rate, but relatively less likely to engage in regular alcohol use or binge drinking than American students (Misra, Crist, & Burant 2003). One study reported that among 390 college students, 83% of the international students and 96% of the American students reported alcohol use. Binge drinking was present among 28% of American students but only 18% of international students (Millar, 1999). In another study, Misra and Castillo (2004) reported that, out of 143 international students, 38% consumed alcohol by having at least one drink in the last week.

International college students from certain countries and regions have significantly higher smoking rates than other students. For example, 43% of male international college students from South Korea were smokers (Sa, Seo, Nelson, & Lohrmann, 2013), while 10–16.8% of American students smoked (American College Health Association, 2014; Primack, Walsh, Bryce, & Eissenberg, 2009). Gender differences in alcohol use and smoking also exist. Male international students were significantly more likely to engage in alcohol use and smoking than female international students (Misra et al., 2003; Sa et al., 2013). International students also practice behavior for different motivations. For example, Koyama (2005) reported that international students from Asia were more motivated to use alcohol for conformity reasons than those from non-Asia. In addition, international students living off campus were more likely to smoke than those who lived on campus (Sa et al., 2013).

According to Berry's (1997) model of acculturation, alcohol consequences and smoking may occur more frequently in response to acculturative stress. International students who do not have the access to adaptive internal and external resources (e.g., social support, sense of belonging, etc.) are more vulnerable to acculturative stress. As a result, they are more likely to adopt maladaptive practices in response to the stress, or seek alternatives to satisfy their social and cultural needs (i.e., drinking or smoking with their friends from the same countries).

Accordingly, higher acculturation level is related to lower smoking rate among international students. Studies found that international students who lived in the U.S.

for more than 3 years were less likely to smoke than those who lived under 3 years (Sa et al., 2013). International students also perceived positive factors in the U.S. in terms of discouraging them to smoke. In a qualitative study, international students reported that American culture played a positive role on discouraging smoking behavior. They described the U.S. culture was very "smoking unfriendly," and the high cost and low accessibility of cigarettes, and restrictions of smoking areas made smoking very inconvenient. Furthermore, they noticed that American students did not like others to smoke around them which also discouraged their smoking behavior (Yan, Althobaiti, & FitzPatrick, 2017).

Interestingly, some international students started to drink after they came to the U.S., even those whose religions would prohibit them from drinking (e.g., Muslim). They explained that while living in the U.S., they felt less pressured to practice their religion, and drinking also helped them relax and socialize with other students (Yan, et al., 2017). This suggests that when providing health education and programs for international students, we need to identify their different motives and needs based on their unique sociocultural backgrounds.

Culture, Diet, and Physical Activity

Similar to other immigrant groups, international students tend to adopt unhealthy diets after they come to the U.S. Studies showed that Asian international students decreased the number of meals consumed per day, increased the consumption of meat and meat alternatives, and decreased consumptions of vegetables after they arrived in the U.S. The total consumption of fats, salty and sweet snack items, and dairy products also increased (Almohanna, Conforti, Eigel, & Barbeau 2015; Pan, Dixon, Himburg, & Huffman, 1999).

Given that, it is not surprising to find that international students have gained weight after their arrival. Research showed that international students gained average 2.8 lbs. 10–12 weeks after they arrived in the U.S. Chinese students had the most of the weight gain compared to students from other countries. Women had significantly more weight gain than males (Almohanna, et al., 2015). Ironically, while international students are gaining weight, they are not satisfied with the food provided to them. According to a recent survey, the leading dissatisfaction factor among international students was meal plan on campus (Redden, 2014).

According to Perez-Cueto, Verbeke, Lachat, and Remaut-De Winter (2009) and Yan, Finn, Cardinal, and Bent (2014), the challenges for international students to adopt healthy diet include perceiving unavailability of healthy food products, lack of nutrition knowledge, and unable to understand nutrition label. Additionally, the factors that influence the dietary behavior changes among domestic students, including academic stress and lack of time, may also affect international students (Pan et al., 1999).

Food neophobia (i.e., the rejection of foods that are novel or unknown) is another challenge for international students. One study reported that food neophobia scores

rose significantly after international students had been to the host country for 3 months and, although these differences fell back after 12 months, they still did not drop to the initial values (Edwards, Hartwell, & Brown, 2010). In addition, international students also found that food on campus were too expensive and not culturally attractive (Stewin, 2013). In response, they sought different strategies to accommodate, including ordering home-country food from restaurants off campus, visiting supermarkets where they can purchase home-country food, and moving off campus to cook themselves (Yan & FitzPatrick, 2016).

Different from the dietary behavior, international students increased their physical activity level after they came to the U.S. In a review study, Gerber et al. (2012) reported that among 44 studies that examined the relationship between acculturation and physical activity, 57% reported that acculturation was associated with higher leisure time physical activity. A study which included 1900 international students from 97 countries reported that motivations of physical activity participation of international students included: weight management, health promotion, increase strength and endurance, and illness avoidance (Cho & Beck, 2016).

In addition, environmental and sociocultural factors also have contributed to the increased physical activity participation. For example, international students from developing countries perceived better exercise equipment in the American college campuses, which motivated them to participate in more physical activity (Yan & Cardinal, 2013). Yan and Cardinal (2013) reported that Chinese international students perceived an environment in America that encouraged them to be more physically active. For instance, they frequently saw other American students exercise on campus and dress athletically, observed celebrities being physically active in the media, and saw ample sports equipment in stores (i.e., a form of environmental reinforcement).

