

THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

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ATTENDING McMASTER UNIVERSITY

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By

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the types of factors that facilitate and/or impede the social adjustment of international students in a foreign culture. It is argued that establishing effective communication with hosts forms a necessary basis for successful sojourner adjustment. The findings indicate that establishing effective cross-cultural communication and understanding facilitates the longer-term adjustment of the sojourner and contributes positively to the intergroup integrative process. It is further argued that social network involvement facilitates successful sojourner adjustment. The findings indicate that international students belong to two key social networks—the conational and host networks. Each type of network performs different functions in relation to the adjustment process. The primary function of the conational network is to provide a setting within which cultural values may be rehearsed. It largely determines the living arrangements, friendship patterns and organizational affiliations of the sojourners involved. Whereas the conational network aids in initial adjustment, it hinders longer-term adjustment when used as a vehicle for self-segregation rather than as a beachhead from which to enter into meaningful social interaction with members of the host society. The primary function of the host network is the

instrumental facilitation of the professional and academic aspirations of the sojourner. It is the primary medium through which students gain proficiency in the host language and learn about the norms governing relations in the host society. The meanings attributed to relationships in each of these networks are found to be qualitatively different. Ties established with members comprising the conational network are intimate and emotional, while those of the host network are primarily instrumental in nature. Finally, an examination of the effects of foreign study indicates that students consider themselves changed by the sojourn experience, particularly in the areas of intellectual development, self-reliance, and self-confidence. Students also acquire a more realistic, in-depth view of the host country and a deeper appreciation of home country. Foreign study also helps to crystallize the return migration decision. The findings indicate that two factors strongly influence whether the initial migration becomes a permanent one. The possibility that skills and training acquired abroad will be underutilized in respective home countries and uncongenial home country political conditions are important factors in the expatriation decision.

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CHAPTER ONE
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

Introduction

According to Herberg, the most recent development in immigration to Canada has been “the much-increased flow of adults coming here for their formal education in colleges and universities” (1989:78). Consequently, international students may be conceived of as being a special type of immigrant, who must adapt to their new cultural environment. The literature on international students suggests that the sojourn experience is frequently a period of crisis. The effect of arriving in a culture very different from one’s own has been variously referred to as ‘culture shock’ (e.g., Oberg, 1960; Smalley, 1963); ‘role shock’ (Byrnes, 1966); or ‘culture fatigue’ (Guthrie, 1966; Szanton, 1966). Throughout the period of sojourn, international students have been portrayed as being lonely, vulnerable, and dependent. Social network theory, along with its various dimensions, will be used to enlighten our subjective understanding of the educational sojourn experience.

Research Question(s)

From our discussion it would appear that the international student encounters certain basic obstacles derived from his position as stranger. The main

question this study seeks to answer is the following: What kinds of factors facilitate and/or impede successful sojourner adjustment? A review of the literature suggests that, whereas intercultural contact leads to a process of learning and adjustment, many of the problems that sojourners encounter can be traced to a failure to achieve effective communication with hosts. Achieving such communication has been found to be a necessary precondition of satisfactory adjustment. A key question this study seeks to answer, therefore, is the following: What factors facilitate and/or impede maximum contact and communication with hosts? A related question asks: What are the consequences of failing to achieve such communication for a) the interpersonal functioning of the sojourner and b) the intergroup integrative process?

The sojourn literature also suggests that social network involvement helps mitigate many of the negative effects normally associated with the transition to a new cultural environment, thereby contributing positively to sojourner adjustment. This study, therefore, seeks to answer the following questions: What are the key social networks to which international students belong? How do sojourners go about re-establishing network ties in the host country? What kinds of problems do they encounter in the course of doing so? What is the nature and quality of social interaction with members comprising the conational and host networks? What meanings do sojourners attribute to interpersonal ties established with conationals and hosts? What kinds of help do members comprising the

conational and host networks provide to sojourners? Answers to each of these questions, in turn, helps to ascertain the relative importance of each type of network for successful sojourner adjustment.

Finally, the sojourn literature points to a number of effects, results or outcomes of the sojourn experience. This study, therefore, seeks to answer the following questions: What kinds of personal changes do sojourners experience as a result of their sojourns? How have their views of host and home country changed? What aspirations, if any, do they have for introducing changes in their respective home countries? How have career plans been altered? What kinds of factors contribute to the return migration decision? Finally, what kinds of post-return adjustment problems do they anticipate upon re-entering their respective home country societies?

The International Students' Definition of the Situation

The student in a foreign country is in the position of a 'stranger' (Schutz, 1944; Simmel, 1950). With the transition to the role of international student, much of the way of thinking and behaving in one's home country becomes recognized as a 'taken-for-granted' reality. W.I. Thomas (1928) indicated that what individuals do depends on their 'definition of the situation'. The 'cognitive maps' learned in one's home country society may no longer be trustworthy guides in a foreign country. Thus, problems of cross-cultural communication are likely

to occur. Intercultural contact may succeed or fail, “depending on the extent to which each person understands and appreciates the subjective culture of the other” (Triandis *et al.* 1972:344). That is, successful sojourner adjustment is dependent upon the extent to which sojourners can engender an effective exchange or flow of information with hosts. This study, therefore, examines the factors that impede effective intercultural communication, and thus undermine the achievement of a mutual understanding between sojourner and host. The sudden transition from a position of being a member of an (ethnically) dominant majority to one of a minority, may generate a high level of insecurity in some students. Examining the attributes that sojourners perceive others hold of them is important in determining whether the former accept or resist the social identities accorded by others. This study clarifies the conditions under which the label ‘foreigner’ is made salient, and the consequences of this for sojourner adjustment. Stereotypes and prejudice may be utilized in justifying differential behavior toward minority groups. This study, therefore, compares pre-arrival expectations of discrimination with post-arrival occurrences of discrimination. Klein *et al.* (1971) argue that the availability of a network of conationals tends to promote isolation from members of the host country. Breton (1964) similarly suggests that a high level of ‘institutional completeness’ decreases the need to develop personal contacts with members of the larger society. Kang (1972) suggests that self-segregation is a form of avoidance behaviour. This study,

therefore, examines whether the segregation of students into conational enclaves has negative consequences for sojourner adjustment.

Dimensions of Social Networks

Fischer states that, in concentrating on the nature of personal links, network analysis is able to “bridge the gap” between the individual and the collective level of social life: “networks influence individuals, individuals influence networks” (1977:30). He defines personal social networks as follows:

Individuals are linked to their society primarily through relations with other individuals: with kin, friends, co-workers, fellow club members, and so on. We are each the center of a web of social bonds that radiates outward to the people whom we know intimately, those whom we know well, those whom we know casually, and to the wider society beyond. These are our personal *social networks* (1977:vii).

Mitchell describes a network as a set of linkages “whose characteristics as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved” (1969:2). Mayer (1966), Kapferer (1969), and Wellman (1983) demonstrate that individuals use networks to achieve desired ends, to gain access to resources and to manipulate the flow of goods, services and information. Breton’s group competition or ‘social closure’ model posits that observed income and occupational differentials between ethnic groups “are caused by differences in the group’s ability to organize, so as to take or maintain control of a particular work domain” (1979:284). Among the group resources critical in this regard are cohesive social networks, mutual trust, and means of communication. Anderson (1974) and Granovetter (1974) emphasize ‘networks

of contact' as being particularly relevant for access to information about jobs.

A number of morphological or structural features of social networks have been examined. 'Density', or the extent to which network members are interconnected, has been extensively studied. Granovetter (1973) found that dense networks were likely to be useful in providing sociability and support. Moreover, Wellman *et al.* (1973) concluded that the availability of support from close friends and kin increased as the density of those links in the network increased. Sheingold (1973) found that some individuals were insulated from, and thereby deprived of, information because their networks were both small and closely knit. 'Composition' is another important structural feature of networks. Adams (1967), Kadushin (1968), and Wellman *et al.* (1988) found that there are basic properties of the kinship component in a network: concern and obligation; and aid for personal problems and ceremonies. The basic property of friendship is 'consensus', which is manifested in voluntary social activities. Boer asserts that three factors influence the composition of the international student's network: "whether the student comes to the host country alone or with a spouse; whether there is a need for frequent interaction with conationals; and the initial (strong or weak) motivation to begin trying actively to integrate socially with members of the host country" (1981:38).

A variety of 'interactional' characteristics, referring to the nature of network bonds, have also been studied. Pilisuk and Minkler define 'strength of ties' as a combination of several factors:

Bonds between people vary in tenacity, the emotional intensity of the ties, the expectation of their durability and availability, and the degree of intimacy or confiding which occurs among the exchanges. These combine to determine the overall strength of ties (1980:100).

The 'quality of network ties' refers to the meanings that international students attribute to their relationships. According to Cobb (1976), social networks, as social support groups, provide individuals with three sorts of information: that they are cared for and loved; esteemed and valued; and that they belong to a network of communication and mutual obligation. Thus, personal involvement in social networks is of fundamental significance for the successful adjustment of the sojourner. A prime focus of this study, therefore, is to identify the key social networks to which international students belong. Granovetter (1973) asserts that 'weak ties' are more likely to link members of different small groups than are 'strong ties'. This study examines the role played by 'weak ties' in helping international students re-create and re-establish networks of social relations in the host country. The personal significance that network ties have for the international student is examined through the interactional characteristics of a) 'content' or the meaning that linkages have for the individual and b) the 'strength of ties', or the degree to which others provide support for one or more of the individual's self-conceptions. It is argued that 'close' friendships develop more among fellow-strangers, because of their similarity of condition, linguistic and cultural affinity. They also afford international students a way of repairing self-esteem damaged by the effects of prejudice and discrimination.

This study also examines the circumstances under which international students define non-compatriots as 'close' friends. It seeks to determine whether the intensity and strength of ties established with conationals differs from those established with hosts.

According to exchange theory, if a person is unable to offer resources or rewards to another, but needs resources that the other has, he or she may become dependent on the other. Marshall (1980) notes that individuals seek to maintain independence, autonomy, and control over their situations and frequently seek to avoid dependent situations or relationships. Maintaining reciprocity in their relations with others is one way in which international students attempt to retain an image of themselves as independent. This study examines the effect that an unbalanced exchange relationship has for sojourner adjustment.

The Conational Network

Lacking an adequate 'definition of the situation', the stranger seeks the security of the group. He or she uses it as a source of information and verification about the nature of the new and unfamiliar environment. Members of one's conational group are 'fellow-strangers'. They share a similar 'frame of reference' as temporary sojourners. Its members influence each other's perceptions of the foreign environment. This 'similarity of condition' qualifies the group of fellow-strangers to be "credible providers of social reality" (Herman, 1970:12). Thus, networks of conationals provide a sense of belonging, a feeling of security, and an opportunity

for group verification about the foreign environment. By meaningfully anchoring the student to a larger group, the conational network helps to preserve sameness of identity, amid discontinuity and change.

Bochner (1972) sees the foreign student as needing to attain adjustment to four different roles: as a foreigner with special cultural learning problems; as a student adjusting to the stress common to all beginning students; as a maturing, developing person concerned about purposes, meanings and goals; and as a national representative sensitive about his or her ethnic background and national status. Lack of proficiency in the host language may impose a limitation on the cultural and social life of international students. Similarly, the students may be without the prestigious status they enjoyed in their respective home countries. Holding senior positions of employment in their home countries, their status may change “from respected government officer to humble student” (Mandelbaum, 1956:47). Loneliness, boredom and homesickness may overwhelm the solitary student in a strange environment. In each of these situations, sojourners turn to their fellow-stranger group for the support, sense of security and belonging, mutual tolerance, and the opportunities for self-expression it affords. This study, therefore, examines the nature of the conational network as providers of social support and help. It also examines the meaning that participation within conational organizations has for international students. It is argued that organizational involvement is sustained because it prevents social disengagement and isolation from activities formerly enjoyed

in one's home country. It is further argued that participation in conational organizations facilitates sojourner adjustment by allowing full participation and/or acceptance frequently denied by host country organizations.

The Host Network

The relationship between social interaction with members of the host country and sojourner adjustment has been extensively studied (e.g., Basu and Ames, 1970; Klineberg and Hull, 1979). Meaningful interaction with members of the host country has been shown to be of central importance to the quality of, and satisfaction with, the overall sojourn experience (Ward and Kennedy, 1993). Sewell and Davidsen (1961) provide empirical support for the hypothesis that students who participate in the activities of the host country, rather than passively view them from the outside as bystanders, are generally more satisfied with their educational sojourn, and hence better adjusted. Selltiz *et al.* write that the quality of host-student interaction varies along several dimensions: "intimacy (ranging from an impersonal extreme of discussing courses to a personal extreme of discussing intimate features of one's personal life); friendliness or hostility in the interaction; and its cooperative or competitive nature" (1956:37). This study examines the nature and quality of social interaction with members of the host country, through an examination of types of activity engaged in while in their company. It also examines the factor 'size of conational group' as it affects the interaction-potential,

or the degree of opportunity for interaction with hosts. The international student socialized in his native culture is called upon to learn, and often act in accordance with, the different norms of the new culture. Herman writes:

From his location on the periphery of the host society, its norms and role-performances are less visible to him than they are to its members, and he is not clearly aware of the range of permissible deviations. Moreover, the codes which regulated his conduct in the home culture do not always apply, and the deeply ingrained tendency to act in accordance with them may at times make him oblivious of the fact that other norms prevail or may render difficult the adoption of the behavior required by the host society (1970:13).

This study, therefore, examines how cultural differences may act to impede friendship formation with members of the host country. Bochner (1982) suggests that the social support and help received from the host network is of far greater importance to adjustment, compared to that of the conational network. It is argued that, following their arrival in the host country, international students may not be able to construct a network of conational support that is fully adequate in meeting their numerous social adjustment needs. Consequently, international students may turn to members of the host country as a source of reference. This study seeks to clarify the conditions under which the conational network and host network are invoked and the different kinds of social support they provide.

Pre-departure Considerations

The final stage of the sojourn “affords a period of reflection of goals accomplished and those yet to be accomplished” (Herman, 1970:82). Specifically,

the pre-departure phase provides sojourners with an opportunity to consider their future occupational roles. This study examines student perceptions of the employment advantages and disadvantages of a foreign-obtained academic degree. Students may experience numerous personal changes as a result of their sojourn experience (e.g., personal and intellectual development; changes in political opinions, religious attitudes and possibly practices; changes in feelings of self-confidence and of independence). This study, therefore, examines the types of personal changes occasioned by the sojourn experience. It seeks to determine whether or not international students evaluate themselves differently as a result of their sojourn experience. The pre-departure phase also affords international students an opportunity to look more critically and objectively at their respective home countries. This study examines whether or not their views of home country have changed, and if so, whether any commitments toward home country have been renewed or formed as a result of their stay in Canada. As the end of the sojourn draws nearer, the question of whether or not to return to one's home country becomes salient. This study seeks to determine the types of factors that influence this decision and the kinds of readjustments students anticipate upon their possible return home.

Summary

In this chapter, it is shown that social network theory, along with its various dimensions, can be used to enlighten our subjective understanding of

the educational sojourn experience. The chapters that follow build upon this conceptual foundation. In Chapter 2, the research design used to examine the social network involvement of international students is described. The characteristics of the sample are compared with those of the population, thereby determining the extent to which the findings can be generalized. This chapter concludes by discussing the implications of the sample characteristics for social network relationships and sojourner adjustment.

In Chapter 3, the kinds of factors that facilitate and/or impede the effective flow of information between sojourner and host are examined. Failure to establish effective communication with hosts is shown to be manifested in a variety of adjustment problems which may, in turn, lead to self-segregation. It is argued that self-segregation impedes longer-term adjustment and has negative consequences for the intergroup integrative process. An important gap in the literature on sojourner adjustment is also addressed. Previous studies have overlooked the problems of adjustment and social network involvement of a) married couples and b) wives who accompany married male students abroad. Special attention is given to the occupational dislocation experienced by wives and the types of occupations they engage in while in the host country. This will facilitate the inclusive development of sojourner adjustment.

In Chapter 4, the key social networks to which international students belong—the conational and host networks, are examined. The process by which

sojourners re-establish network ties in the host country, and the kinds of problems they encounter in the course of doing so, are also examined. The nature and quality of social interaction with members comprising the conational and host networks is then examined. This chapter goes beyond most previous studies which have described the nature of sojourner-host interaction in primarily static, quantitative terms (i.e., the number and variety of social contacts), by providing more information about the process and quality of such interaction. The meanings that international students attribute to interpersonal ties established with conationals and hosts are also examined. The types of help provided by the conational and host networks are also examined, thereby determining the relative importance of each network for successful sojourner adjustment. This chapter concludes by examining the relationship between organizational participation and sojourner adjustment. In this regard, the kinds of factors that facilitate and/or impede organizational participation are examined.

In Chapter 5, the effects, results, or outcomes of foreign study are ascertained through an examination of a) the types of personal changes occasioned by the sojourn experience and b) changes in views of host and home country. The kinds of factors that influence the sojourner's return migration decision are then examined. Notwithstanding the actual return plans of students, this chapter concludes by examining the kinds of adjustment problems students anticipate upon re-entering their respective home country societies.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH DESIGN AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology and research design used to investigate the social network relationships of international students. The socio-demographic characteristics of the sample are compared with the population of international students attending McMaster University, thereby determining the extent to which the research findings are generalizable. These characteristics are then shown to have implications for the social network relationships of respondents.

Entry into the Research Population

The researcher attended the many social events arranged by the *Office of the International Students' Advisor* throughout the 1989–90 academic year. The researcher's first exposure to the research population came in the form of a Thanksgiving dinner, held annually for all international students at McMaster University. This event afforded an opportunity to gain initial entry into the social circle of the international student body. In this regard, the primary role played by the researcher was that of observer-as-participant:

The observer-as-participant is one who identifies himself or herself as a researcher and interacts with the participants in the social process but makes no pretense of actually being a participant (Babby, 1989:266).

Several informal interviews were conducted with students in the reception area of the *Office of the International Students' Advisor*. This was found to be a favourite place for undergraduate and graduate international students to congregate. Some students came to utilize specific services offered, while others simply dropped in. It was here that the researcher spent many afternoons being introduced to both new and returning students, thereby establishing a rapport with potential interviewees.

Many of the students expressed interest in the proposed research study. This, in turn, led to several unstructured conversations of a group nature, centring on issues such as motivations for studying abroad, problems of adjustment, and future plans following the completion of studies in Canada. These discussions were particularly informative, given that the students arrived from countries with diverse political, economic and social conditions. While some of the students revealed unique aspects of their sojourn, many commonalities could also be ascertained.

Subjects Involved in the Research

For purposes of this study, the population was defined as all international students registered full-time in graduate programs at McMaster University, as of February 16th, 1989. For a statistical profile of the full-time undergraduate and graduate visa student population attending this educational

institution, see APPENDIX 1. The sampling frame was a list of all full-time international students attending McMaster University enrolled in graduate programs. A formal request for obtaining this list was sought and obtained from the *Office of the International Students' Advisor* located on the McMaster University campus. The list contained the names of international students enrolled at McMaster University, and was categorized according to country of citizenship.

Blalock (1979:554–555) enumerates several problems associated with utilizing “inadequate” lists as sampling frames. He notes that lists are often incomplete, where some individuals may not have been included, while others on the list may no longer be members of the population concerned. Whereas the former problem did not exist, potential for the latter did. It was probable that a minority of international students would graduate at the end of the academic year and move on to other universities, or return to their respective home countries upon expiration of their student authorizations. This was particularly the case for students in the final year of the doctoral level of study—the majority of whom would be unavailable for interviews. In order to ensure as accurate a list as possible, it was decided that this category of student would be eliminated prior to random selection.

The process of eliminating students from the original sampling frame was accomplished in the following manner. A series of four lists containing the names of all graduate students convocating at McMaster University was obtained

from the *Office of the Registrar*. The original list of all international students obtained from the *Office of the International Students' Advisor*, was then compared against the convocation lists containing the names of all recent graduates. Only two international students at the doctoral level of study were found to have graduated, and two withdrew prior to completion of their academic degrees. They were consequently eliminated from the sampling frame.

The total population of full-time international students, as represented by the original list was $N = 258$. With eliminations made to this list, the number was reduced to 254. It was now possible to draw a "simple random sample" utilizing a Table of Random Numbers. Malec states that a simple random sample is 'random' in the sense that "every element in the population has a known, and often equal, chance of being included in the sample which is eventually drawn from the population" (1977:77). In this study, the key social networks international students are part of was an important dependent variable. The "snowball" method of interviewing was deemed inappropriate as a means of determining whether or not individuals do in fact have active social networks. Such an approach precludes the inclusion of those not belonging to any social network and thus, seriously undermines the validity of conclusions stemming from the research.

Loss of Subjects

It was originally decided that a sample of 75 students would be drawn from a total population consisting of 254 students. Each of the remaining students

on the 'revised' list (i.e., containing exclusions) was assigned a number ranging from 001 to 254. "Sampling without replacement" was utilized to omit repetitions (i.e., numbers that were already selected), until a final sample size of 75 cases was chosen. This constituted a 30.0% sample. However, the sample selected via the Table of Random Numbers suffered a loss of twenty-five subjects. Of these, (N=3 or 12.0%) were in the process of leaving, (N=5 or 20.0%) refused to participate because of lack of interest, and (N=17 or 68.0%) could not be contacted. Thus, the final sample size was reduced to 50 cases, representing 20.0% of the total population of all full-time graduate international students.

Having randomly selected the sample, a covering letter introducing the investigator and the nature of the study was constructed. Individual letters were then mailed to the first twenty students selected, through the *Office of the International Students' Advisor*. The students were allowed a period of two weeks to receive the letters. The letters were sent internally through the university mail system, to the respective graduate offices of potential respondents. This method of distribution facilitated the efficient recruitment of students, as it was expected that many would relocate from their accommodations at the end of the academic year. Given the high mobility of university students, the mailing addresses and home phone numbers of students could not, therefore, be relied upon.

The first ten respondents to whom letters were mailed were approached by the researcher, or via a request made over the phone. A convenient time and

place to meet and conduct the interview was arranged between the researcher and those who consented to participate in the research. During this time period, the second set of ten letters were mailed. The cycle of interviewing-mailing was repeated until all remaining respondents received letters and were contacted.

Issues of Confidentiality

A significant factor contributing to the loss of potential respondents was related to uncongenial home country political conditions, particularly in Mainland China. Preparations were being made to interview members of this group, just as major political events in Mainland China were unfolding. Understandably, many were reluctant to commit themselves to being interviewed. This was potentially disastrous to the whole project, given that the Mainland Chinese group constituted 44.0 percent of the total sample drawn. In order to overcome this problem, help was sought from a Mainland Chinese student who was actively involved in the affairs of the Chinese Scholar's and Students' Association [sic] at McMaster University. Acting as the main contact person, this individual explained to the researcher that the Mainland Chinese students would agree to be interviewed, only if certain conditions were met. The sensitive conditions in Mainland China demanded that certain questions in the main test instrument (i.e., an interview schedule constructed well before the political events in Mainland China occurred), had to be pursued with great sensitivity. These included any questions

that could be construed as being political in nature. It was also advised that the use of a tape recorder would not be accepted by some Mainland Chinese students. These terms were agreed to by the researcher.

Interview Schedule Construction

During the interview session, each respondent was asked a series of questions from a standardized interview schedule (see APPENDIX 2). The interview schedule was pre-tested on five students over and above those drawn as part of the original sample. Pre-testing allowed for the elimination of unclear questions, double-barreled questions (i.e., asking respondents for a single answer to a combination of questions), or those that might encourage respondents to answer in a particular way or support a particular point of view. Babby notes several advantages in having a questionnaire administered by an interviewer:

To begin, interview surveys typically attain higher response rates than mail surveys... Within the context of the questionnaire, the presence of an interviewer generally decreases the number of “don’t knows” and “no answers”... Interviewers can also provide a guard against confusing questionnaire items. If the respondent clearly misunderstands the intent of a questionnaire or indicates that he or she does not understand, the interviewer can clarify matters, thereby obtaining relevant responses (1989:244).

A further advantage in utilizing an interview schedule in any study of international students is that the respondent’s facility in the English language can be compensated for by the interviewer.

When originally constructed, the questions pertaining to reasons for study abroad presupposed individual choice, especially with regard to the country of study. While the interview schedule worked well with many of the students from non-communist regimes, it was found wanting in the case of students from communist regimes, such as Mainland China. It was only during the interview session that it became clear that, for students from Mainland China and certain other countries, country of study was determined by home country governments independent of, and often contrary to, the respondent's personal wishes.

The interview schedule contained both closed and open-ended questions. In the latter case, coded categories were developed from the ground up rather than relying on pre-established categories.

The Interview Session

The majority of interviews were conducted in the individual offices of respondents on the McMaster campus. The remainder were conducted in the private homes of respondents. The average time of each interview was two and a half hours. The time taken to complete the interview was slightly longer for married respondents because information on spousal interaction patterns, friendship networks and social adjustment was solicited. The majority of the interviews were conducted during the summer months, with the remainder being completed in the fall months. The most appropriate time to gain access to the

sample was during the former months. It was important to anticipate the time constraints that students generally face during the academic year. A minority of students who were on holidays during the summer months were easily contacted at the end of the summer, just prior to the beginning of the academic year.

Prior to conducting the interviews, each respondent was asked to sign a consent form which outlined the nature and purpose of the research. Respondents were informed in a covering letter previously sent to them that the session would be taped, with their prior consent. Respondents were also informed that any answers to questions asked would be treated with the strictest of confidence. They were informed of their right to discontinue at any point during the interview, if they so desired. Finally, they were informed of their right to refuse to answer any question asked.

To ensure the confidentiality of respondent's statements, each was assigned a "respondent code number". This provided a safeguard against the possibility of respondents becoming personally identifiable. Consent forms were kept physically separate from the interview schedule to prevent any possible linkage. The investigator had sole access to all data.

Implications of Sample Characteristics for Social Network Relationships and Sojourner Adjustment

In the sample, 54.0 percent were enrolled at the master's level of study, while 46.0 percent were enrolled at the doctoral level of study. The majority

(62.0%) were entering the second year of their respective programs of study. The average age of the respondents was thirty years. Table 2.1 compares the sample with the population of all full-time graduate visa students. It shows large percentage differences within categories of the variable 'major subject area of study'. In the sample, those studying 'engineering' were overrepresented, while those in 'math and the physical sciences' were underrepresented. Nevertheless, if one dichotomizes this variable into 'technical' areas of study versus 'non-technical', the percentage difference between sample and population becomes significantly reduced. Second, female international students were underrepresented in the sample. With the exception of this group, the findings of this study may be safely generalized to the population.

The *World Development Report* (1987–88: 222–223) was used as the basis for classifying respondent's home countries according to level of economic development. The majority of respondents (N=31 or 62.0%) arrived from developing countries. Students from vastly different cultures are hypothesized to experience greater adjustment difficulties than those who arrive from countries that are culturally and linguistically similar to the host country. Cultural differences may lead to intercultural misunderstandings, thereby impeding sojourner adjustment. Students who arrive from countries where English is a second language may suffer language deficiencies. As language deficiencies become more salient, sojourners may deliberately restrict their social interaction

Table 2.1
Percentage Difference Between Sample and Total Graduate
Visa Student Population

Variable	Sample N=50	Population N=249	Percentage Difference
		(in percent)	
Gender:			
Male	86.0	79.9	+ 6.1
Female	14.0	20.1	- 6.1
Marital Status:			
Single	50.0	57.4	- 7.4
Married	46.0	41.8	+ 4.2
Separated	0.0	0.0	0.0
Divorced	0.0	0.4	- 0.4
Widowed	4.0	0.4	+ 3.6
Mean Age:	30.0	29.6	+ 0.4
Level of Study:			
Master's	54.0	50.6	+ 3.4
Doctoral	46.0	49.4	- 3.4
Major Subject Area of Study:			
Agriculture and Biological Sciences	8.0	2.8	+ 5.2
Commerce, Management, and Business Administration	2.0	4.8	- 2.8
Engineering and Applied Sciences	50.0	35.7	+ 14.3
Fine and Applied Arts	0.0	0.4	- 0.4
Health Professions	8.0	8.8	- 0.8
Humanities	6.0	9.2	- 3.2
Math and Physical Sciences	12.0	24.9	- 12.9
Social Sciences	14.0	13.3	+ 0.7

* Population data provided by the *Office of Institutional Analysis*, McMaster University.

with hosts, or in the extreme, withdraw into conational enclaves. The degree of social interaction or contact between host and sojourner has been found to be related to the latter's adjustment. Morris (1960), for example, found that the volume, range and depth of social interactions of international students in the United States were significantly related to their satisfaction with their sojourns. Self-segregation, therefore, has been found to impede effective intercultural communication and thus undermines achieving a mutual understanding between sojourner and host. Such an understanding is crucial for the effective interpersonal functioning of the sojourner.

Length of time spent in the host country is an important factor that facilitates sojourner adjustment. The greater the amount of time spent in the host country allows students more time to adjust to the Canadian way of life, hence minimizing future adjustment problems. Table 2.2 shows that approximately half of the respondents spent one year or less in Canada at the time of being interviewed. The median number of months spent in Canada was 15.5. A minority of respondents (N=2 or 4.0%) attended high school in Canada, prior to applying to McMaster University. Slightly more (N=7 or 14.0%) attended post-secondary educational institutions in North America, or countries other than their home country, prior to attending McMaster University. The average time spent at these institutions was 2.3 years. Attending a Canadian high school provided more time for students to improve their English language skills, in

Table 2.2
Frequency Distribution of Length of Time Spent in Canada

Number of Months	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1 - 6	4	8.0
7 - 12	19	46.0
13 - 18	4	54.0
19 - 24	7	68.0
25 - 30	1	70.0
31 - 36	5	80.0
37 - 42	0	80.0
43 - 48	4	88.0
49 - 54	1	90.0
55 - 60	1	92.0
61 - 66	1	94.0
67 - 72	0	94.0
73 - 78	0	94.0
79 - 84	3	100.0
	<u> </u> N=50	

Total number of valid cases: N=50

preparation for proficiency tests. It also avoided the so-called 'problem of equivalence' (i.e., the difficulty faced by Canadian educational institutions in evaluating foreign academic credentials), thereby facilitating admission to a Canadian university. This was particularly important given the competitive admission criteria found in home country universities.

Students draw on the experiences and advice received by family members who have studied internationally. In the sample, (N=16 or 32.0%) had family members or relatives who were former international students. Information received from such individuals facilitates adjustment by sensitizing the sojourner to the kinds of problems they might experience in the host country.

For graduate international students, the motivation for foreign study is primarily academic, rather than gaining an international experience. In the sample, most respondents (N=30 or 60.0%) were employed full-time and on leave of absence, while the remainder were not employed. Most worked as teaching assistants and/or lecturers in home country universities, and were employed an average of 3.1 years prior to arriving in Canada. This suggests that international students are somewhat older and more mature than their Canadian counterparts. With the transition to the role of international student, such students may suffer a sharp decline in social status. Being older, they may have little in common with undergraduate students. Feelings of loneliness and isolation may seriously affect their social adjustment.

Finally, whether or not the student arrives alone or with others has implications for social network relationships and sojourner adjustment. Those who arrive alone are hypothesized to have greater adjustment difficulties than those who arrive with others (e.g., spouses). The presence or absence of family members living in the host country also determines whether or not the student has access to a network of social support. Some respondents (N=24 or 48.0%) had close relatives living in North America. However, most of these resided in the United States or distant parts of Canada. Thus, only a minority of respondents (N=7 or 14.0%) had relatives who could provide help in an immediate sense.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research design and methodology used in this study. The socio-demographic characteristics of the sample were compared with the population of international students attending McMaster University, thereby determining the extent to which research findings could be generalized. The socio-demographic characteristics of the sample were hypothesized to have implications for the social network relationships and social adjustment of respondents.

CHAPTER THREE
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND
SOJOURNER ADJUSTMENT

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SOJOURNER ADJUSTMENT

Introduction

Several of the more common approaches to describing and explaining sojourner adjustment include the following: curves of adjustment; culture shock; personality typologies and traits; and social interaction (Brein and David, 1971). The 'curves of adjustment' approach argues that the adjustment of the sojourner follows a predictable temporal pattern. Lysgaard's (1955) U-curve or adjustment function encompasses the sojourner's adjustment to a foreign culture and suggests that there is a curvilinear relationship between adjustment and time sequence of the sojourn. Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963, 1966) extension of this concept, the W-curve, encompasses both the sojourner's adjustment to a foreign culture and his readjustment to his home culture. The 'culture shock' approach (Oberg, 1960; Furnham and Bochner, 1982; Henderson, Milhouse, and Cao, 1993) describes adjustment as a series of sequential stages which closely resemble one or more aspects of the U and W phenomena. Hall defines culture shock as "a removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues one encounters at home and the substitution for them of other cues which are strange" (1959:156). The

'personality typologies and traits' approach attempts to distinguish between groups of sojourners by constructing sets of characteristics and distinct social patterns. Sewell and Davidsen (1956), for example, describe four kinds of sojourners and the characteristic patterns of adjustment they adopt: (a) Detached Observers, (b), Promoters, (c) Enthusiastic Participants, and (d) Settlers. The 'social interaction' approach (Morris, 1960; Chen, 1992), emphasizes the importance of degree of social interaction between host and sojourner in facilitating the latter's adjustment.