Interestingly, changing the perception of femininity also facilitates physical activity participation for female Asian international students. In a qualitative study by Yan and Cardinal (2013), Chinese female students commented that, different from Chinese culture which did not encourage women to exercise, the American culture encouraged females to participate in different types of physical activities, and women were perceived pretty if they had muscle tone and tanned body by exercising outdoors. The participants gradually modified their perception on femininity and were motivated to participate in more physical activity.

Although international students become more physically active after they come to the U.S., they still face other challenges to stay physically active. For instance, study found that only 26.8% of international students have ever participated in competitive sport activities such as intramural sports programs (Cho & Price, 2016). Their major barriers were not lack of interest but structure constraints such as lack of time and not knowing how to sign up (Cho & Price, 2016). Colleges and universities should consider different strategies to help international students overcome those barriers. They should be aware that participating in those activities with American peers increases international students' overall acculturation experience and improves American students' cultural competence as well.

Political Climate and International Students' Well-Being

Similar to other immigrant groups, international students' well-being is closely related to the political climate in the hosting country. Particularly, policies related to international students' visa status during and post their graduation play a vital role. Unfortunately, the recent migrant's policies in United States have sent out negative messages to the international student population.

In 2017, President Donald Trump signed the "Buy American, Hire American" executive order which made it more challenging for international students to obtain support from the employers to apply working visa. In addition, in May, 2018, United States Citizenship and Immigration Services announced that it plans to change how it calculates "unlawful presence" for foreigners in the student visa and exchange program. It also imposes harsher punishments for graduates who overstay their visas, banning from re-entry, for 3 to 10 years, depending on the length of their overstay.

Those new visa rules have created a fear in the higher education community. While the administration of higher education was struggling with attracting more international students, international students who are currently studying in the U.S. are worrying about securing their current visa status. In addition, more rigorous working visa policy also means a reduced chance of finding a job and increasing pressure to have their employers support on working visa application.

The pressure of securing legal visa status and not violating any visa protocols not only impacts international students' attentions on academic performance but also influences their mental well-being. Studies have shown that stress is a leading factor of substance use among college students, including international students (Wu, Garza, & Guzman, 2015). On top of all the academic and acculturation stresses that international students are facing to, visa-related stress has an important add-on effect.

In addition, with more pressure to find a job within a short period of time upon graduation, students often ignore their physical, mental, and social well-being. Studies showed that international students had a much lower participation rate of recreational programs, intramural sports, and other campus activities (Cho & Price, 2016). International students are also less likely to seek treatment for sickness and mental health counseling services than domestic students (Yakushko, Davidson, & Sanford-Martens, 2008).

It is important that the higher education community is sensitive to those sociopolitical challenges the international students are facing with. In addition, when providing health-related services, professional should consider international students' cultural background. For example, in China symptoms of mental illness such as headaches, insomnia, or gastrointestinal issues may be interpreted as physiological, rather than psychological. In a politically stressful era for international students, colleges and universities should be more proactive in identifying the needs of international students and provide culturally competent services.

Changes of Demography and Well-Being

Western colleges and universities have found international student population is not only an important intellectual asset but also an enormous financial asset. International students typically pay full tuition, boosting revenues for schools. They also spend heavily on housing and other goods. International students contributed more than $39 billion to the U.S. economy in the 2017–2018 academic year (NAFSA: Association of International Educators and Commerce Department, 2019). In some colleges and universities, the international students constitute over 30% of total student population.

The financial interest has driven colleges and universities to open up the international market. In order to attract more international students, many colleges and universities often offer pre-university English language improvement program, or "bridge" program, to better prepare students who do not have sufficient language proficiency. The percentage of internationals student who enrolled in those program have increased from 21,000 in 2000 to over 40,000 in 2015 (Institute of International Education, 2016).

Although some students successfully complete the program and progress their study, there are still a number of students who were not able to pass this program, eventually resulting in delay in their academic studies for years, and even causing them to withdraw. Those students who struggle with English also experienced high stress as well. For example, Liu (2012) used her own experiences as an example to discuss the struggle that many international students have. Liu expressed that her lack of English proficiency became a barrier to communicate with her classmate, understand the course materials, and fit-in the host community.

As the economy and job prospects in the home countries improve, more international graduates returned to their home countries. For example, according to Ministry of Education of China (2016), in 2015, the number of students from China heading abroad (523,700, 14% year-on-year increase) and the number of graduates returning after studies (409,100, 12% rise from 2014) both increased.

As more international students come to Western countries to obtain degree-only instead of seeking jobs or long-term residency, they are increasingly interested in exploring and experiencing Western culture during their stay. In a recent study, Yan and FitzPatrick (2016) reported that international students reported drinking as a way to socialize with their American peers and explore American culture. Unfortunately, most of the colleges and universities are not aware of those changes. A study in UK also showed that compared to domestic students, international students were more likely to practice unsafe sex and hence more likely to obtain sexually transmitted infections (Vivancos, Abubakar, & Hunter, 2009). Overall, hosting colleges and universities should provide support and education to guide international students to experience the culture of the hosting countries in a healthy and safe approach.