Notwithstanding the varied usefulness of the approaches cited for explaining and understanding the sojourner's adjustment, very little integration exists among them. Consequently, it is difficult to either relate their findings or to develop any consistencies among the factors deemed relevant to intercultural adjustment (Brein and David, 1971:216). These divergent approaches can be more meaningfully understood in relation to adjustment to the degree that the factors cited facilitate or impede intercultural communication. Thus, intercultural communication may be regarded as being both an integrating and crucial factor for understanding the adjustment of the sojourner.

Berry (1987) outlines four forms of ethnic group adaptation. 'Integration' involves the maintenance of the cultural security of the ethnic community as well as movement by the ethnicity to become an integral part of the larger societal framework. 'Assimilation' occurs when there is no desire or

ability to maintain the ethnic group's uniqueness, but relationships with other groups are sought. 'Separation' is embraced by those ethnicities which seek no interaction with other groups, but do maintain their cultural integrity (or wish to be left alone to do this). Finally, 'marginalization' results in groups who lose or forsake their culture, but are unable to maintain an alliance with or become part of another ethnicity, or are rejected by the other group(s).

This study views sojourner adjustment as primarily a process of individual, rather than community or ethnic group adaptation. It examines how the sojourner resolves the 'tension' between two valued outcomes of acculturation: a) maintaining a sense of common identity and heritage and b) the need to participate in selected arenas of social role conduct outside the boundaries of the ethno-racial-religious community. In aligning itself with the 'integration' form of adaptation, this study defines 'successful' adjustment as the degree to which the sojourner maintains his or her ethnic/cultural identity, while simultaneously taking steps toward becoming an integral part of the larger host society. In this regard, establishing effective communication with hosts and social network involvement (i.e., developing, sustaining, and expanding conational and host network ties) permit the achievement of both valued outcomes of acculturation, thereby helping to resolve this tension.

Individuals who embrace, either by choice or necessity, assimilation, separation and/or marginalization as adaptive strategies are at a distinct

disadvantage, compared to those who follow a path of integration. Those who follow a path of 'assimilation' typically seek network ties from among members of other groups, thereby limiting the support that members of their own ethnic group might provide. Those who follow a path of 'separation' typically restrict their network ties to members of their conational group, thereby limiting the support that members of other groups might provide. Marginalized individuals remain as isolates, receiving no social support from members of their own ethnic group or members of other groups. In each of these cases, such individuals are disadvantaged in terms of their limited access to potentially valuable sources of social support and help. This suggests that the benefits derived from having access to a variety of social networks outweigh those derived from having access to only one kind of network. Successful sojourner adjustment, therefore, may be conceived of as a process of striking a balance between maintaining one's ethnic identity and integrating with members of the host country, thereby reaping the benefits that membership in both kinds of networks affords.

A review of the sojourn literature suggests that the effective interpersonal functioning of the sojourner is dependent on the development of understanding between himself and his host. The degree that they are able to engender an effective flow or exchange of information will determine the extent that mutual understanding can develop. Thus, sojourners' adjustment is seen to be a function of effective communication which occurs between sojourner and

host. In this regard, a variety of factors may be seen to influence the adjustment process, insofar as they affect the process of information exchange or communication.

Factors Impeding Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication may be conceived in terms of verbal communication, non-verbal communication, and complex interrelations between the two. Proficiency in the host language is positively related to the effective exchange of information which, in turn, facilitates mutual understanding between sojourner and host (Kaplan, 1984; Ward and Kennedy, 1993). In short, proficiency in the host language is seen as a necessary condition for satisfactory sojourner adjustment.

Table 3.1 shows that lack of proficiency in the host language was the most frequently mentioned problem of adjustment. Some of those lacking facility in the host language made efforts to improve their language skills prior to leaving their respective home countries:

Although my first language is French, I spent one year at the American University (Beirut) enrolled in the English language program. *(No. 015 - Lebanon)*.

The Chinese government, in cooperation with my university in China, sent me to an English language training centre. I spent two years there. I had intense English language training for eight months. This center has excellent facilities. It is identical to the one in England. The faculty members are paid very well. *(No. 032 - Mainland China)*.

Table 3.1
A Rank Ordering of Types of Problems of Adjustment of Respondent

Problems of Adjustment	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=145	Overall Rank
	1. N=50	2. N=49	3. N=46		
(in percent)					
Sociocultural N=73 [50.3%]					
Language deficiencies	12 (24.0)	10 (20.4)	4 (8.7)	26 (17.9)	1
Cultural differences	4 (8.0)	6 (12.2)	14 (30.4)	24 (16.6)	2
Lack of meaningful social interaction with conationals	2 (4.0)	8 (16.3)	7 (15.2)	17 (11.7)	3
Lack of meaningful social interaction with hosts	2 (4.0)	2 (4.1)	1 (2.2)	5 (3.5)	9
Racial discrimination	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (.7)	13
Financial/Employment N=31 [21.4%]					
Financial difficulties	8 (16.0)	4 (8.2)	4 (8.7)	16 (11.0)	4
Securing accommodation	6 (12.0)	6 (12.2)	2 (4.4)	14 (9.7)	5

Continues...

Table 3.1 Continued
A Rank Ordering of Types of Problems of Adjustment of Respondent

Problems of Adjustment	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=145	Overall Rank
	1. N=50	2. N=49	3. N=46		
(in percent)					
Personal N=24 [16.6%]					
Depression	6 (12.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (4.8)	7
Family separation	4 (8.0)	1 (2.0)	1 (2.2)	6 (4.1)	8
Adjusting to food.....	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	3 (6.5)	4 (2.8)	10
Organizing self	0 (0.0)	2 (4.1)	1 (2.2)	3 (2.1)	11
Homesickness	0 (0.0)	2 (4.1)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.4)	12
Loneliness	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (.7)	13
Poor health	0 (0.0)	1 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (.7)	13
New Educational System N=17 [11.7%]					
Insufficient academic training	4 (8.0)	1 (2.0)	5 (10.9)	10 (6.9)	6
Grading methods	1 (2.0)	2 (4.1)	4 (8.7)	7 (4.8)	7

Total number of valid cases: N=50

Frequent use of mother tongue is an important factor which undermines the attainment of proficiency in the host language, and hence, of developing a mutual understanding between sojourner and host. It is important, therefore, to consider the types of factors that encourage frequent use of mother tongue. Table 3.2 suggests that an important structural factor in this regard is size of conational group.

A necessary condition for the formation of a conational group is the presence of sufficient numbers of conationals on campus. Size of conational group may, in some instances, impede the process of gaining proficiency in the host language. Absorption within a large conational group, for example, reduces the interaction-potential between sojourner and host. However, proficiency in the host language can only be attained through meaningful social interaction with hosts:

It is very difficult to hold an in-depth conversation with Canadians because my English language is so poor. By self-segregating, this prevents us from learning through practising the English language. It is difficult to attempt to learn the English language by speaking it among ourselves. Having at least one Canadian in each of our departments would force us to use the language, and therefore, speak it better. (*No. 001 - Mainland China*).

An influx of new arrivals increases the size of one's conational group, thereby encouraging the frequent use of mother tongue, hence impeding the attainment of proficiency in the host language. Differences in dialect, occasioned by an influx of new arrivals, compelled Mainland Chinese respondents to

Table 3.2
Multiple Response Frequency of Types of Problems Associated
with Frequent Use of Mother Tongue

Type of Problem	Total Responses	Percent of Responses	Overall Rank
Verbal Communication N=29 [43.9%]			
Difficulty forming friendships with hosts	9	13.6	2
Superficiality/one-sidedness of conversation with hosts	8	12.1	3
Expressing thoughts, words/ understanding hosts	7	10.6	4
Discrimination by hosts	4	6.1	7
Culture-bound vocabulary/ style of conversing	1	1.5	9
Size of Conational Group N=23 [34.9%]			
Retards improving English language skills	23	34.9	1
Academic N=14 [21.2%]			
Educational goals delayed while studying host language	6	9.1	5
Understanding lectures	5	7.6	6
Embarrassment/discomfort during oral reports	2	3.0	8
Writing reports	1	1.5	9
	<u>N=66</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	

24 cases not applicable; 26 valid cases

communicate in the English language in which proficiency was seriously deficient:

Each province, even city, has its own dialect. I cannot speak Cantonese. When I meet a fellow Chinese student who speaks Cantonese, we must communicate in English. (*No. 024 - Mainland China*).

Academic departments of study, living accommodations and friendship networks comprised mainly of conationals also reduces interaction-potential with hosts.

The importance of size of conational group, insofar as it encourages the frequent use of mother tongue, is reflected in the comments below:

Among Ph.D. candidates, more than half are Chinese. Also, we do have Chinese visiting scholars (research scientists). Therefore, I have a limited opportunity to use the English language. (*No. 016 - Mainland China*).

In my office, eighty percent are Chinese. That's why I don't have a very good environment and opportunity to use the English language. Staying confined within your own group is not good. But, the conditions dictate otherwise. (*No. 068 - Mainland China*).

The preceding discussion suggests that the larger the conational group, the greater the likelihood of self-segregation and the lower the interaction-potential with hosts.

Absorption within a conational group increases reliance on mother tongue and its attendant usage. Moreover, it reduces incentives to interact with members of the host country. We may therefore predict that students whose contingents are large will experience more difficulty gaining proficiency in the host language. The opposite results are predicted for lone international students on campus, or those whose numbers are insufficient to form a conational group. The unavailability of conationals

precludes self-segregation and absorption within a conational group. This structural condition reduces reliance on mother tongue and its usage:

When I arrived in 1984, there were few Chinese students from China at McMaster. There were none in my department. I was, therefore, forced to speak English. Now, there are many Chinese. In the lab, I am surrounded by Canadians and very few Chinese. (*No. 012 - Mainland China*).

The unavailability of conationals simultaneously increases the interaction-potential with hosts, thereby affording such students with an opportunity to improve their English language skills. Consequently, such students are expected to gain proficiency in the host language more rapidly.

Facility in the host language engenders an effective flow or exchange of information, thereby facilitating mutual understanding between sojourner and host. It is important, therefore, to address the interpersonal processes that occur during encounters between sojourner and host, when the former lacks facility in the host language. Language deficiencies frequently contribute to misunderstandings in the communication process:

The problem that Chinese students have with the English language are many. It affects interaction with Canadians. It is the biggest problem—one that bothers me all of the time. I think of this problem very often. I am frustrated a lot. Many misunderstandings result. I can give you some examples that occurred between myself and professors. When I am discussing something, I feel that the professor does not have any patience to listen to me, to understand me. He also misinterprets what I say and this causes problems later on. My English is a little better than most, so you can imagine what other students experience. Often I can't express myself

in a nice way, even though I have a lot of knowledge. They treat you as a person who knows little. They tend to laugh at you. I know what is going on, but I don't want to say anything. You feel offended. But, the more silent you keep, the more they treat you as an unintelligent person. That is how misunderstandings occur. This is a terrible thing. I do want to be with Canadians and to talk to them. But, misunderstandings always arise. So, now I don't talk to everybody, but only to specific individuals who are tolerant of me and understand me. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

Self-esteem and self-confidence become threatened when the sojourner cannot express his or her thoughts and ideas well. This is especially the case for graduate international students who arrive as mature adults. Feeling they cannot make mistakes, they experience a diminution in personal pride when they do:

When you speak the English language poorly, you will often wonder what the Canadian thinks of you. (*No. 051 - Mainland China*).

Some people don't understand certain words I pronounce, because of my accent. I received my teaching assistant evaluation form and some students said that my accent created difficulties for them. This bothered me a lot. (*No. 086 - Ghana*).

When I need to buy something in a store, and I ask help from the salesman, I end up explaining what I need to him maybe four or five times. This is very frustrating for me. (*No. 092 - Sri Lanka*).

The frustration generated by language deficiencies often results in a refusal to try to communicate with hosts:

Language, I think, is the biggest problem for the Chinese students. We want to communicate with Canadians and other international students. But, because of our language problem

we don't communicate. So, we have difficulty becoming good friends with Canadians and others. (*No. 093 - Mainland China*).

Degree of proficiency in the host language appears to be a relevant variable in understanding the adjustment of the sojourner. Table 3.3 shows that 23.5% more of those who experienced language deficiencies viewed their adjustment to life in the host country as being difficult, compared to those who did not. This relationship, although not statistically significant, suggests that there is a relationship between proficiency in the host language and level of difficulty in adjustment. Lack of proficiency in the host language frequently evokes indifference, impatience, insensitivity, and intolerance on the part of hosts. Threats to self-esteem occasioned by language deficiencies may result in the deliberate avoidance of hosts. Compounding this problem is the fact that some students are expected to return home following the completion of their studies. Consequently, there is no incentive for them to improve their English language skills. The lack of motivation for gaining proficiency in the host language may be extended to other areas deemed crucial for successful sojourner adjustment, including learning the norms of the host society and establishing friendships with hosts. Success in each of these endeavours is predicated upon meaningful social interaction with hosts. Thus, self-segregation (either by choice or necessity) hinders the longer-term adjustment of the sojourner. Students who make an effort to integrate with hosts, as difficult as it sometimes is, will be better adjusted and more satisfied with their sojourns than those who do not.

Table 3.3
Crosstabulation of Overall Adjustment to Life in the Host
Country by Interviewer Rating of Respondents'
English Language Skills

Interviewer Rating of Respondents' English Language Skills	Overall Adjustment		Total
	Difficult	Not Difficult	
Proficient	24.1 (7)	75.9 (22)	100.0 (29)
Not Proficient	47.6 (10)	52.4 (11)	100.0 (21)
Chi-square = 2.99 df = 1 p > .05			

Cultural Differences

The act of leaving one's home country has a 'de-socializing' effect, characterized by the complete disorganization of the sojourner's role system and loss of social identity (Bar-Yosef, 1969). Immediately upon arriving in the host country, the sojourner is caught up in a conflictive situation between his own social structure and that of the receiving country. The sojourner is ignorant of the proper definition of the situation in which he has to participate, and of the rules that govern social interaction with hosts. He also has no grasp of the 'role map' of others and may experience ambiguity concerning role expectations (Ben-Ezer, 1985). Being ignorant of the implicit structure of the host culture, the sojourner behaves almost automatically in a manner compatible with his primary reference groups in his home culture. However, old norms governing social relations in home cultures may no longer be applicable in the host culture, and must be abandoned for new frames of reference. The adaptation and acculturation to a foreign culture reflects the process of 're-socialization', or the tendency to establish a new identity and role system.

The potential for problems in intercultural relationships is ever-present, given that cross-culturally there are often major differences in values, attitudes, beliefs, and expectations. In this sense, the sojourner may be seen as a 'stranger' with special cultural learning problems (Wong-Rieger, 1984; Bochner, 1986). It is therefore important to examine the kinds of factors that create misunderstandings between parties to intercultural relationships.

Several investigators have suggested that differences in culture may impede effective intercultural communication (Cusher, 1989; Roy, 1991; Beal, 1994). Gardner (1962) discusses differences between traditional and technologically advanced cultures and their implications for intercultural communication. He suggests that social interaction between individuals from countries whose social systems are in different phases may generate misunderstandings, resulting in difficulties in social adjustment for the sojourner. Henderson, Milhouse and Cao (1993) found that students in the U.S. who come from Asian countries have more adjustment problems than do European or other Western-oriented students. Table 3.4 shows that 17.5% more of those who arrived from developing countries perceived their adjustment to life in the host country as difficult, compared to those from industrialized countries. This relationship, although not statistically significant, suggests that there is a relationship between level of economic development of home country and level of difficulty in adjustment.

Triandis (1972:3) describes a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment as 'subjective culture'. He suggests that problems in intercultural, interpersonal relations may stem from differences in perceived 'reality'. Specifically, sojourner and host perceive certain kinds of social behaviours differently:

If you are polite in China, this is often interpreted as rudeness in Canada. I am acting in the way I have always acted in China, but here it causes me problems. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

Table 3.4
Crosstabulation of Overall Adjustment to Life in the Host
Country by Level of Economic Development
of Home Country

Level of Economic Development of Home Country	Overall Adjustment		Total
	Difficult	Not Difficult	
First World	20.0 (2)	80.0 (8)	100.0 (10)
Third World	37.5 (15)	62.5 (25)	100.0 (40)
Chi-square = 1.09 df = 1 p > .05			

When you come to Canada, you notice that there are certain privacies you must learn to respect. This is very different from what I am used to in China. For example, in Canada, you should not touch a newspaper that was left at a desk that is without its occupant. You are expected to ask the person's permission first, before you take the paper. You have to be careful here. You might get into trouble. But, in China, the people don't care if you take the paper, as long as you return it. In Canada, people have a different notion of duty, that often conflicts with another notion—that of compensation. Canadians take the view that: 'If you pay me I will do it, but if you don't pay me I won't do it'. (*No. 090 - Mainland China*).

Intercultural misunderstandings also occur when there is a lack of consensus between sojourner and hosts' expectations regarding appropriate role behaviour. This type of misunderstanding frequently occurs within the academic environment (Lieberman, 1994). For example, cultural differences in the establishment of first-name relationships with faculty members is often confusing and disturbing for sojourners:

When I came to study in the United States, I would call everyone of my professors as 'sir'. I would never dream of saying anything less than 'sir' to anyone of my professors. My football coach said: 'I'll promise to let you get onto my team—just don't call me sir'. (*No. 089 - United Arab Emirates*).

Considerable variation also exists in the degree of social distance characteristic of faculty-student relations in different cultures:

The way we conduct classes back home is very formal. In Nigeria, the lecturer would not appreciate it if you pointed out his mistake, or attempted to enlighten him on a certain topic. Here in Canada, there is more room for specific questions to be asked, as well as general discussion. Here, the lecturers appreciate some feedback. They also solicit your opinion: they want to know what you think. (*No. 085 - Nigeria*).

Chinese students won't be as relaxed in front of their professors. Certainly the way they talk to their professors is not as informal as in Canada. Here, a student can break the professor's lecture at any time to ask some questions. The atmosphere is more relaxed. I don't necessarily dislike this informality, I actually like it in some ways, but it reflects the mentality of the two nations. The Chinese respect 'authority' more—this is the only word I can think of—than do Canadian students. (*No. 087 - Mainland China*).

Brim (1958, 1960) suggests that it is not unusual to transfer behaviours from one role to another. His concept of 'role extension', occurs when an individual is inclined to use a behaviour he has learned for one of his roles, in another of his roles. In an intercultural encounter, this form of role innovation may result in a lack of complementarity of role expectations:

In China, the relationship between professor and student is a much closer one. The professors give a lot of personal advice, besides academic advice. If a student fails a course, they will show great concern. They will seek you out and try to help you as much as possible to pass. I can talk a lot with my professor in China. I established a personal relationship with him. In China, a teacher is like your parent—like your father. I tried to apply the relationship I had with my supervisor in China to the one I have in Canada. But, I had a lot of trouble. (*No. 020 - Mainland China*).

Turner (1968) suggests that a sojourner should understand the "cultural theme" of the host culture in order to establish adequate intercultural communication. However, most sojourners do not possess accurate prior knowledge of norms, customs, and values of the host culture that would facilitate sojourner adjustment:

International students usually lack basic knowledge about the country they will be spending several years in. Or, they arrive with false perceptions. They think that this is how Canadian

society operates. After they arrive, they are quite surprised at the difference between what image they held and what is actually going on. If I can be more specific, they will find out that the bureaucracy is a bit different from that experienced in their own country. There still exists bureaucracy in Canada. It's not as rosy as portrayed back home. Generally, the students lack information of the little things—the day-to-day pieces of essential information. (*No. 052 - Greece*).

Before we arrived in Canada, nobody told us what aspects of Canadian society we would have to adjust to. It would have been very helpful if someone told us before we came what we should do first, and what we should do second. We had to adjust to life in Canada by ourselves. We relied on each other. (*No. 063 - Mainland China*).

Information pertaining to locating cheap housing, how and where to apply for a work permit in order for my spouse to seek employment, where to send my children to school. I did not know the rules. There was no one from my country that I could rely on to help me through these initial difficulties. (*No. 091 - Sri Lanka*).

An important variable facilitating the development of an adequate and accurate understanding between sojourner and host is previous international travel. Hall and Whyte (1963) suggest that sojourning has an “innoculation effect”. That is, by virtue of his previous travel experience, the sojourner becomes more aware of his own modes of behaviour, which were previously unconscious to him in his home country. This new awareness, therefore, helps reduce the obstacles that interfere with understanding in subsequent intercultural encounters. Hull (1981) adds that previous successful international experience is an important reinforcing factor in a student's life, that enhances self-image and confidence, and facilitates the resolution of many adjustment problems.

Merton and Kitt's (1950) concept of 'anticipatory socialization' involves the process of learning about role requirements, both behaviors and attitudes, and visualizing oneself in a role. Such a rehearsal for the future helps mitigate many concerns held by sojourners prior to their departure from respective home countries:

I mentally prepared a lot before I came to Canada. I knew that I would encounter certain difficulties. I expected differences between the two societies. This way, one suffers less. Then, I found that things were easier than I had originally expected. *(No. 016 - Mainland China)*.

Exposure to westernizing influences in respective home countries also helps to sensitize the sojourner to foreign persons and places:

In Japan, my parents serve as a host family to other foreign students from the United States and Southeast Asia. So, I was already exposed to their adjustment problems, and in this way anticipated those I might experience. *(No. 013 - Japan)*.

I attended a private American University, so I had exposure to students and faculty from the West. *(067 - Lebanon)*.

I think the British influence in my country is the main thing. Our society is more westernized, so it is more open-minded. You learn to expect certain things before you come to Canada. *(No. 086 - Ghana)*.

Asch (1975) defines true 'transnationals' as those who have lived abroad in a professional capacity, and have returned to their home country. A number of respondents had travelled extensively, were employed and/or studied in other industrialized countries, prior to studying in Canada:

I travelled to other countries. This helped me to relate more easily to other people. It also helped to minimize my adjustment to life in Canada. So, things could have been a lot more difficult. (*No. 041 - Zimbabwe*).

I travelled extensively with my father, who is an ambassador. This allowed me to learn to adjust to different cultures. (*No. 067 - Lebanon*).

Table 3.5 shows that 27.9% more of those who had previous cross-cultural experiences reported their overall adjustment to life in the host country as not difficult, compared to those who did not. This relationship, although not statistically significant, suggests the importance of previous cross-cultural experiences for sojourner adjustment.

Upon arriving in a new country, “the foreign student is among strangers with strange ideas, unpredictable new ways of judging him. His self-image is at stake, and may be subject to drastic revision at the hands of his new associates” (Morris, 1956:20). Sojourners are faced with the fact that their national origin, ethnicity, cultural habits, or proficiency in the host language may determine the personal status granted them by hosts. For the first time, students are forced to think of these attributes as possible handicaps to their social acceptance in the host society.

Several research studies have examined the concept of ‘perceived national status’ and its implications in terms of the attitudes of sojourners toward their hosts, and consequent relations between the two parties. Lambert and Bressler’s (1955) study found that sojourners infer low status from inadvertent references by members of the host country to certain national status-rooted ‘sensitive areas’ (e.g., the caste

Table 3.5
Crosstabulation of Overall Adjustment to Life in the
Host Country by Previous Cross-cultural
Experiences

Previous Cross-cultural Experiences	Overall Adjustment		Total
	Difficult	Not Difficult	
Yes	11.1 (1)	88.9 (8)	100.0 (9)
No	39.0 (16)	61.0 (25)	100.0 (41)
Chi-square = 2.56 df = 1 p > .05			

system, religion, population, colonial rule). According to Pederson (1980), the sojourner's role as student may be complicated by being perceived as a 'cultural ambassador', who needs to explain and sometimes justify the policies of his home country. A close relationship exists between home country and the self. Given that the self concept is gratified by the achievements of others with whom one identifies, then home country may be viewed as an 'extension of the self'. Unwarranted criticism of home country may be treated as an attack upon the self, evoking feelings of anger and victimization:

I had to inform a person in my department that Australia's immigration policy (the so-called Whites Only policy), which formerly discriminated against Blacks, is no longer in force. This upset me—having to explain this. I felt as though I was being characterized as a racist. (*No. 010 - Australia*).

The nature and quality of intercultural communication is also influenced by how knowledgeable hosts are of the domestic/foreign affairs of home countries from which others arrive. According to Morris (1956), the perceived ignorance of hosts about home country cultures is frequently interpreted by international students as 'low accorded national status':

Canadians think that everybody would like to live the way they live here. I'd like to live the way people live here, but I also think that millions of people around the world wouldn't like to live the way people do here. Human rights crusades are something that I look at with wonder, because it seems to me to appear to be an attempt to extend a lifestyle, which is possible and credible, only in Southern Ontario. So, the type of discourse people enter into here about the Third World,

seems to me to be on a lower plane, than the kind I'm used to. (*No. 011 - Home country deleted*).

Stereotypes, Prejudice and Discrimination

An analysis of inter-group perceptions may help to account for the twin processes of 'self-segregation', and 'social distance' (i.e., the societal norm regulating intimacy between members of different ethnic groups). Misunderstandings which arise in intercultural relationships are frequently rooted in stereotypes of the parties involved. Campbell writes:

The greater the real differences between groups on any particular custom, detail of physical appearance, or item of material culture, the more likely it is that that feature will appear in the stereotyped imagery each group has of the other (1967:821).

Consequently, sojourner adjustment will be influenced to the extent that stereotyping impedes effective intercultural communication, and hence mutual understanding between sojourner and host. Racial/ethnic origin is an important basis for stereotyping since it encompasses significant broad differences. Table 3.6 shows that 85.0% of attributes perceived to be held by hosts were 'negative' stereotypes, while 15.0% were 'positive' stereotypes. This suggests that members of different ethnic groups enter into contact situations with fairly well structured negative stereotypes about the other group. The "association hypothesis", in simplified form, states that contact with members of a different group results in liking that group (Selltitz, *et al.*, 1963:3-4). There has been, however, some

Table 3.6
Multiple Response Frequency of Respondent's Perception
of Characteristics Ascribed to Them by Hosts

Ascribed Characteristics	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Negative N=45 [85.0%]		
• Inferior intellectually	8	15.1
• Are from a politically and/or economically troubled country	4	7.5
• Don't know how to spend free time	4	7.5
• Malnourished	4	7.5
• Cliquish	3	5.7
• Not properly socialized with regard to norms of host society	3	5.7
• Spoiled by wealth	3	5.7
• Conformist (group-oriented)	2	3.8
• Not proficient in English language	2	3.8
• Religious fanatics	2	3.8
• Reserved/Quiet/Submissive	2	3.8
• Terrorists	2	3.8
• Uncivilized	2	3.8
• Excessively competitive	1	1.9
• Immoral/Sexually promiscuous	1	1.9
• Males have little respect for females in home country	1	1.9
• Violent	1	1.9
Positive N=8 [15.0%]		
• Hard-working	5	9.3
• Excel academically	1	1.9
• Peace-loving	1	1.9
• Religious	1	1.9
	<u>N=53</u>	<u>100.1%</u>

23 cases not applicable; 27 valid cases

disagreement concerning this hypothesis. Sherif (1956) found that increased contact between racial groups increased prejudice. Newcomb (1956) and Berelson and Steiner (1964) have argued that contact will not necessarily increase intergroup friendship when there is outgroup discrimination. Brislin (1968) restated this hypothesis in exchange terms emphasizing 'equal status' as a necessary condition. That is, personal association with members of an ethnic group other than one's own leads to favourable changes in attitudes toward that group, if the parties are of equal status. The findings cited stem primarily from studies that have focused on contact between members of different ethnic groups within a single country. The condition of 'equal status' appears to be particularly untenable when applied to contact between individuals of different countries. For example, Porter (1965) compared the 'charter status' of the British and French with the 'entrance status' of later immigrants. The charter group retains many privileges, and lays down the rules under which other immigrant groups are to be admitted. Entrance status implies lower status. International students, like earlier immigrants, enter into contact situations with hosts on unequal terms. Such unequal status contact has the effect of accentuating negative stereotypes, thereby undermining the intergroup integrative process. Moreover, negative stereotypes may become 'self-fulfilling prophecies' (Merton, 1968), in that the unfavourable stereotype will elicit host behaviour which by itself will provide for the manifestation of that stereotype in fact.

The label 'foreigner' is a negative identity marker that undermines the nature and quality of intercultural communication. While international students may not wish to be regarded as foreigners and feel their presence serves to enrich the cultural diversity of the university campus environment, they may be forced to deal with situations in which others consider them as such. Respondents were found to strongly resist the label 'foreigner', which instilled a feeling of 'not belonging' and thus contributed to a social distance between sojourner and host:

'Foreign' implies that you are not of this country. Your culture is different from ours. It suggests a lower status. Canadians look down on Chinese. *(No. 032 - Mainland China)*.

Respondents who felt they were not being perceived by others in terms of their own persona, but rather as stereotypes, modified their responses so as to deny rather than conform to social expectations:

I make it a point to show Canadians I am different. I try to bring into the consciousness of Canadians and others, to think in terms of the individual and not generalize. *(No. 049 - Hong Kong)*.

People tend to place others in racial categories. It is important for me to show people that I am different from the category they have placed me in. I make an effort to break the stereotype, and show others that I am different from what they believe me to be. *(No. 085 - Nigeria)*.

As a foreign student, you will inevitably come into contact with a variety of people. Then, you have an opportunity to show them that being a productive foreigner is much better than being an unproductive one. An unproductive foreigner is a burden on your country. In the process, you can break

the stereotype that foreigners are unproductive. (*No. 089 - United Arab Emirates*).

Sojourner adjustment is also influenced by the nature and type of receptivity accorded to the sojourner by members of the host society. Schild distinguishes between three types of groups in terms of their attitudes toward the stranger:

the “open” group which not only is ready to accept the stranger but by itself initiates contact and encourages his absorption; the “indifferent” group which is prepared to accept the stranger if he takes the initiative but leaves it to him to overcome any barriers; the “closed” group which is disinclined to accept the stranger (1962:52).

According to Kang, the typical reaction of members of the host community to strangers with “radically different customs, habits, speech, ideas, and belief systems, is one of defence and exclusion” (1972:73). Ethnic prejudice is likely to be expressed and directed toward the stranger group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. Allport writes that “discrimination comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people the equality of treatment which they may wish” (1954:50). He elaborates several forms of ‘disadvantageous treatment’: anti-locution; avoidance; and discrimination. Slightly more than half of the respondents in the sample (N=27 or 54.0%) reported that they had experienced some form of discrimination. The analysis of post-arrival reports of discrimination does not depend on the assumption that the recorded views of students are accurate and objective. However, it is equally important to recognize that to stress ‘definitions of the situation’ is not to deny the importance of the objective situation per se. According to Kang

(1972), differences in language, culture and physical characteristics set non-Europeans apart from the host community, evoking discrimination from majority members of the host society. Table 3.7 lends support for this view, showing that 37.5% more of those who arrived from developing countries experienced discrimination, compared to those who arrived from developed countries. An important type of ‘disadvantageous treatment’ experienced by international students, particularly those who are visible minorities, is housing discrimination:

It bothers me sometimes, but one can never be certain that it was discrimination. Some landlords appear nice to you and tell you politely that there is no apartment available, but they may dislike the Chinese people inside. Canadians don’t want others to think they dislike people from other countries. They present themselves one way, but act in a totally opposite way. *(No. 020 - Mainland China)*.

I had difficulty securing housing, especially when my wife and child joined me. I was rejected by landlords several times. I think I was refused accommodation because I was Chinese, and not because I was married or was a student. This was done very diplomatically—not very straight forward. *(No. 026 - Mainland China)*.

Language, while an important component of identity for many ethnic groups, may act as a barrier to communication, radically distinguishing the ‘in-group’ from the ‘out-group’. Table 3.8 suggests that lack of proficiency in the host language is an important source of discrimination. It shows that 28.8% more of those who used their mother tongue frequently experienced discrimination, compared to those who did not:

Table 3.7
Crosstabulation of Discrimination by Level of
Economic Development of Home Country

Level of Economic Development of Home Country	Discrimination		Total
	Yes	No	
First World	20.0 (2)	80.0 (8)	100.0 (10)
Third World	57.5 (23)	42.5 (17)	100.0 (40)
Chi-square = 4.50 df = 1 p < .05			

Table 3.8
Crosstabulation of Discrimination by Frequency
of Use of Mother Tongue

Frequency of Use of Mother Tongue	Discrimination		Total
	Yes	No	
Frequent	62.1 (18)	37.9 (11)	100.0 (29)
Infrequent	33.3 (7)	66.7 (14)	100.0 (21)
Chi-square = 4.02 df = 1 p < .05			

Sometimes you will hear a comment from some Canadians like: ‘Those Chinese can’t speak English’. If you have a lecturer who can’t muster up a sentence in the English language well enough, some Canadian students will immediately pack up their things and leave the room. To a point this is understandable. Yes, there is a problem with the English language. But, this is not a one-sided problem. From the time I have spent here, I do get a lot of negative input from Canadians. I have been more lucky than most. In fact, many Canadians think I was born here, because I don’t have the language problem. The other Hong Kong students—with language problems, are particularly prone to these types of negative attacks. This reflects a lack of understanding and tolerance of other cultures on the part of some Canadians. *(No. 049 - Hong Kong)*.