Practices and Strategies

International students respond to the sociocultural environment with different mental and behavioral changes, depending on their gender, age, ethical background, and resources. Meanwhile, we also see similarities on the triggers of unhealthy behaviors: lack of knowledge and education, high acculturative stress, coping strategies, social support, and environmental resources. This may explain why college students' unhealthy behaviors show clustering (i.e., the tendency to have more than one unhealthy behavior, Lovell, Nash, Sharman, & Lane, 2015). Unfortunately, while universities and colleges are busy with recruiting international students, not enough attention has been paid to the health and well-being of this group. This may be caused by the following factors: lack of an understanding of the acculturative stress that international students have, lack of resources (e.g., professional, financial) and administrative support to provide tailored program, and lack of awareness on the sociopolitical changes and its impact on international students. Colleges and universities need to develop culturally appropriate programs to address the health needs of international students. The following gives some examples.

Culture-competent counseling program. As we discussed above, negative health behaviors such as drinking and smoking can be triggered by acculturative stress and lack of internal and external resources. An effective counseling program helps international students with their stress, anxiety, depression, and therefore, reduces the negative behavioral responses.

Many colleges and universities have provided counseling programs to international students. General topics include adapting to an unfamiliar culture and educational system, family expectations, isolation and adjustment, U.S. legal system bureaucracy, career decision and management, sexual orientation, disability, financial obligations, and so forth. While the counseling programs are available to international students, the international students were not likely to turn to counseling services when they need to. Nilsson, Berkel, Flores, and Lucas (2004) reported that only 2% of international students in a U.S. university sought help from the counseling center, and of those that did seek help, approximately one-third dropped out of treatment after the first session. The major barriers for them to seek counseling services include stigma toward seeking help, fear of negative evaluation reported, and fear about disclosing emotional parts of themselves to others (Lee, 2014).

Additionally, the majority of theories in use in college counseling centers were developed, piloted, and made for use in Western countries (Heppner, 2006), which may not be suitable for international student population. Siegle (1991) proposed a few techniques to facilitate counseling sessions with international students, including having an international student advisor in the session, meeting the student where the student is, or serving as part of a social action team to help the client navigate a new culture. Kronholz (2014) suggested counselors to consider some important information when counseling international students, including demographic information, challenges to service delivery, and mental health issues. The American Psychological

Association (APA) also published a list of guidelines for best practices for counselors to use when working with international students (Barletta & Kobayashi, 2007).

To conclude, colleges and universities have to provide institutional support to help their counseling program to become culturally competent, and to work with their international students to diminish their stigma toward counseling services.

Orientation for international students. Although most colleges and universities offer orientations to their international students, few of the orientations include health and wellness information and education. Discussing this topic in the orientation is the very first step toward promoting wellness among international students.

The following topics could be considered in the international students onsite orientation: tour to the health center (and how to make medical appointment), tips for those who smoke and drink, diet and nutrition in the America (and a tour in the grocery store), advices to deal with homesickness and stress (and how to reach out to the counseling services), and introduction of available wellness programs on campus (and how to sign up). In addition, a separate, specific orientation on health insurance might be considered, since the concept of private insurance is unfamiliar and difficult for many international students to understand.

The planning and presentation of orientation programs can be coordinated by the international office, health service personnel, mental health professionals, and student peer health advisers. Also be aware that arrival at a different country is very stressful, so international students may not fully digest the information during the one-day or two orientation. Therefore, the information should also be easily accessed online or made into pamphlets for international students.

Tailored health information and wellness programs. Most American colleges and universities provide diverse health services and wellness programs to their students, such as medical services, stress management program, fitness classes, and intramural sports programs. While those programs are welcomed by the domestic students, they seem not to attract international students. For example, less than 30% of international students have ever attended intramural sports programs. The major barriers for international students to attend the programs include unaware of the programs, no friends to do together, shyness, lack of time, and lack of skills and information (Shifman, Moss, D'Andrade, Eichel, & Forrester 2012).

Colleges and universities should consider tailoring the wellness programs to target international students. For example, studies found that peer-paring wellness programs that match international students with domestic students are well received by international students (Pritchard & Skinner, 2002). In a 6-week peer-education-based wellness program, international students significantly increased their knowledge and positive attitude toward nutrition, physical activity, and quit smoking (Yan et al., 2014). In addition, peer-matching programs were also found to decrease international students' loneliness, increase the culture competence among domestic students (Pritchard & Skinner, 2002; Yan et al., 2014).

Furthermore, colleges and universities should develop specific marketing strategies to recruit international students for their health/wellness programs. For instance, since many international students live off-campus and only come to school for classes,

they are more likely to be reached out via emails instead of campus flyers. In additional, most international students do not travel to visit families or friends during weekends and holiday breaks, so programs that are hold during those times are more likely to attract them.

Visa service and job seeking support. As we discussed above, one major source of stress for international students is securing current visa status and/or applying jobs that support working visa. While the international offices in universities and colleges usually assist their international students during this process, they should also respond to those changes in a more time-sensitive manner. In addition, traditionally, the career services in higher education system are designed for domestic students instead of international students. This service also needs to be tailored to international students to better prepare them for job opportunities upon graduation.