In the sample, (N=19 or 38.0%) experienced less discrimination than they expected, while (N=11 or 22.0%) experienced more discrimination than they expected. Several factors may help to account for the disjunction between expected and actual levels of discrimination. Previous experiences with discrimination in home countries, or countries of foreign study other than Canada, reduced in saliency the perception of discrimination in the host country:

Even if discrimination in Canada did occur, I would be inclined to overlook it. This is because the discrimination in England (where I spent time in a boarding school), was quite severe. Since then, I’ve seen a lot worse. So, if I did experience discrimination in Canada, I probably wouldn’t recognize it as such. *(No. 043 - India)*.

When I arrived in Canada and lived here for a few months, I found that the discrimination was less than what I expected. Having studied in the United States, I think you feel discrimination much more there than in Canada. It is a sort of reaction, because there is a kind of social and economic

competition that affects race relations. I haven't really perceived such tension in Canada. *(No. 070 - Botswana)*.

Staying within the confines of the university environment helped shelter respondents from potentially more serious acts of discrimination:

I was not put in a situation that would develop discrimination. Universities, where I spend lots of time, are more or less the 'ideal society'. *(No. 006 - Egypt)*.

I did have expectations concerning the discrimination I might experience. But, not within the university environment. Discrimination, I think, is much lower within the university, as opposed to outside of it. As I said before, I have not had much opportunity to meet Canadians from outside the confines of the university. *(No. 064 - India)*.

The level of discrimination against the Chinese students is difficult to measure in any precise manner. I don't really know, because I have been living within the university community. I think here, the people are more open-minded than those outside of the university environment. *(No. 087 - Mainland China)*.

The covert nature of discrimination also reduced in saliency, what otherwise might have been perceived as greater levels of discrimination:

This is a difficult area to define, because sometimes discrimination comes in a very subtle form. There is no incident that has stuck in my mind to say that I was definitely discriminated against because I am a Black person. One can never be sure at all. In general, I didn't think I would experience anything that would make me feel uncomfortable. When you leave your country for another, you expect that you will be treated differently. And, perhaps people will see a difference and react in a certain way towards you. But that kind of situation didn't really actualize. *(No. 070 - Botswana)*.

One expects more discrimination than one actually experiences. So, when comparing the expected and the

actual, you tend almost not to experience any discrimination at all. Most of the discrimination you encounter in Canada is not direct. Canadians don't want to show that they discriminate, but some of the questions they ask you really makes you wonder: 'What would the person be thinking about me for him to ask these types of questions?' (*No. 080 - Nigeria*).

Now that I'm here, I think it is less than what I expected. Because, as I said before, the Canadians are subtle. Zimbabwe was like South Africa up until Independence which happened in 1980. So, we are still a young independent nation. The way I view Canada, is that I see it as a more multi-ethnic society. Although people would like to think there is no racial tension, it exists. (*No. 095 - Zimbabwe*).

Quinn (1950) regards ethnic group formation as a manifestation of discrimination by members of the 'out-group', against members of the 'in-group':

Segregation may be thought of as a process whereby people are separated or set apart. As such it serves to place limits upon social interaction. Segregation finds one form of expression in discrimination, where individuals are afforded differential treatment by virtue of their membership in a particular group (1950:352).

Janis and Smith write that social adjustment "pertains to the influence of information about the way other people regard the object. This information engages his motives to affiliate and identify himself with them or to detach himself and oppose them" (1966:205). Whereas intra-community enclosure helps to repair self-esteem damaged through the effects of prejudice and discrimination, it permits the sojourner to live in the host society without being an integral part of it. Withdrawal into one's conational group may result in an almost total avoidance of social contact with hosts. At best, relations with hosts will be superficial and

limited to contacts within the student or professional context. Thus, self-segregation impedes adjustment to the host society by reducing the pressure to come to terms with new situations.

Finally, the failure to establish effective communication with hosts frequently manifests itself as feelings of loneliness and/or homesickness (Ward and Searle, 1991). Table 3.9 shows that 33.2% more single than married respondents experienced frequent feelings of loneliness. Married respondents experience feelings of loneliness less frequently if spouses are together in the host country. Differences in interaction-potential with hosts may also help to account for differences in feelings of loneliness. Single sojourners have more opportunities to interact with hosts than do married ones. This higher interaction-potential increases exposure to rejection and the number of failed contacts with hosts. Consequently, single sojourners are expected to experience feelings of loneliness more frequently than are married ones. Table 3.10 underscores the importance of establishing effective communication with hosts for successful sojourner adjustment. It shows that 36.3% more of those who had difficulty forming friendships with members of the host country experienced frequent feelings of homesickness, compared to those who did not.

The Social Adjustment of Married Couples

Few studies have addressed the social adjustment of married couples in general, and of spouses who accompany students abroad in particular. The following

Table 3.9
Crosstabulation of Feelings of Loneliness by
Marital Status

Marital Status	Feelings of Loneliness		Total
	Frequent	Infrequent	
Married	26.1 (6)	73.9 (17)	100.0 (23)
Single	59.2 (16)	40.7 (11)	100.0 (27)
Chi-square = 5.54 df = 1 p < .02			

Table 3.10
Crosstabulation of Feelings of Homesickness by
Friendship Formation With Hosts

Friendship Formation with Hosts	Feelings of Homesickness		Total
	Frequent	Infrequent	
Easy	37.5 (3)	62.5 (5)	100.0 (8)
Difficult	73.8 (7)	26.2 (11)	100.0 (42)
Chi-square = 4.07 df = 1 p < .05			

section proposes to fill this void. In the sample, 23 (46.0%) reported being married, 25 (50.0%) were unmarried, and 2 (4.0%) were widowed. Of the 23 respondents who reported being married, 16 (69.6%) had spouses who resided in Hamilton. Of the seven respondents whose spouses did not reside with them, five remained in their respective home countries, while two resided in countries other than Canada. Married respondents from repressive regimes experienced lengthy bureaucratic delays in being reunited with family members in the host country:

My wife joined me two years later. When I came here, I wanted her to come here also. But in China, she had to go through a very time-consuming procedure. It took more than eight months. After maybe a year or a year and a half of studying alone (without your wife, who is not allowed to leave with you), is the spouse qualified to apply. This is a government policy (National Education Committee of China). (*No. 094 - Mainland China*).

Respondents either saved or borrowed money from conationals to produce a financial declaration of support, which would allow them to bring their families to Canada:

My wife stayed in China where she worked as an engineer. She holds an M.Sc. She stayed in order to help support herself and our son, while I studied in Canada. This was important for her to do, because my pay was suspended upon becoming a foreign student. Only after I showed evidence of financial support, were my wife and son allowed to join me. So, this explains why there was a year delay in my family coming here. My wife worked in a factory, but then transferred to my work unit in the capacity of office staff worker. The Chinese government has a policy that permits wives a six month leave to visit their husbands. Once in Canada, one can obtain an extension of the visitor's visa (from the Canadian govern-

ment), beyond the original six month period. (*No. 088 - Mainland China*).

Married respondents were asked to identify the types of problems of adjustment their spouses experienced during their time spent in the host country. Thus, the data was derived second hand and through the students' perspective — not the perspectives of those being reported on. Table 3.11 shows that failure to secure employment commensurate with previously-attained qualifications was the most important problem of adjustment experienced by wives. As one respondent commented, securing such employment entailed 'having to begin the process all over again':

In China, she learned English at the university she studied in, but took courses at Mohawk College. I asked her whether she wanted to attend Mohawk College full-time, but she did not want to spend \$6,000 for tuition. I advised her to enroll in a certificate program in a field related to what she did her degrees in when in China. (*No. 094 - Mainland China*).

Wives experienced significant occupational dislocation upon accepting temporary employment in Canada. This was, in part, due to the inability of employers and academic institutions to properly evaluate the quality of academic degrees obtained abroad. Lack of proficiency in the host language also reduced the prospect of securing employment commensurate with previously-attained academic qualifications. Consequently, wives were forced to accept low-paying, low-status jobs where strong English language skills were not essential. Several representative cases are described below:

Table 3.11
A Rank Ordering of Types of Problems of Adjustment of Spouse

Problems of Adjustment	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=43	Overall Rank
	1. N=16	2. N=14	3. N=13		
	(in percent)				
Financial/Employment N=17 [39.5%]					
Difficulty obtaining employment commensurate with previously attained academic qualifications	8 (50.0)	4 (28.6)	1 (7.7)	13 (30.2)	1
Financial difficulties	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (23.1)	4 (9.3)	4
Personal N=13 [30.2%]					
Loneliness	0 (0.0)	4 (28.6)	3 (23.1)	7 (16.3)	3
Boredom	0 (0.0)	3 (21.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.0)	5
Homesickness	3 (18.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.0)	5
Sociocultural N=13 [30.2%]					
Language deficiencies	1 (6.3)	3 (21.4)	5 (38.5)	9 (20.9)	2
Lack of meaningful social interaction with conationals	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	1 (7.7)	2 (4.7)	6
Lack of meaningful social interaction with hosts	2 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.6)	6

34 cases not applicable; 16 valid cases

My wife has been in Canada for only one week. I had to save money for three to four years in order to help bring her over to Canada. We plan to send our son to school to learn the English language. Only then will my wife be able to apply for a work permit and seek employment. My wife was an academic in China. She would like to make some money here in Canada. But first, she must take some time to learn the English language. She might eventually take the Test of English as a Foreign Language and return to school. (*No. 048 - Mainland China*).

My wife arrived four months after me. In China, she was an accountant. In Canada, she works at Wendy's restaurant. My wife works to help support the family. She knows that she can get a better job more closer to her qualifications. The only problem that is holding her back is her poor English language. But, she is trying to improve her language skills. She is learning the English language through Adult Education. (*No. 051 - Mainland China*).

It was very difficult for her to find another job related to her university training. Moreover, my wife did not receive the correct information or guidance when she tried to apply for a work permit. This created a lot of problems. My wife works as a sewing machine operator. She doesn't like the type of work she does. The workforce is comprised only of females. It is a female ghetto. They receive minimum wage—the lowest rate of pay. Yet, we have no choice. She works only to help my family survive. There is a multi-racial community in the factory in which she works. This creates some problems of social interaction with the other female workers, because they do not speak the English language very well. (*No. 091 - Sri Lanka*).

Unlike husbands who derived satisfaction from meeting their academic goals and engaging in social interaction in conjunction with their studies at university, wives had fewer avenues of social contact open to them. Failure to make contact resulted in feelings of homesickness, loneliness and boredom:

Initially, she found a lot of difficulty. I'd be at school and she'd be at home all day with the kids. There was a Canadian

family. The members of a high-context family are related in a hierarchical and gender-segregated manner. One of the first forces to “crack” the united front of a high-context-culture is the employment of wives outside of the home:

Although many high-context-culture women attempt to be both wage earners and traditional housewives (i.e., continuing to conduct all the home maintenance tasks ascriptively assigned to them), many start to question their gender-subordinate position and demand a greater part in family and even community decision making (Herberg 1989:270).

However, given that wives were encapsulated within a workplace environment comprised mainly of immigrants, influences that might otherwise challenge traditional gender-role prescriptions were effectively neutralized. Differences learned by children in the school system also force cultural changes on the family. Table 3.12 shows that approximately 57.0% of children of married couples were less than six years of age, and hence too young to attend primary schools in the city. Thus, these two situational factors contributed to the isolation of married couples by insulating them from external forces of change, thereby slowing the pace of acculturation to the host society.

Enclosure within a conational group also tends to retard the intergroup integrative process. Lack of meaningful social interaction with hosts prevents learning the norms of the host society. Furthermore, self-segregation prevents gaining proficiency in the host language, and thus handicaps the sojourner occupationally and socially. Finally, enclosure within a conational group may have

Table 3.12
Ages of Children of Married Couples

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
0 to 2 years 11 months	5	21.7
3 to 5 years 11 months	8	34.8
6 to 10 years 11 months	6 *	26.1
11 to 15 years 11 months	4 *	17.4
	<u>N=23</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

* Indicates age group in which duplication involving three children occurred: one in the 6 to 10 years 11 months age group and two in the 11 to 15 years 11 months age group.

the effect of strengthening group ethnocultural cohesion, particularly in the face of derogatory external definitions. This, in turn, generates an atmosphere that is corrosive of mutual understanding between sojourner and host.

Conclusion

A single, comprehensive theory of sojourner adjustment does not exist at the present time. In this chapter, it is shown that the concept 'intercultural communication' can be used to integrate the various approaches that exist for explaining the process of intercultural adjustment. Establishing contact and communication with hosts is shown to be necessary precondition for successful sojourner adjustment. Effective intercultural communication establishes a necessary, although not sufficient, basis for achieving mutual understanding between sojourner and host. A sojourner may know how to communicate effectively in the host culture, but may be unable to accept or reconcile the differences between cultures.

In this chapter, it is also shown that in trying to establish communication with hosts, sojourners encounter problems and frustrations. Sojourner adjustment is shown to be related to those areas in which differences occur between cultures, thereby contributing to misunderstandings in the communication process. Among such factors identified are: lack of knowledge on the part of hosts of the sojourner's home culture; low accorded national status, and by extension, personal status;

and lack of consensus between sojourner and hosts' expectations regarding appropriate role behaviour. Sojourner adjustment is also shown to be related to proficiency in the host language. Frequent use of mother tongue, generated and reinforced by a large conational group, is shown to impede the process of gaining proficiency in the host language, thereby undermining the effective exchange of information between sojourner and host.

This chapter also contributes to our understanding of intergroup relations. Segregation due to the effects of stereotyping, ethnocentrism, and prejudice is shown to undermine the effective interpersonal functioning of the sojourner, thereby retarding the intergroup integrative process. Segregation (either voluntary or involuntary) is shown to restrict the opportunity to make contact with hosts, and form meaningful friendships with them. Forming such friendships is shown to facilitate adjustment by affording the sojourner with an opportunity to learn about the norms that govern the host society, and to gain proficiency in the host language. Failure to establish effective communication with hosts due to the factors cited earlier, is shown to engender feelings of estrangement, homesickness and loneliness. This may account, in part, for the instrumental involvement of some international students with the host country.

This chapter also goes beyond the available literature in examining the social adjustment problems of married couples, and in focusing on the social adjustment of wives and the occupations they engage in while in the host country.

A variety of structural factors are shown to effectively shelter married couples and their families from external forces of change. The resultant isolation and lack of social interaction with hosts is shown to be reinforced by rationalizations (e.g., coming here to get the job done in as short a time as possible), and by withdrawing into a social niche comprised of other conational couples. Wives were found to have experienced more difficulty in adjusting to their foreign environment than did their spouses. They were also found to have fewer opportunities to engage in meaningful social interaction with both conationals and hosts. The efforts made by wives to improve their English language skills, in order to counteract significant occupational dislocation experienced upon leaving respective home countries, suggests that individuals who accompany sojourners abroad experience unique types of adjustment problems. Consequently, this category of sojourner is proposed as being the focus of future research.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE SOCIAL NETWORK INVOLVEMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

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Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the effect that personal involvement in social networks has on the social adjustment of international students. Meaningful social interaction with conationals and hosts has been found to be of central importance in facilitating effective sociocultural adaptation (Kagan and Cohen, 1990; Ward and Kennedy, 1993a and 1993b). This chapter, therefore, examines the nature and quality of interpersonal ties established with conationals and hosts. The quality of network ties is examined through the interactional characteristics of 'intensity' (the perceived significance of the linkages); and the 'strength of ties' (the degree to which others provide support for one or more of the respondent's self-conceptions). This chapter seeks to determine whether the meanings attributed to relationships established with conationals differ from those established with hosts. The factors which bring international students into meaningful social relationships with hosts, and those which inhibit the growth of such relationships, are also examined.

The concepts salient to social exchange theory are utilized in assessing the types of help exchanged between sojourner and others. This chapter seeks to determine whether the help provided by hosts differs from the help provided by conationals. Assymetry in exchange relations and the geographical movement of significant ties are factors which undermine the successful adjustment of the sojourner. The former leads to a condition of dependency and thus threatens the sojourner's self-esteem, while the latter has negative repercussions on the social networks they are a part of.

Successful sojourner adjustment is enhanced by meaningful participation in ethnic institutions. Organizational participation will be shown to be an important medium for maintaining a positive sense of self-esteem, thereby facilitating sojourner adjustment. Finally, the consequences of total absorption within such organizations for sojourner adjustment and integration into the host society is examined.

Nature and Quality of Social Interaction with Hosts

Social interaction with hosts occurred within the university environment under conditions that were primarily task-oriented. Table 4.1 shows that academic work was the most frequently mentioned type of activity respondents engaged in, while in the company of hosts. Although respondents reported a variety of activities in the company of hosts, social conversation was generally circumscribed to discussions about academic matters:

Table 4.1
Multiple Response Frequency of Activities Engaged in
While in the Company of Hosts

Type of Activity	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Academic work	50	39.7
Meals at university/with host family	24	19.0
Walks, outings	19	15.1
Eating at restaurants	13	10.3
English language tutoring	12	9.5
Going shopping	8	6.3
	<u>N=126</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Total number of valid cases: N=50

My interaction with Canadian students revolves around academic work exclusively. I rarely talk to them on a social basis. The conversation is almost always about school work. *(No. 016 - Mainland China)*.

The relationship is purely an academic one. I have never met with them on a social basis. *(No. 056 - Indonesia)*.

When you have an assignment to do, then you can get together and talk. The academic work provides the medium for communication. In its absence, it is difficult to simply approach a Canadian. *(No. 092 - Sri Lanka)*.

Not unexpectedly, most respondents (N=42 or 84.0%) found the task of establishing friendships with hosts to be more difficult than with conationals. Table 4.2 shows that inadequate knowledge of basic aspects of Canadian society, essential for establishing effective intercultural communication, impeded friendship formation with hosts:

When I speak with Egyptians, the conversation is interactive. With Canadians, it becomes one-sided. They talk, and I listen. My lack of knowledge about Canadian things like hockey, prevents me from fully engaging in a conversation with Canadians. So, I'm not a full partner in the discussion. *(No. 075 - Egypt)*.

Sometimes, you miss the dry humour. It is not that you didn't understand the grammar or a particular word itself. It is really the lack of information about the culture. There are many things in daily conversation that are tied up with the culture. You have to know some background information of an event the other person is talking about, in order to understand it. *(No. 087 - Mainland China)*.

I think that cultural differences are more important than language. When Canadians are talking about political events that happened here, or some sporting event, I don't understand, even if I can understand most of the words they use. *(No. 090 - Mainland China)*.

Table 4.2
A Rank Ordering of Factors That Impede Friendship
Formation with Hosts

Type of Factor	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=136	Overall Rank
	1. N=48	2. N=45	3. N=43		
	(in percent)				
Sociocultural N=122 [89.7%]					
Cultural differences	32 (66.7)	12 (26.7)	11 (25.6)	55 (40.4)	1
Problems with verbal and nonverbal communication	7 (14.6)	19 (42.2)	10 (23.3)	36 (26.5)	2
Difficulty making initial contact	5 (10.4)	9 (20.0)	17 (39.5)	31 (22.8)	3
Personal N=6 [4.4%]					
Time pressure	2 (4.2)	3 (6.7)	1 (2.3)	6 (4.4)	4
Non-acceptance N=5 [3.7%]					
Perceived racial discrimination	0 (0.0)	2 (4.4)	3 (7.0)	5 (3.7)	5
Financial N=3 [2.2%]					
Lack of financial resources	2 (4.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.3)	3 (2.2)	6

2 cases not applicable; 48 valid cases

Contrasting and/or conflicting cultural values and assumptions between home and host country also impeded friendship formation with hosts:

Canadians are very open toward the opposite sex. The Chinese are traditional in this regard. We are shy in public and particularly toward the opposite sex. *(No. 012 - Mainland China)*.

One thing that was particularly difficult for me to accept here in Canada was your treatment of the elderly. There is a lot of respect given to the elderly in my country. I board a city bus everyday in Hamilton. Whenever I see an elderly lady standing, I automatically offer a seat. Because, in a similar situation in Ghana, someone would tell you: 'Get up and let the woman sit down'. It would be a reproach to you. *(No. 027 - Ghana)*.

I think that my personality is mismatched with the personalities of Canadians. I am conservative-minded, and I perceive Canadians to be more liberal-minded. *(No. 035 - Algeria)*.

Let me put it this way, the dominant force in this society is individualism. When you do find collective activities, it is certainly subordinate. In Greece, you don't go to a bar to get drunk, you go to be with your friends. The only time you drink is during some celebration. Other people have to be over, or several friends might go out. *(No. 052 - Greece)*.

The relationship between the family members in Canada is much looser than what you would observe in China. In China, the family unit keeps close ties. Each member of the family influences the others greatly. In Canada, once you are over eighteen years of age you are on your own. You separate from your parents. Maybe this is not entirely true, but it does happen in many Canadian families. This separation does not occur in China, unless you have to go away to university far away from your home. *(No. 087 - Mainland China)*.

A problematic aspect of interaction discussed by Heiss (1981:259) which deals with 'defining the situation', concerns the absence of the appropriate elements from the actor's repertoire. Individuals who arrive from radically different cultures may experience difficulty establishing interpersonal relationships, particularly when the proper means of doing so are unclear (Gao and Gudykunst, 1990; Ward and Searle, 1991). Table 4.3 shows that 42.5% more of those who arrived from developing countries had difficulty forming friendships with hosts, compared to those who arrived from developed countries:

I do not interact very much with Canadians, because I do not know how to approach them. I can't rely on my Chinese friends for advice, because they have the same problem as me. (*No. 020 - Mainland China*).

You don't know how Canadians think. Some of my friends suggested different ways of meeting other Canadians. I did not really know the procedure of approaching Canadians for the purpose of making friends. Here you get lost. You don't know what behaviour is right or wrong. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

An inability to bridge cultural differences may lead to feelings of alienation and social estrangement:

In school, I felt different from those around me. I could not relate to the Canadian girls. At the same time, I am a single female from Zimbabwe on campus. There is no opportunity to meet other males or females from my own country. I was forced to experience everything around me as a Canadian. Nothing outside of my children reminds me of home. (*No. 041 - Zimbabwe*).

Table 4.3
Crosstabulation of Friendship Formation With Hosts by
Level of Economic Development of Home Country

Level of Economic Development of Home Country	Friendship Formation With Hosts		Total
	Easy	Difficult	
First World	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)	100.0 (10)
Third World	37.5 (3)	92.5 (37)	100.0 (40)
Chi-square = 10.75 df = 1 p < .01			

Lack of proficiency in the host language (as evidenced by frequent use of mother tongue in lieu of the host language) was another important factor impeding friendship formation with hosts. Table 4.4 shows that 29.9% more of those who used their mother tongue frequently had difficulty forming friendships with hosts, compared to those who did not:

Canadians think that we don't want to join any social activities with them. I agree that we don't interact with Canadians as much as we should, but it is not out of prejudice. The misunderstandings caused by my poor English language is so troublesome to me, that it is the major reason for my decision to return to China. You experience a bad impression. *(No. 032 - Mainland China).*

An inadequate command of the host language reinforces the tendency to withdraw into conational subcultures in which there is less room for misunderstanding, potential embarrassment and/or discomfort:

I know that many Canadians are kind, but when they see that you speak English poorly, they talk to you the way we talk to children. Psychologically you feel some pressure. *(No. 079 - Mainland China).*

The presence of prejudice or discrimination hastens withdrawal into conational subcultures. Within their respective conational groups, individuals are reminded less of their minority status. By sharing a mutual situation, conationals affirm the individuals' view of himself as being 'not different'. Thus, within such a group, one's idealized conception of self is validated by significant others:

Table 4.4
Crosstabulation of Friendship Formation With Hosts
by Frequency of Use of Mother Tongue

Frequency of Use of Mother Tongue	Friendship Formation With Hosts		Total
	Easy	Difficult	
Frequent	3.4 (1)	96.6 (28)	100.0 (29)
Infrequent	33.3 (7)	66.7 (14)	100.0 (21)
Chi-square = 8.09 df = 1 p < .01			

Some of the Chinese students feel that it is easier to withdraw into their own group. The attitude is 'Why be a martyr'. (*No. 057 - Mainland China*).

I think my main problem is: 'What is the other person thinking of?' Is he racist? Is he going to criticize my accent as before? Initially, I think my consciousness of being Black was very strong. For example, when you get on a city bus, people tend to stare at you. But, I think I am getting more comfortable with this. (*No. 086 - Ghana*).

A lot of Canadians think that the Chinese want to isolate themselves. Somebody once told me that the relationship between Canadians and Chinese is like oil and water. The two don't mix. Our view is that Canadians may not want to be with those who can't speak English well. This causes us to withdraw. (*No. 093 - Mainland China*).

Self-segregation, however, may have negative consequences for establishing effective intercultural communication, essential for achieving a mutual understanding between sojourner and host:

If you congregate within your own student ghetto, you only know what others in your group know. You need another perspective, which can only be gained by getting outside of your own group. Every culture has a good and bad side. The problem lies in failing to see both sides of a culture. Sometimes, one disagreeable point about Canadian culture becomes magnified and unfairly generalized, reflecting negatively on all Canadians. This is wrong, and this is what I don't like. (*No. 049 - Hong Kong*).

A minority of respondents (N=6 or 12.5%) found the task of forming friendships with members of the host country to be easier than with conationals. Previous cross-cultural experience was an important factor facilitating friendship formation with hosts. Table 4.5 shows that 34.6% more of those who had such experiences

Table 4.5
Crosstabulation of Friendship Formation With Hosts
by Previous Cross-cultural Experiences

Previous Cross-cultural Experiences	Friendship Formation With Hosts		Total
	Easy	Difficult	
Yes	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	100.0 (9)
No	9.8 (4)	90.2 (37)	100.0 (41)
Chi-square = 6.61 df = 1 p < .02			

found friendship formation with hosts to be non-problematic, compared to those lacking such experiences. Whereas one's compatriot group is central in realizing and confirming the various dimensions of an individual's identity, for some, it may be a 'negative' reference group (Kelman, 1965:83). A deep sense of alienation and social estrangement may result, drawing such individuals away from conationals and closer to hosts:

In (home country deleted), you build barriers between people and you live behind your barrier. And everything is fine, so long as everybody stays on their side of the barrier. Whereas here, everybody is expected to communicate freely with one another. I happen to like the system here. (*No. 011 - Home country deleted*).

I differ politically, religiously, from mainstream Irish society. Those from my country hold attitudes that I am completely alienated from. We can't see eye to eye. With Canadians, nothing is presupposed. I get along with them much better, and I prefer their company. (*No. 047 - Ireland*).

Relative to the wealthy Sri Lankans, and in particular, the undergraduate students that come to study here, I am an economic minority. I would not want to form friendships with them. They often take a condescending attitude toward me. They often say things such as 'I attended this high school, or came from this area of Sri Lanka, or travelled around the world'. When I tell them I'm from a remote area, their reaction is a surprised one. It is my feeling that any outside scholarships are given to the rich Sri Lankans at the expense of the poorer ones. (*No. 092 - Sri Lanka*).

The Symbolic Significance of Interpersonal Ties

Respondents were asked to identify their three 'closest' friends in the host country. Table 4.6 shows that conationals ranked as the closest of three friends

Table 4.6
A Rank Ordering of Close Friends of Respondent

Category of Close Friend	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=147	Overall Rank
	1. N=49	2. N=49	3. N=49		
(in percent)					
Conational N=77 [52.4%]					
An international student [from home country]	28 (57.1)	23 (47.0)	26 (53.1)	77 (52.4)	1
Host N=51 [34.6%]					
A Canadian student [not of same ethnic origin]	8 (16.3)	6 (12.2)	5 (10.2)	19 (12.9)	2
A Canadian non-student [not of same ethnic origin]	6 (12.2)	8 (16.3)	5 (10.2)	19 (12.9)	2
A Canadian family member [of same ethnic origin]	2 (4.1)	6 (12.2)	5 (10.2)	13 (8.8)	3
Other N=19 [12.9%]					
An international student [not from home country]	5 (10.2)	6 (12.2)	8 (16.3)	19 (12.9)	2

1 case not applicable; 49 valid cases

mentioned. Friendship choices were frequently made amid structural constraints. Table 4.7 shows that insufficient numbers of conationals studying on campus was the major factor contributing to the lack of desired number of friendships established with conationals:

I know of only six or seven Ethiopians studying at McMaster. They, unlike myself, are undergraduates. I would have liked them to be graduate students — someone who is older, someone with whom I have more in common. (*No. 060 - Ethiopia*).

I know only two graduate students, but no undergraduate ones. But, it is my understanding that some new students will be coming in September. I am looking forward to their arrival. (*No. 080 - Nigeria*).

When I came here in January, there was only one other Ghanaian student on campus who arrived in September. We call each other occasionally, but the problem is that we live a far distance apart. I would like at times to speak my own language and share experiences with other Ghanians. (*No. 086 - Ghana*).

Granovetter (1973:1378) contends that ‘weak ties’ are “indispensable to individuals’ opportunities and to their integration into communities”, by acting as important bridges to others. Members of the host country were important ‘weak ties’ who played a central role in linking respondents to other conationals:

There was a dinner for C.I.D.A. scholars arranged by the President of McMaster University. We were asked to announce to the others present, the country we were from. When Canadians found out that I was Nigerian, they asked: ‘Have you met this person?’ So, Canadians introduced me to my fellow countrymen. (*No. 080 - Nigeria*).

Table 4.7
A Rank Ordering of Factors Contributing to Lack of Desired
Number of Close Friendships With Conationals

Type of Factor	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=36	Overall Rank
	1. N=23	2. N=12	3. N=1		
	(in percent)				
Availability N=22 [61.1%]					
Limited number of conationals on campus	15 (65.2)	2 (16.7)	0 (0.0)	17 (47.2)	1
Unaware of presence of other conationals	2 (8.7)	3 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (13.9)	2
Situational Factors N=9 [25.0%]					
Dislikes forming allegiances based on national origin	2 (8.7)	3 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (13.9)	2
Differences in marital status; age; gender; level of study	1 (4.3)	3 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (11.1)	3
Estrangement N=5 [13.9%]					
Attitudinal/class-based differences	3 (13.0)	1 (8.3)	1 (100.0)	5 (13.9)	2

27 cases not applicable; 23 valid cases

I first met the other Sri Lankans on campus through my roommate, who is Tamil. He introduced me, as he was good friends with another student from my country. My English tutor also helped to introduce me to new people. We are still friends. (*No. 092 - Sri Lanka*).

I met most people within my department. The co-ordinator of the Medical Sciences- D,M,E program informed me about a fellow male Zimbabwean on campus. (*No. 095 - Zimbabwe*).

The *Office of the International Students' Advisor*, located on the McMaster University campus, was also instrumental in introducing respondents to conationals who were studying on campus, as well as keeping them informed about future arrivals.

The symbolic significance of respondents' relationships to significant others was ascertained through an analysis of the meaning of 'close' friendships. Several studies have emphasized the importance of conationals in providing support, advice, and reassurance. Fitzpatrick writes:

If people are torn too rapidly away from traditional cultural framework of their lives, and thrown too quickly as strangers into a cultural environment which is unfamiliar, the danger of social disorganization is very great. They need the traditional social group in which they are at home, in which they find psychological satisfaction and security, in order to move with confidence toward interaction with the larger society. The immigrant community is the beachhead from which they move with strength (1966:8).

Table 4.8 shows that respondents defined 'close' relationships primarily in terms of the help, support, and advice which friends provide for each other:

Few Canadians actually go out of their way to help you. The smiles, and politeness, don't translate into helping behaviour. It's different within your own (ethnic) community. The first

Table 4.8
A Rank Ordering of Respondent's Definition of Close Friend

Definition of Close Friend	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=136	Overall Rank
	1. N=50	2. N=46	3. N=40		
	(in percent)				
Social Support N=130 [95.6%]					
Can provide emotional support.....	10 (20.0)	39 (84.8)	9 (22.5)	58 (42.7)	1
Can exchange material help	37 (74.0)	5 (10.9)	4 (10.0)	46 (33.8)	2
Can exchange academic ideas	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	26 (65.0)	26 (19.1)	3
Commonalities N=6 [4.4%]					
Same ethnic group; national origin; religious affiliation; age group; professional interests	3 (6.0)	2 (4.3)	1 (2.5)	6 (4.4)	4

Total number of valid cases: N=50

day you are introduced as a new student, people say do this and that, or I'm coming with you, this is the person to talk to, if you are having any problems, come and talk to me—this is my phone number. This you don't expect from Canadians. (*No. 052 - Greece*).