First year experience course for international students. Approximately 90% colleges and universities offer first year experience (FYE) programs to help first year undergraduate students to adjust to the college environment (Barefoot, 2003). Topics range from academic skills, to wellness and stress management. Students in general evaluated FYE courses positively (Jamelske, 2009).

Unfortunately, those programs are often not customized for international students. In a recent study by Yan and Sendall (2016), they reported a customized FYE program for international students was perceived successful in terms of helping them to familiarize themselves with academic resources and expectations, understanding American culture, making more American friends, and improving their English language skills. They also provided the following recommendations for colleges and universities who are considering developing FYE courses for their international students: Form a FYE sub-committee for international students to involve different stakeholders on campus; provide more opportunities for international students to speak up in the classroom, as most of them want to improve their oral English and presentation skills through this class; create off-campus experiential activities for students; use mixed-model instruction with both domestic students and international students in class; customize the program for international students who have different needs (e.g., those new to the U.S. versus those who have already been in the U.S. for an extended period of time); Instead of having the instructor leading all sessions, use other resources on campus to join in the FYE program; provide more discussion and interactions opportunities; and add activities outside the classroom for international students to experience American culture, for example, American food event, such as apple picking, and so on.

Conclusion

International students are not only a valuable financial asset to universities but also individuals who enrich these countries with their diverse heritage and perspectives (Bevis, 2002). International students also contribute to the intellectual capital of their host country with their wide range of knowledge and skills across many disciplines

(Smith & Khawaja, 2011). For each international student, acculturation experience is a vital life event that involves a number of life changes. These changes may be viewed as opportunities, which leads to positive well-being and behaviors, or alternatively as difficulties and stressors, which leads to negative psychological responses and behaviors (Sam & Berry, 2006). As the hosting institutions, colleges and universities are responsible to not only the international students' academic performance but also their health and well-beings. With adequate support, resources, and investment, living and studying abroad could be a positive and meaningful experience for each international student.

Higher education institutes have to recognize the challenges that international students have experienced (e.g., health behaviors, acculturative stress, visa-related stress), which are not independent and are often associated with each other. In addition, the changing sociopolitical climate and student demographics challenge the hosting institute to adjust their strategies in recruiting, retaining, and supporting their international students and their well-beings. That said, the traditional program for international students is not enough. Different stakeholders on campus (e.g., international offices, health and wellness services, career services) should collaborate to tackle those challenges.

Lastly, we also have to remember that each international student' acculturation process is unique. Each college and university also has unique student population and resources. That said, higher education institution must assess their international students' health and well-beings, needs, challenges, and resources to develop tailored strategies, services, and programs to best serve their international student population.

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Chapter 19
International Students' Sense of Belonging and Connectedness with US Students: A Qualitative Inquiry

Katherine Hale, Julia Rivas and Monica Galloway Burke

Abstract International students studying at higher education institutions in the United States experience challenges as they adjust to new environments. Social connectedness to American college students could mitigate such challenges and assist international students with social and cultural integration. Using qualitative data from interviews with 17 students, this chapter examines international students' sense of belonging and social connectedness with US students. The study identified five primary factors influencing the students' sense of belonging and integration with Americans, including perception of inclusion/exclusion, socialization goals and initiative, cultural adjustment factors, English communication ability, and campus support. The findings support previous research on sense of belonging and social integration of international college students. Areas in which educators and higher education professionals can encourage inclusion and positive interactions between international and domestic students are suggested.

Keywords International students · Sense of belonging · Social connectedness · Integration · Higher education

Introduction

International students in the United States face unique demands and stressors that can negatively impact their mental health as they adapt to college life and American culture (Mori, 2000). Social connectedness, defined as "the subjective awareness of being in close relation with the social world" (Lee & Robbins, 1998, p. 338), can reduce acculturative stress and is considered a significant predictor of adjustment (Duru & Poyrazli, 2007; Yeh & Inose, 2003). Experiencing positive social interactions with peers from the host culture can encourage psychological well-being and adjustment of international college students in addition to cross-cultural learning (Li & Gasser, 2005; Rienties & Nolan, 2014; Ye, 2006). For many international students,

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© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2020

U. Gaulee et al. (eds.), *Rethinking Education Across Borders*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2399-1_19

however, overcoming cultural and linguistic hurdles to form close relationships with American students is no simple undertaking.

Armando, for example, had every intention of making friends with Americans when he moved from Angola to the United States to attend college. Since the majority of his classmates were American, he assumed that his courses would be the ideal place to make initial connections; but the limited social interaction during class and inconsistency of classmates across courses made the task difficult. At first, he greeted classmates he encountered on campus. Each time, his American peer did not respond or appear to recognize him. Armando revealed,

> I did a lot of attempts through one year and after one year, I had zero American friends. I am a very social and a very outgoing person, and my friends know that, but after one year trying to make friendships with American students, I couldn't. I failed.

As a result of these negative interactions, he focused primarily on building a network of friends among international students.

While Armando's experience may not be typical, it exemplifies the potential difficulties international students can encounter when trying to connect with American peers. Creating an environment conducive to the integration of international students on campus has become crucial as their presence continues to grow at US colleges and universities. From 1996 to 2016, international student enrollments more than doubled, constituting 5.2% of all students attending institutions of higher education in the United States (IIE, 2016). Understanding international students' experiences and challenges interacting with Americans can assist higher education professionals with making needed adjustments to increase their campus climate of inclusion and integration.

In light of the multitude of benefits associated with the social integration of international students into the campus community, the qualitative study presented in this chapter sought to answer the following research question: What factors impact international students' sense of belonging and connectedness with American students?

Literature Review

A limited number of studies have examined social belonging among US college students, recognizing it to be integral to their transition to college, psychological adjustment, and retention (Hoffman, Richmond, Morrow, & Salomone, 2002; Pittman & Richmond, 2008; Slaten et al., 2014). Hoffman et al. (2002) defined sense of belonging as the "subjective sense of affiliation and identification with the university community" (p. 228), and suggested that belonging and integration were closely connected. A qualitative study conducted by Slaten et al. (2014) identified the following domains associated with sense of belonging among undergraduate students: valued group involvement, meaningful personal relationships, environmental factors, and interpersonal factors. Relatively few studies have focused specifically on

international students' sense of belonging or their integration/social connectedness with US students. The limited scholarship on these topics point to multiple personal and environmental factors involved in connecting with American students.

In a study of Asian international students, Slaten, Elison, Yough, Lee, and Scalise (2016) found that the students' relationships with peers from the mainstream (host) culture and peers from their ethnic culture served different functions, but both contributed positively to their sense of belonging. The factors of belonging they identified for Asian students differed somewhat from the previous findings regarding the general student population; they included interpersonal interactions, acculturation experiences, campus environment, emphasis on academics, and intrapersonal factors. A quantitative study of 497 graduate international students (Trice, 2004) identified the following predictors of frequent interaction with Americans: length of time spent in the United States, socializing with international students from countries other than one's own, attending cultural events, and concern about interacting with Americans. Wadsworth, Hecht, and Jung (2008) concluded that international students experienced greater satisfaction when interacting with Americans, including their classmates and instructors. Furthermore, Darwish (2015) found that communication, relationships, and time constraints were the primary factors influencing international graduate business students' academic and social integration.

Researchers have identified various factors impacting international students' social and cultural adjustment process. A review of 64 studies on predictors of international student adjustment concluded that acculturation and interaction with Americans were among the most frequently reported predictors of psychosocial adjustment (Zhang, 2010). Additionally, Zhang's (2010) survey of 508 Chinese students enrolled in four different Texas institutions identified social connectedness with Americans as an influential factor in easing the adjustment process, leading to lower rates of depression. Researchers have also identified language proficiency as one of the most significant factors of cultural adjustment (Galloway & Jenkins, 2005; Mori, 2000; Yeh & Inose, 2003).

Method

Our approach was that of a phenomenological research design in which the participants comprised a bounded system of international college students at one institution. We examined a complex phenomenon through in-depth analysis of a limited number of details and interrelationships (Merriam, 2009; Mulenga, 2001). A phenomenological approach helped the researchers to identify the essence of human experiences related to a phenomenon to understand the lived experiences of the participants through extended engagement and identify and determine patterns and relationships of meaning (Creswell, 1998). For trustworthiness, we examined previous research to frame findings and engaged in dialogue as a tool for a more thorough and complex understanding of the data to gain insight from multiple perspectives. Four primary aspects of the international students' experiences were explored: (a) social life and

interactions with American students; (b) sense of belonging; (c) cultural adjustment experiences; and (d) academic experiences.

Participants

Seventeen students at a mid-sized public institution in the southern region of the United States participated in interviews lasting, on average, 30 min. The characteristics of the participants are outlined in Table 19.1. Ten of the students were female and seven were male. Their average age was 25 (min = 19 and max = 38). Nine of the students were undergraduate level and eight were graduate level. Four of the undergraduate students were nondegree seeking, which included two students enrolled in an English language program and two undergraduate exchange visitors. The students came from diverse countries, but the majority (9 students) were from the continent of Asia. Most of their majors were in STEM fields.

Procedure

To recruit participants, staff members in international offices at the institution as well as student leaders of international student organizations were asked to forward an email to potential students, inviting them to participate in the study. Additionally, we attended social events to recruit students and used snowball sampling to acquire a few participants. Every effort was made to obtain a sample that was diverse in terms of national origin, gender, age, and educational level. Potential participants received information about the study via email in advance of their interview, including the IRB consent form, to ensure they were familiar with the topic and purpose of the research. To protect the identities of the participants, all names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.

Semi-structured interviews enabled us to pose a set of predetermined questions, consisting of both broad and specific questions, in a specified order and probe with follow-up questions outside the set sequence (Herman & Reynolds, 1994). At the start of each interview, participants completed a survey to provide demographic information. We conducted all interviews face-to-face at locations on the university campus. Of the 17 participants in the study, 15 were interviewed individually and two (Hassan and Ismail) requested to be interviewed together.