It is important for me that other Nigerians are around. This is especially important if you are a newcomer. When you arrive in an unfamiliar setting, you are mostly apprehensive. For the first few months you are in a new place, you are obviously homesick and you would like to see someone from your own country. You are not familiar with the other people around you. It would be helpful in these circumstances to know someone from your own country who could understand you better. (*No. 085 - Nigeria*).

An important factor in the selection of intimate friends was ethnic origin and background. Consequently, the 'intensity' of ties established with conationals was found to be much stronger than those established with hosts:

I have my own definitions of 'close' friend and 'just a friend'. I can share everything with a close friend. We have a mutual understanding. A 'friend' for me, means that we can interact on a social basis, but personal problems cannot be shared. By this definition, I have no close friends here in Hamilton who are Canadian. (*No. 007 - Hong Kong*).

Closeness of an intimate level is usually reserved for the Chinese themselves. There are exceptions, however. I, for example, have some close Canadian friends with whom I discuss personal matters. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

The feeling of closeness with a Canadian is not the same as with a Botswana. I grew up in my society. I know my family, my relatives, people I've grown up with. I feel more socially secure there. Here, the friendliness is there, the company is there, but you can never know someone deeply. My general level of comfort is much greater back home. (*No. 070 - Botswana*).

However, the mere possession of a common ethnic background was not sufficient to generate close friendships among conationals. Personal compatibility frequently superseded ethnic origin as the primary basis of close friendships:

There are only ten students from Egypt here on campus. The thing is that we are ten different people, from ten different families, from ten different backgrounds. People think that we must necessarily get along together with one another. It is not a matter of being an Egyptian that counts. Rather, one's personality is more important. (*No. 006 - Egypt*).

According to Goldsen *et al.* (1956), the external conditions that bring together physically the members of different cultures encourages the development of meaningful contact among them. The living arrangements of international students (actual and/or preferred) is an important indicator which expresses the degree of opportunity for interaction with others. An examination of respondents' roommate preference shows that some (N=19 or 38.0%) indicated a clear preference to share an accommodation with a conational. Table 4.9 shows that 45.2% more of those who preferred a conational roommate had difficulty establishing friendships with hosts, compared to those who did not. For these, sharing an accommodation with a conational was expected to result in fewer misunderstandings:

I would never have to ask certain questions about the character or values of a Chinese. We understand one another completely. This makes things much easier than living with a Canadian. Even if I misjudged this particular person, I am fairly certain what the average Chinese student would be like. I would, however, have to ask these types of questions when

Table 4.9
Crosstabulation of Preference for Conational Roommate
by Friendship Formation With Hosts

Friendship Formation With Hosts	Preference for Conational Roommate			Total
	Yes	No	Depends	
Easy	— (0)	87.5 (7)	12.5 (1)	100.0 (8)
Difficult	45.2 (19)	14.3 (6)	40.5 (17)	100.0 (42)
Chi-square = 18.9 df = 2 p < .001				

considering sharing a place with a Canadian. (*No. 026 - Mainland China*).

Respondents who indicated a clear preference to share an accommodation with a host (N=13 or 26.0%) desired to improve their language skills and learn about the social customs and norms of the host country:

I would choose a Canadian roommate, for sure, because I want to create a better language environment for myself. This has been my principle of choosing roommates ever since I came to Canada. (*No. 087 - Mainland China*).

If I have a roommate from my country, I'll find myself being confined more to that particular niche. I'll end up interacting more with them and less with Canadians. I don't want that. If I have a roommate from my own country, ethnic background, or culture, I will be forced to obey the rules of my own culture, which may or may not be applicable here. It is not so much that people from my country would impose their values on me, but rather I would feel obliged to adhere to the norms of my culture. In that sense, I would resent having to conform. For example, if people from my culture see me at a bar, or see me with a girl, or if someone calls me at home and a girl answers the phone, they will have an immediate negative reaction. (*No. 089 - United Arab Emirates*).

The data on roommate preference suggests that students who have meaningful social interaction with hosts will be better adjusted and more satisfied with their sojourn experience, than those who, because of either preference or necessity, self-segregate. Whereas conationals aid in initial adjustment by providing emotional support and guidance, they inadvertently hinder or slow down the longer-term adjustment of the sojourner:

Chinese students feel free, or more at ease with their own kind, but they can't help you improve your English language. Only living with a Canadian can provide this opportunity. Canadian roommates would prevent me from speaking Chinese, thereby forcing me to improve my English language. (*No. 020 - Mainland China*).

I do realize that, at the same time, I will miss out on a major part of my education here in Canada. Learning about Canadian culture is as important as getting the academic education I came here for. (*No. 026 - Mainland China*).

Types of Help Exchanged

Gottlieb's (1981) social support hypothesis suggests that sojourner adjustment will be influenced by the 'quality' and 'quantity' of support received from the social networks individuals are part of. Bochner (1982), on the other hand, places more emphasis on the nature (i.e., the nationality) or 'source' of that support. He suggests that the social support provided by a host network is of far greater importance to adjustment than that provided by a conational network. It is possible, however, that these two approaches are confounded. That is, the help provided by host country members may be qualitatively different from the help provided by conationals.

A review of the literature on social networks and social support (Caplan, 1974; Cobb, 1976; Kagan and Cohen, 1990; Wan, Chapman, and Biggs, 1992) suggests that individuals who have a strong and supportive friendship network will be better adjusted than those lacking such a network. Social network analysis, therefore, may be useful in determining patterns of aid and assistance among

international students. Table 4.10 shows that 63.3% of respondents in the sample provided most help to a conational, while 26.5% provided most help to a member of the host country. Table 4.11 shows that 52.0% of respondents in the sample received most help from a conational, while 38.0% received most help from a member of the host country. An analysis of the various types of help exchanged underscores the high level of self-help among conationals:

I knew more people when I studied for my Master's degree in England, than I did when I came here to study for the Ph.D. When I went to England to study, a few of my friends were already in England. In many ways, it was as if I was in my own country. We spoke the same language, and people took me to a variety of new places. The money from my country did not arrive on time. There are no teaching assistantships in England. Also, once you are a full-time student in England, you are not permitted to work. I had to rely solely on my home government support. It was only because I had friends that I was able to pull through. *(No. 080 - Nigeria)*.

I did help a couple of friends who tried to have their wives join them. I lent them money without really knowing them well. Two weeks ago I lent \$2,000 to my friend, who tried to bring his wife to the United States to study. *(No. 094 - Mainland China)*.

However, when asked whether there was any person in particular to whom they would go if they had an immediate problem, respondents indicated they would seek help equally among conationals and hosts. Table 4.12 shows that a common ethnic background (i.e., sharing the same language, religion, values) influenced some respondents to solicit help from a conational:

I would seek help from an Egyptian, because another Egyptian understands me. I don't have to explain the context within which the problem falls. *(No. 003 - Egypt)*.

Table 4.10
Frequency Distribution of Individual to Whom
Respondent Provided Most Help

Person/Relationship	Frequency	Percent
Conational N=31 [63.3%]		
An international student [from home country]	31	63.3
Host N=13 [26.5%]		
A Canadian non-student [not of same ethnic origin]	7	14.3
A Canadian student [not of same ethnic origin]	5	10.2
A member of a Canadian family [of same ethnic origin]	1	2.0
Other N=5 [10.2%]		
An international student [not from home country]	5	10.2
	<u>N=49</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

1 case not applicable; 49 valid cases

Table 4.11
Frequency Distribution of Individual From Whom
Respondent Received Most Help

Person/Relationship	Frequency	Percent
Conational N=26 [52.0%]		
An international student [from home country]	26	52.0
Host N=19 [38.0%]		
A Canadian non-student [not of same ethnic origin]	8	16.0
A Canadian student [not of same ethnic origin]	6	12.0
A member of a Canadian family [of same ethnic origin]	5	10.0
Other N=5 [10.0%]		
An international student [not from home country]	5	10.0
	N=50	100.0%

Total number of valid cases: N=50

Table 4.12
Frequency Distribution of Key Individual From Whom
Respondent Would Seek Help

Person/Relationship	Frequency	Percent
Conational N=23 [47.9%]		
An international student [from home country]	16	33.3
Own family by marriage	7	14.6
Host N=22 [45.9%]		
A member of a Canadian family [of same ethnic origin]	8	16.7
A Canadian non-student [not of same ethnic origin]	7	14.6
A Canadian student [not of same ethnic origin]	7	14.6
Other N=3 [6.3%]		
An international student [not from home country]	3	6.3
	<u>N=48</u>	<u>100.1%</u>

2 cases not applicable; 48 valid cases

We have the same feeling generated by the same cultural background. They understand. I will go to them for things first, particularly with personal problems. (*No. 075 - Egypt*).

Social network analysis is useful in determining how conational ties may be sustained, while at the same time other types of linkages are created. According to Mayer, an 'action set', "is composed of network links mobilized for a specific and limited purpose" (1966:115). Mitchell writes:

An action-set may be looked upon as an aspect of a personal network isolated in terms of a specific short-term instrumentally-defined interactional content: the personal network itself is more extensive and more durable (1969:39-49).

Boswell (1969), for example, illustrates that in times of economic crisis an individual turns to assistance to only a selected number of kin and friends, while still maintaining some bonds, direct or indirect, with a wider aggregate of people.

McGahan writes:

There is an underlying pattern of choice in the construction of the action-set; the same potential linkages are not necessarily activated in different circumstances (1982:259).

Boer, however, contends that the concept 'action set', "does not sufficiently describe the temporary and changing character of the networks of foreign (transitory) students" (1981:38). He proposes the concept 'transitory action set', as an appropriate alternative. In the present study, members of the host country constituted such a 'transitory action set'. They were solicited to help with problems that conationals were unfamiliar with, and hence unable to solve:

In China, students don't pay any taxes because our income is so low. So, the problem arose only when I came to Canada. I was confused about the tax system, and asked Canadians to help fill out my tax form. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

I have some friends who are Canadian. They help a lot. When I moved from my basement apartment to one in the West end, I rented a van and they drove it for me, because I do not have a license to drive. (*No. 085 - Nigeria*).

A local Canadian family was the only one I could turn to for help. They wrote an affidavit of proof (of financial support). This allowed my wife and son to leave China and join me in Canada. (*No. 088 - Mainland China*).

Schild writes that “sojourners must establish a modus vivendi with their hosts, which entails learning the norms which regulate their relations” (1962:41). Shattuck’s (1964) study of trans-cultural adaptation of foreign students found a positive relationship between adaptation and “correctness of role perception”. That is, a sojourner who understands what is expected of him by hosts will be better adapted, than one who is ignorant of these expectations. Canadians who served as ‘host families’ played a vital role in helping respondents interpret their foreign environment. Specifically, hosts conveyed valuable information concerning appropriate behaviour in a given set of circumstances, thereby facilitating the respondents’ pace of acculturation to the host society. This information, in turn, laid the groundwork for establishing effective intercultural communication, leading to a mutual understanding between sojourner and host:

I would ask my Canadian girlfriend questions like: ‘If I meet your mother, what do I say’ and ‘how do I address her’? In Ghana, we have a deep respect for our in-laws. In my culture

you are used to shaking hands when greeting people. In Canada, I extend my hand to greet someone, but the other person is not always ready to do the same. (*No. 086 - Ghana*).

I would ask my Canadian roommate as many questions as possible. For example, a Canadian once invited me to a dinner party at his home. I did not know whether or not to bring a gift with me. I discussed this with my roommate and sought his advice. He gave me a variety of options. (*No. 087 - Mainland China*).

The data tends to confirm the view that international students have limited (i.e., functional and utilitarian) contact with hosts. This may account for the fact that many international students return home disgruntled with the society in which they have studied.

Assymetry in Exchange Relations

International students may experience a decline in the amount of resources they bring to social encounters, including material possessions, positions of authority, and access to power resources. The transition to the role of international student may involve a shift from self-sufficiency and autonomy, to one of dependency. This condition of dependency may be analyzed by linking the social exchange approach to the symbolic interactionist perspective. One of the interactional characteristics of social networks is 'directedness', which is "concerned with the balance of power and resources, and pays particular attention to whether linkages are reciprocal" (McGahan, 1982:258). According to status passage theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1971), passagees attempt to construct a passage which maximizes personal control. The

degree of control the passag ee has over the passage influences the degree to which a positive identity can be maintained. Reciprocity in exchange relations serves as an important corrective by contributing to feelings of self-worth, thereby allowing individuals to maintain a positive sense of self.

The respondents were asked whether they were ever dependent on others for help, and/or not in a position to reciprocate. Of the total number in the sample, 43 (86.0%) indicated that they were, while 7 (14.0%) indicated they were not. Table 4.13 shows that ‘powerlessness’ was the most frequently mentioned feeling associated with dependency. Lone international students studying on campus tended to rely on a single member of the host country for help (e.g., English language tutor, landlord). Respondents tried to maintain a positive sense of self under conditions of dependency, by symbolically re-interpreting their inability to reciprocate in a number of ways. Some respondents, for example, perceived themselves to be independent despite being provided with a large amount of help from others. Rationalizations that others had ‘volunteered’ their help, and/or were in a better position to provide help, were also invoked by respondents:

I feel indebted, because I realize that they are being inconvenienced. But, I also realize my position as a student. They are in the workforce, so they have the ability to provide help. So, I don’t feel as badly about accepting help from them, as I normally would. (*No. 013 - Japan*).

Respondents also tried to retain an image of self as ‘independent’ by re-

Table 4.13
Multiple Response Frequency of Feelings Associated
with Dependency

Type of Feeling	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Powerlessness	34	53.1
Discomfort	22	34.4
Indebtedness	5	7.8
Embarrassment	3	4.7
	<u>N=64</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

7 cases not applicable; 43 valid cases

interpreting their objective condition of dependence on hosts, as one of mutual interdependence:

I feel bad that I am not providing that much help to others. I try to do my best, particularly with regard to helping out others emotionally, but not financially. For example, I will cook for my friends, do shopping errands for them, especially if they do not have the time during periods of high academic pressure. (*No. 035 - Algeria*).

The preceding discussion illustrates that not all network ties contribute to a positive sense of self. Providers of excessive amounts of help are ‘negative ties’, who inadvertently remind the recipient of his or her dependent condition. This effectively robs individuals of identity support by undermining the image they wish to present (i.e., as proudly independent). In addition to dependency, lone international students may be the most vulnerable to, and most seriously affected by, the loss of significant ties. The geographical movement of significant ties may have negative repercussions on the social networks individuals are part of. The roles of confidant, friend, helper, cultural mediator or linguistic translator are sometimes lost. In short, meaningful sources of self-reference and identity confirmation are lost, thereby endangering one’s self-continuity. Respondents made efforts to preserve interpersonal ties with close friends who returned to their respective home countries, or left for other universities to complete advanced degrees:

When a close Canadian friend (such as the one who lives in Toronto) graduated and left, we exchanged addresses. We occasionally call each other up and arrange to go out on the

town. In fact, we are planning a trip to France in the near future. (*No. 015 - Lebanon*).

Organizational Participation

Respondents were asked whether or not they belonged to any clubs, associations, or organizations. Of the total number in the sample, 39 (78.0%) indicated they did, while 11 (22.0%) indicated they did not. Table 4.14 shows that 'on-campus' organizations comprised of conationals was the most frequently mentioned type of organization respondents were members of. The largest of these was the Chinese Scholar's and Students' Association.

Several factors determine the number and kinds of institutions immigrant communities develop. One of these is the community's numerical size (Choi, 1970:313). A minimal threshold size is needed for the development and continued support of ethnic institutions:

There are no Algerian clubs or associations on campus, and I know of no off-campus groups formed by Algerian immigrants. The Arab students do meet, but this is not on any formal basis. (*No. 035 - Algeria*).

The formation of ethnic institutions is also determined by the perceived relationship of the ethnic group members to one another (Fitzpatrick, 1966:9). Often the mere possession of a common ethnic background is not sufficient to draw immigrants together and bind them together:

I am not aware of any Black African association or club on campus. The only club on campus left for me to join is the

Table 4.14
Multiple Response Frequency of Organizations
Respondents are Members of

Type of Organization	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
On-campus N=38 [71.7%]		
Conational	22	41.5
Career-related	10	18.9
Other	6	11.3
Off-campus N=15 [28.2%]		
Religious	7	13.2
Immigrant (conational)	4	7.5
Other	4	7.5
	<u>N=53</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

11 cases not applicable; 39 valid cases

Caribbean one, but I have no special affinity with this group. (No. 041 - *Zimbabwe*).