Data Analysis

To systematically "uncover and describe the structures, the internal meaning structures, of lived experience" (van Manen, 1990, p. 10) of international students, data

Table 19.1 Demographics of participants

Pseudonym	Length of residency	Gender	Age	College/Major	Country of origin	Prior activity
Ahmed	<1 year	Male	22	English as a Second Language International (ESLI)(Graduate)	Saudi Arabia	Employed
Mollie	<1 year	Female	19	Sport Psychology (Undergraduate)	Canada	Studying at university level
Gabriel	<1 year	Male	23	English as a Second Language International (ESLI) (Undergraduate)	Peru	Studying at university level
Felipe	2 years	Male	23	Dental Hygiene (Undergraduate)	Brazil	Studying at university level
Mariyam	<1 year	Female	22	Electrical Engineering (Undergraduate)	Pakistan	Studying at university level
Denis	>2 years	Male	22	Mechanical Engineering (Undergraduate)	Jordan	Studying at university level
Ogun	>2 years	Male	23	Engineering (Graduate)	Nigeria	Studying at university level
Sebastian	<1 year	Male	27	Photojournalism (Exchange Student)	Denmark	Studying at university level
Lebia	>2 years	Female	34	Nursing (Undergraduate)	Nigeria	Business
Layla	>2 years	Female	38	Folk Studies/Religious Studies (Graduate)	Iran	Full-time employment
Armando	2 years	Male	20	Biology (Undergraduate)	Ukraine/Angola	Studying at university level
Taara	1.5 years	Female	28	Public Health (Graduate)	Nigeria	Studying at university level
Ayeza	2 years	Female	26	Public Health (Graduate)	Pakistan	Studying at university level

(continued)

Table 19.1 (continued)

Pseudonym	Length of residency	Gender	Age	College/Major	Country of origin	Prior activity
Khalid	>2 years	Male	26	Engineering Technology Management (Graduate)	Saudi Arabia	Studying at university level
Hassan	>2 years	Male	27	Computer Science (Graduate)	Pakistan	Studying at university level
Ismail	>2 years	Male	27	Engineering Technology Management (Graduate)	Pakistan	Studying at university level
Ching Yi	1 year	Female	21	Exploratory Studies/No Major (Exchange student)	Taiwan	Studying at university level

analysis involved coding and the development and discovery of patterns, segmented into categories, by reviewing the interview transcriptions and noting statements of significance that provided an understanding of how the participants experienced social belonging at the institution. Coding, described by Charmaz as the "critical link between data collection and their explanation of meaning" (as cited in Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 72), provided an opportunity to develop constructs, categories, and attributes through finding patterns and interpreting meaning in the participants' responses. To examine perspectives, cultural values, and relational experiences of the participants, values coding was used to "reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 75). Originally, 31 codes were identified and then collapsed into similar categories, which produced 11 overarching themes. Data analysis was conducted by the research team.

Findings

While our research produced findings about international students' perspectives of US culture and their academic experience, in this chapter we focus primarily on our findings related to the central focus of our study: sense of belonging and social integration with US students. The primary themes that emerged as factors of social belonging and connectedness of international students with American students include (1) perception of inclusion/exclusion, (2) socialization goals and initiative, (3) cultural adaptation, (4) English communication ability, and (5) campus support.

Although each of the salient themes were manifested either directly or indirectly in the majority of interviews, we highlight only a selected number of narratives that best reflect each theme.

The majority of students interviewed reported feeling a positive sense of belonging and satisfaction with their social life, and approximately half of the participants (8 of 17) indicated that their closest friends were Americans or a fairly equal mix of Americans and international students. Fourteen of the 17 participants of the study unequivocally affirmed a sense of belonging among their American peers, while three conveyed that they had not always felt belonging. When asked whether he felt a sense of belonging among Americans, Armando, whose story was highlighted earlier in the chapter, responded, "I've never faced any sort of discrimination or negativity towards me because I'm international, not at the university or everyday life, but also I haven't felt a lot of acceptance." Denis, a Jordanian student, shared that he did not think he fit in well in his classes due to being a non-native English speaker and did not feel fully satisfied with his social life. Layla, a graduate student from Iran, did not feel a sense of belonging during her first two years at the university in her first graduate program, but she did find belonging and community in her second graduate program.

The most overt factor influencing the students' sense of belonging among domestic peers was their *perception of inclusion/exclusion by American students*. Several of the international students who indicated feeling a strong sense of belonging shared that American students frequently invited them to participate in activities and were welcoming and friendly toward them. Mariyam described her experience of inclusion stating,

> They ask me, "Hey, do you want to join us?", so I feel like it is not me saying again and again, "Can I join you guys?" Like they know that I am new here and they are being more welcoming towards me by asking me those questions.

Sebastian had a similar experience within his academic department. Although he was an exchange student studying at the institution for only one semester, he was not treated as an outsider. Instead, he was made to feel just as much a part of class discussions and departmental activities as local students. He said, "I feel welcoming when I'm in class and everything. It's not like I'm out of the group. I feel more like I'm a part of it, and so yeah, I feel like they have a [real] interest in who I am."

On the other hand, several of the students who did not feel a strong sense of belonging, or who had trouble connecting with American students, cited experiences of exclusion, treatment as outsiders, and feeling that Americans were not interested in getting to know them personally. Layla felt that she had to do all the work to initiate relationships with American peers in her graduate department: "The domestic people, the local people, didn't do anything to take me in. I was doing all the activities, all the things necessary to find my way inside their group." Felipe echoed this sentiment, sharing that in his experience, Americans never initiated conversation and did not show interest in getting to know him. Similarly, Gabriel found Americans to be "closed in their own circle and their own social life," not interested in letting him in.

A number of participants, primarily from the Middle East and Africa, shared that they had experienced discrimination and/or rejection by some US students. Khalid, a Saudi student, stated that “some of them, they don’t accept the idea of having Muslim or Arab friends—they just don’t like us—and I’ve had a lot of racist comments.” Ogun and Lebia, both from Nigeria, reported that each experienced discriminatory treatment from students and faculty as a result of their race. Interestingly, all of the students who shared experiences of discrimination indicated that they nevertheless felt a sense of belonging among American students on campus, which suggests that those incidents were relatively isolated and did not have a significant negative impact on their overall perception of the institutional environment.

Individual factors, including students’ *socialization goals and initiative*, seemed to play a particularly important role in their social connectedness with Americans. The students with stronger connections to American students demonstrated intentionality and initiative in developing relationships within the host culture. Many shared that they made it a priority from the beginning to meet and befriend Americans by taking a proactive approach and involving themselves in activities that gave them the opportunity to interact with domestic students. Ching Yi shared that she met most of her American friends through religious organizations after being invited by students she met upon arrival. She regularly attended gatherings and worship services although she was not a Christian, which is a testament to her dedication to connect primarily with Americans.

Campus involvement was the most common way participants successfully connected with American students. Lebia said she was a member of at least five different campus organizations and almost all of her friends were American students. Ismail, a Pakistani graduate student, discussed the impact of his experience working at the front desk of a residence hall on his social life:

> With Americans, I mostly became friends with them because of work, and you know, as I was on the desk all the time they would come to me and they would share their problems and experiences and then I would talk to them, […] and then if somebody is feeling low or depressed or anything like that, I would ask them to, after my shift, you know, let’s go out for ice cream or coffee or something like that, and that’s how I became friends with a lot of Americans.

Ismail took advantage of the opportunity his campus job afforded him to get to know the Americans with whom he came into contact. He intentionally pursued closer relationships with those students outside of work, proactively trying to overcome their misconceptions about his cultural background.

Taking initiative in a variety of ways was a common theme in the interviews overall. Mollie, a Canadian and native English speaker, admitted that she had to be proactive to develop her social network:

> I make a lot more effort to go out and make friends, where back home I just sort of do my own thing most of the time, I spend time with myself in my free time but here I feel like in order to make new friends I have to make myself go out to events and talk to people and hang out with people a lot more.

In the same way, Layla had to pursue friendships with other graduate students and faculty in her department, although they did very little to cultivate a relationship with her.

Other students who were less socially connected to Americans generally evidenced a more passive approach to befriending Americans or perhaps had different goals and priorities for their college experience and relationships. Hasaan, for instance, was not inclined to socialize frequently; he shared that he preferred to be by himself, but he nevertheless felt satisfied with his social life. Taara, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with her social life. She attributed this to her own lack of initiative and personal habits. She spent time with American students primarily when they invited her to join them for an event or activity, which amounted to just a few get-togethers per month.

For some participants, the extent of *cultural adaptation*, particularly related to norms of social interaction, impacted their ability to connect with American students on a deeper level. Armando was one of few students who stated this explicitly in his interview:

> It's really, really hard to approach an American person with our mindset or culture. It just seems like somewhere else around the world it's more common and more close to each other than in America, so that makes it a little more difficult to deal with Americans, and that's why I think the problem itself it's the huge gap between cultural differences.

While other students did not identify a connection between their cultural adaptation and social connectedness with Americans, their reflections about US culture and relationships in America revealed potential cultural factors at play. Ahmed and Hassan both expressed hesitations with regards to interacting with and befriending female students due to religious considerations and cultural values. When asked whether it was easy to bond with American peers, Denis responded, "Not very easy. Maybe they have their own lifestyles which is different than mine." He, too, referenced his faith as a consideration in his interactions with Americans.

Many students shared other types of cultural challenges, including struggling to adapt to the individualistic nature of Americans, differing expectations for relationships (e.g., frequency of socializing, closeness, etc.), and what they perceived as formality and superficiality of Americans. These all impeded their ability to connect easily with Americans. While most perceptions about US cultural norms were negative, several of the students commented on the friendliness of Americans, which helped facilitate communication.

English communication ability, which included confidence communicating in English, was clearly an important factor in many of the participants' relationships with American students as well as their sense of belonging. Khalid said,

> The language was the hardest part of my six years here. Once you get over it, everything gets easier, and it's not easy to get the language. It's not only in school, it's not only in college; you have to work on yourself a lot, even the tone because in our culture our tone is really different from English.

In his experience, it was difficult to connect with Americans at first when he had a lower level of proficiency because of his lack of confidence, fear of making mistakes, and the reaction he received from his American peers. "Americans don't have patience," he stated. "When you have bad English, they don't want to talk." In addition to differences in lifestyle, Denis also cited language as a key factor impacting his ability to bond with Americans and his sense of belonging in the classroom.

Ayeza identified language as an important factor in close relationships in particular. She explained that while she had many American friends and felt comfortable in American culture, her closest friends were people who spoke her native language; she could communicate her thoughts and feelings freely with them. She stated, "I think, to have a good friend, and more without any hesitation and all these things, they should be… language, I think language [matters]."

A final factor impacting social belonging and connectedness with Americans was *campus support*, both informal and formal, including academic and extracurricular opportunities offered at the institution. Ayeza shared the following about how she felt support for international students could have been improved:

> It was my first international travel and I didn't know about anything when I came here and my roommate, […] she guide me on all the majors and where the grocery shop. She will take me to the grocery shop and like all these things. I was unaware of all the things, so you know, she was blessing for me in short, but the thing that I feel in [my residence hall]—as it was the international building—there should be some responsible person to guide the international students. They should guide the newcomers but there was not like this, but fortunately, my roommate was like this and she guide me.

While Ayeza was thankful to have someone early on to help her navigate daily life in a new place, this was not a built-in component of the support structure.

Sebastian found it helpful that his academic department offered him a strong sense of community and frequent activities that allowed him to connect and bond with his classmates:

> I think it has been a lot easier [to connect with Americans] in [my] department because we have a big family somehow, but I can imagine that if you don't have this connection to something, it would be a little harder, in different programs, or I mean, it is like a big family. We do a lot stuff in the program together, and so I think that really helped.

Sebastian's primary focus was his academic study; therefore, the culture of his department played a key role in his social connectedness. Layla also conveyed in her interview how the culture of each of her academic departments affected her sense of belonging and ability to connect with Americans, in both positive and negative ways.

With regards to other types of campus support, several of the students mentioned the importance of assistance from the international office and the events they coordinated to encourage social interaction as well as English conversation practice. However, it seemed that those types of opportunities primarily aided in fostering connections between international students, not domestic students. Those who had many American friends indicated that they had met them through other avenues such as their housing, campus jobs, and student organizations, but generally not through activities coordinated for international students.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings provide insights into the experiences of 17 students at one particular institution and the factors that influenced their belonging among and connectedness with American peers. While the results of our study perhaps did not produce novel findings, they support previous research and add to the limited body of literature on social belonging and cultural integration of international students. Several of the themes that emerged from our interviews relate to results of previous studies. Campus environment and involvement in campus activities, for instance, were prevalent themes across studies (Slaten et al., 2014, 2016; Trice, 2004). Intrapersonal factors, including social self-efficacy, identified by Slaten et al. (2016), and what Trice (2004) labeled "concern regarding establishing American friendships," relate to our finding about students' initiative and goals for their social life. The "Experiences of Acculturation" domain in Slaten et al.'s (2016) study, which encompassed acculturative stress, experiences of discrimination, and positive perceptions of US culture, closely connects with the "Cultural Adjustment" factors that emerged in the present study.

The findings of this study highlight several areas that educators and higher education professionals can focus on to influence and positively impact students' sense of belonging and connectedness with domestic students. First, faculty and staff can create a climate of inclusion in the classroom and in co-curricular and extracurricular programming by incorporating and affirming diverse viewpoints and encouraging domestic and international students to integrate with one another inside and outside the classroom. While educators and higher education professionals cannot control student interactions during their free time, making adjustments within areas they can control could improve students' perceptions of inclusion. Second, international students may benefit from increased support during the early period of their studies. Extending the orientation into the first semester (Trice, 2004) would provide international students with much-needed support with cultural adaptation and opportunities for bonding with American students. This could include further opportunities for students to learn about US cultural norms and activities/events involving US students, perhaps study abroad students who have recently returned from their programs. Third, structured opportunities for practicing English with native speakers could assist international students who lack confidence or experience conversing in English in the local dialect. International students could be paired with local students studying intercultural communication (Campbell, 2012) or other academic field with an international focus through course activities. Additionally, international student organizations and other student organizations that include primarily local students could coordinate joint events to provide opportunities for international students to practice English and connect with Americans.

Diversity and inclusion are stated values of many institutions of higher education in the United States. Cultivating a sense of belonging on campus for our international student population should also be considered a priority in addition to ensuring that minority groups within the U.S. student population are made to feel welcome and accepted into the campus community. If international students fail to integrate

socially, both groups (domestic and international students) will miss out on valuable learning opportunities. For example, an increase in the number of diverse peers on an American college campus often promotes more complex thinking in addition to increased cultural understanding and relationships (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999). Therefore, it is essential for college campuses to provide opportunities for improved peer interactions of domestic and international students and to create the proper environments that can lead to positive relationships through formal structures such as facilitated intergroup dialogues (Quaye, 2012; Zúñiga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002). Since social and academic challenges could hinder students' success in college and persistence to graduation (Tinto, 1993), it is also imperative that institutions of higher education recognize such barriers and implement initiatives and programs to aid in the matriculation of international students socially, academically, and culturally.

Although the present research offers insight on an understudied but important issue in higher education, there are limitations. All participants were international students from one institution located in the South Central region of the United States; therefore, it is difficult to generalize the results. International student experiences in this study may vary in comparison to those at other institutions. For this reason, applicability to other colleges and universities and geographical areas is limited; thus, it would be prudent to replicate such research more broadly by using a larger sample size and in different types of institutions in different regions of the country. Such an expansion would likely produce more varied perspectives that would increase our understanding of international students' experiences with social connectedness. Ideally, more comprehensive research will be conducted in the future that will enable us to better understand the factors that influence student's sense of belonging and social connectedness with students from the host culture. Nonetheless, these findings give insight into the participants' personal stories and perspectives.

The findings of this study can have important implications relevant to institutions of higher education enhancing their support network and structures to better meet the needs of international students. Institutions must be intentional and strategic in creating an environment to meet the needs of all students, including international students. Each student's experience is unique, as is each institution's campus culture. Therefore, it is important for institutions of higher education to gather information from students prior to implementing any sweeping changes in programming and strategies for student support.

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