It is my understanding that there is (or at least was) an Arab Heritage Club on campus. However, I consider myself to be an Egyptian first and foremost, and an Arab second. (No. 075 - *Egypt*).

I sometimes meet Sri Lankan immigrants. They have an organization in Toronto, but I don't like it at all. The people always boast of the money they are making in Canada. I don't like their attitude. They say they became immigrants because they are the cream of the crop. (No. 092 - *Sri Lanka*).

A final factor determining the formation of ethnic institutions is the 'separateness' or social distance of the immigrant group from the host society (Price, 1969:188–189). When perceived cultural differences are great ethnic institutions may evolve as substitutes for those of the host society, from which immigrants are excluded. Table 4.15 suggests that the presence of discrimination may enhance the sense of being a member of a particular ethnic group, facilitating the development of, and subsequent withdrawal into, ethnic institutions. It shows that 28.0% more of those who experienced discrimination in the host country participated in conational organizations, compared to those who did not.

The presence of ethnic institutions in an immigrant community has been widely recognized as having a profound influence on an immigrant groups' social adjustment process (Abu-Lughod, 1961–62; Breton, 1964). Organizations comprised of sojourning compatriots facilitate adjustment to the host society by providing members with numerous types of material and informational help.

Table 4.15
Crosstabulation of Organizational Participation
by Discrimination

Discrimination	Organizational Participation		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	92.0 (23)	8.0 (2)	100.0 (25)
No	64.0 (16)	36.0 (9)	100.0 (25)
Chi-square = 5.71 df = 1 p < .02			

Table 4.16 shows that social support provided by conational organizations was the most frequently mentioned reason why respondents considered it important:

The Chinese Scholar's and Students' Association orients newcomers with regard to finding available housing. It also offers them temporary shelter before they find a place of their own. *(No. 001 - Mainland China)*.

The Chinese Association helped me quite a bit when I came here. They helped me to find housing, provided me with food, and just as important, gave me basic knowledge about how to live in Canada. *(No. 051 - Mainland China)*.

Ethnic organizations provide a sense of belonging through full participation and acceptance of members. Moreover, they provide a setting in which ethnic and cultural values may be rehearsed and expressed. Organizational participation, therefore, allows for the realization and confirmation of numerous identity components. For example, it prevents social disengagement and isolation from activities formerly enjoyed in one's home country, thereby contributing to a sense of self-continuity:

The Association provides one of the few opportunities I have to interact with my countrymen. Sometimes the club shows Chinese movies—a way to bring China to Canada, as well as organizes field trips to various places of interest in Hamilton. *(No. 002 - Mainland China)*.

I am on the Executive Committee of the Chinese Scholar's and Students' Association. This is the most important organization for me. Recently, I helped to plan a camping trip up north for the Chinese students. Planning this trip was very time-consuming, but worthwhile. I know this and other activities the organization performs for the Chinese

Table 4.16
Multiple Response Frequency of Importance of
Organization for Respondent

Type of Importance	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Provides social support	51	54.8
Provides opportunity for social interaction	33	35.5
Religious organization	8	8.6
Other	1	1.1
	<u>N=93</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

11 cases not applicable; 39 valid cases

students is very important. It is also important for me to be part of this effort, as an executive of the association, to help my fellow Chinese. (*No. 026 - Mainland China*).

The Canadian-Chinese Friendship Centre in Hamilton organizes social activities in cooperation with the Chinese Scholar's and Students' Association. I was invited by its members, who are Canadian like you, to visit their homes. Some of them have visited China, others have taught in China, and many are just curious to learn about my country. They arrange quite a lot of social activities, like going to the beach, going to some of the members' cottages. We even visited the home of Dr. Norman Bethune. (*No. 038 - Mainland China*).

Altbach *et al.* write that the conational group is “an agency which can be adapted to serving the needs of individual students in maintaining themselves within the host-society while not losing touch with the home culture” (1985:349). Organizational participation provides a means by which the sojourner can maintain a psychological tie with their homeland:

We select among ourselves a representative, who keeps in touch with the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, D.C. This organization is called the Educational and Cultural Bureau Office. Most of us are still employed by the National University, so we renew our leave of absence through this organization. We send our grades to them also. They, in turn, send us a newspaper that originates in Egypt. Generally, this organization allows us to keep in contact with our country. (*No. 003 - Egypt*).

Organizational participation also affords the sojourner an opportunity to construct meaningful informal roles. For example, respondents who had spent several years studying in Canada provided assistance to newcomers, thereby

reciprocating the help they received when they first arrived. Respondents took pride in their role performances which, in turn, contributed to a sense of self-worth. Thus, organizational participation served to remind members that they belonged to a network of communication and mutual obligation:

I gave a few students the chance to learn how to drive a car. I said: "Come to me, rather than go to an expensive driving school". I trust them. Before I had a car, many people drove me to Stoney Creek, Burlington and Toronto. Now that I have a car of my own, I feel I owe others. I informed another student about the procedure by which to get a driver's license (beginner's permit). Yesterday, I used my car to help move furniture. I also gave people some furniture, because I have been here long. I often advise the students not to delay their rental payment, otherwise they will be in trouble. (*No. 094 - Mainland China*).

Breton (1964) describes an ethnic community which can perform all the services required by its members as "institutionally complete". These institutions, however, tend to retard adjustment by keeping the immigrants' interaction and social relations within the ethnic community. Table 4.17 shows that 33.3% more of those who had difficulty forming friendships with hosts participated in conational organizations, compared to those who did not. Restricting primary relations to fellow immigrants impedes language learning, essential for establishing effective communication with hosts. Table 4.18 shows that 27.8% more of those who used their mother tongue frequently participated in conational organizations, compared to those who did not. These data lend support for the view that while ethnic institutions aid in initial adjustment, they may hinder longer-term adjustment.

Table 4.17
Crosstabulation of Organizational Participation
by Friendship Formation With Hosts

Friendship Formation With Hosts	Organizational Participation		Total
	Yes	No	
Easy	50.0 (4)	50.0 (4)	100.0 (8)
Difficult	83.3 (35)	16.7 (7)	100.0 (42)
Chi-square = 4.35 df = 1 p < .05			

Table 4.18
Crosstabulation of Organizational Participation
by Frequency of Use of Mother Tongue

Frequency of Use of Mother Tongue	Organizational Participation		Total
	Yes	No	
Frequent	89.7 (26)	10.3 (3)	100.0 (29)
Infrequent	61.9 (13)	38.1 (8)	100.0 (21)
Chi-square = 5.47 df = 1 p < .02			

Conclusion

In this chapter, the personal involvement of international students in two key social networks—the conational and host networks is examined. The personal significance attributed to relationships in each of these networks is shown to be qualitatively different. Interpersonal ties established with conationals are shown to be more intimate and emotional, while those established with hosts are primarily instrumental in nature. Several factors are shown to contribute to the greater strength and intensity of bonds established with conationals (e.g., national origin; cultural and linguistic affinity; similarity of condition as fellow-strangers).

This chapter also contributes to resolving the debate concerning the relative importance of the conational network and host network for successful sojourner adjustment. The conational network is found to provide mainly emotional support and guidance. It is also shown to be the primary medium through which a positive identity is maintained, helping to preserve sameness of identity amid discontinuity and change. In providing an arena in which to rehearse, and thus reinforce, primary cultural values, the conational network is shown to have limited (i.e., short-term) benefits for sojourner adjustment. In contrast, the host network affords students with an opportunity to learn about the way of life and attitudes of Canadians; to exchange information about their respective cultures; and to improve their English language skills. Each of these factors are shown to facilitate the students' pace of acculturation to the host

society, thereby contributing to the achievement of intercultural understanding. Acting as important intermediaries to others, members comprising this network help transform the students' primarily monocultural social network (i.e., comprised of conationals only) into a bicultural one (i.e., comprised of conationals and hosts). The importance of this expansion of network ties for sojourner adjustment becomes apparent when comparing the kinds of help provided by members comprising these two types of social networks. Specifically, the kind of help provided by hosts is shown to be qualitatively different from the kind of help provided by conationals. Close friends who are hosts are shown to be instrumental in helping sojourners with problems conationals are unfamiliar with, and hence, unable to solve. This suggests that not all of the adjustment needs of the sojourner can be satisfied by one's conational group. It is possible, therefore, to make the following generalization: students who are members of bicultural networks will be better adjusted than those who limit (either by choice or necessity) their involvement to monocultural networks. If engendering effective communication with hosts is accepted as the key factor in successful sojourner adjustment, then the data lend support for Bochner's (1977) view that the host network is of greater importance to sojourner adjustment, than is the conational network.

Finally, asymmetry in exchange relations resulting in excessive dependency, and the geographical movement of significant ties, are shown to have negative consequences for sojourner adjustment. Lone international students

on campus are shown to be most vulnerable to, and most seriously affected by, these factors. Participation in conational organizations is shown to facilitate adjustment by meaningfully anchoring the student to a larger group. However, excessive absorption within such organizations is shown to have negative ramifications for both the effective interpersonal functioning of the sojourner, and the intergroup integrative process.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE EFFECTS OF FOREIGN STUDY

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Introduction

The effects of foreign study relate to “the kinds of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, behavior which, when compared subsequent to the completion of the study-sojourn with those obtaining prior to its initiation, indicate an expanded synthesis in which part of the difference may be sought among factors inherent in the ex-student’s exposure to events, circumstances, and learning while abroad” (Flack, 1976:109). An important effect of the cross-cultural experience concerns the types of personal changes that occur in the sojourning student. Exposure and adjustment to a new cultural environment also engenders changes in views of home and host country. Both of these effects of foreign study are examined, showing them to have implications for the return migration decision, and the returning student’s ability to successfully re-integrate into home country societies. International students must eventually decide whether to remain in the host country or return to their respective home countries following the completion of their studies. Whereas gaining an education is the primary motivation for the initial migration of international students, other factors come

into play which render such movements temporary or permanent ones. This chapter, therefore, examines the types of factors that influence this decision. It also examines the types of adjustment problems international students anticipate upon re-entering their home country societies.

Personal Changes Occasioned by the Sojourn

An important effect of foreign study concerns the transformation of identity, or process of change in cognition, feelings and behaviour, that occurs within individuals over a protracted period of time. Sojourners may come to think of themselves as being different persons, from the kind they had been prior to their sojourn. Table 5.1 shows that the most frequently mentioned type of personal change concerned the development of greater independence in decision-making. According to Heiss, levels of self-confidence refer to “the person’s estimate of the extent to which he or she can master challenges and overcome obstacles, that is, the extent to which things can be made to turn out as wanted” (1981:59). The experience of foreign study engendered greater levels of self-confidence, having positive consequences for self-esteem:

I feel I have become more independent. In China, everything was done for me. For example, I had never cooked for myself until I was forced to in Canada. Whenever I had an emotional problem, there were people I could talk to. In Canada, I had to deal with these problems alone. There were fewer friends available to share personal problems with. I had to now manage my problems by myself. (*No. 012 - Mainland China*).

Table 5.1
A Rank Ordering of Personal Changes Occasioned by Foreign Study

Type of Change	Order of Importance			Total Responses N=133	Overall Rank
	1. N=48	2. N=44	3. N=41		
(in percent)					
Personal Growth N=104 [78.2%]					
More independent	13 (27.1)	10 (22.7)	24 (58.5)	47 (35.3)	1
More self-confident	10 (20.8)	5 (11.4)	4 (9.8)	19 (14.3)	3
More mature	6 (12.5)	5 (11.4)	4 (9.8)	15 (11.3)	4
More cosmopolitan	3 (6.3)	7 (15.9)	2 (4.9)	12 (9.0)	5
More ethnically tolerant	3 (6.3)	4 (9.1)	2 (4.9)	9 (6.8)	6
More patient	0 (0.0)	2 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (1.5)	8
Primary Cultural Values N=29 [21.8%]					
Political beliefs	11 (22.9)	9 (20.5)	5 (12.2)	25 (18.8)	2
Religious practices	2 (4.2)	2 (4.5)	0 (0.0)	4 (3.0)	7

2 cases not applicable; 48 valid cases

I am much more self-reliant. For example, I am much more careful with my finances. I was forced to be. I am also more patient. I have more respect toward my studies, knowledge, and academic people. *(No. 015 - Lebanon)*.

I am capable of taking care of myself much better now. Before, when I used to run out of money, I would call home to India. Now, I consider my expenses. *(No. 043 - India)*.

I experienced new things like having to find an apartment, as well as to look for part-time work. So, I have had to become more responsible for myself and have matured in the process. *(No. 060 - Ethiopia)*.

I have seen a change in myself as a result of being an international student. I can judge this by looking at the new students who have just arrived. I look at how unsure they are, how timid they are, how much prodding it takes them to do something, in comparison to my own confidence. They act as a sounding board, by which I compare just how far I have developed. *(No. 089 - United Arab Emirates)*.

Respondents also gained a broader international perspective as a result of their educational sojourn. The term 'worldminded' was a frequently mentioned personal attribute reflecting this greater international understanding. Respondents gained a greater appreciation of other cultural groups, perceiving themselves to have become more tolerant and less ethnocentric in their views of others:

Initially, I was very rigid in my cultural views. In many instances I acted wrongly toward some Canadians. I went through a growing period, similar to the development of a child. I had to stand outside of myself to see how wrong my views were of other groups. *(No. 027 - Ghana)*.

The experience has made me more worldminded, and as a result, more open-minded with regard to cultural differences. *(No. 070 - Botswana)*.

I am more open-minded now, especially with regard to cultural issues. I think everyone is entitled to maintain their cultural identity. There is no need, therefore, to look down on other people's culture. (*No. 086 - Ghana*).

The relationship between adjustment and desired outcomes of a successful sojourn is not a simple one. Hull's (1978) study found that students from more culturally different countries interacted less with hosts and were less well adjusted, but generally reported the most positive personal change. This lends support for David's (1971) contention that increases in self-awareness will be greatest for sojourners from very different cultures, whose experience of culture shock will be severe enough to induce self-questioning and culture analysis required for increased self-awareness. Exposure to a new, and in some cases, radically different political system afforded students an opportunity to re-evaluate their previously-held political beliefs:

I have different political points of view. I now question Egyptian democracy: 'Does the government actually serve the people's interests'? The problem is that when the government has a majority, it can pass any legislation. It can veto any opposition vote. The opposition is, therefore, impotent. (*No. 003 - Egypt*).

I gained a new political perspective after coming to Canada. When I first arrived, I only knew of power being exercised in an authoritarian manner. After coming here, I thought to myself: 'Why do we need power, that is, the ability to control every aspect of one's life'? In China, you must do what the authorities say. You have no choice and no reasons are given. We used to simply tolerate this situation. The students in Beijing are calling for democracy: for freedom of speech and human rights. As international students, we have brought democratic values to China. Much information in the past was restricted. We learned a lot because of the Open Door policy. Ideas are more westernized in Chinese universities. There is now a greater flow

of information. This information accumulated and resulted in the protest. *(No. 016 - Mainland China)*.

Hull (1978:179) contends that religious attitudes become meaningful for retaining a psychological tie with the home culture, particularly for those who are adjusting to a distinctly different culture. Coelho (1972) asserts that attitudes toward religious observance become more varied, and there is less consistency toward religious observances, the longer the stay in the host country. A minority of respondents experienced changes in their religious beliefs and/or practices:

Only a few Chinese students attend church in Canada, and only then, occasionally. There are a few students from Taiwan who also attend church. I belong to the Hamilton Chinese Alliance Church. The Chinese students are very curious about new things, particularly things that are prohibited by the Chinese authorities. The young especially attend Christian churches in Canada. They do so even in China, just to spite the authorities. They are well aware that the Chinese government disapproves of this behaviour. *(No. 051 - Mainland China)*.

When you attend primary school in China, religion is considered to be superstition. While I prefer to believe in science and technology, I can learn more about what religion means here in Canada. *(No. 058 - Mainland China)*.

At times, I find myself being easily influenced. I am sometimes gullible. I would say that I have deviated from my previous convictions. I think I have relaxed somewhat in my religious observances. *(No. 086 - Ghana)*.

Table 5.2 shows that respondents perceived that their parents would view them as being more mature, self-confident, and independent as a result of their educational sojourn. Parents had a vested interest in retaining an image of their

Table 5.2
Multiple Response Frequency of Parent's View of
Personal Change in Respondent

Type of Personal Change	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Positive N=102 [91.9%]		
More mature/responsible	55	49.6
More self-confident	27	24.3
More independent	17	15.3
Greater decision-making capabilities	2	1.8
More pragmatic	1	0.9
Negative N=9 [8.1%]		
More westernized	9	8.1
	<u>N=111</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Total number of valid cases: N=50

children as being immune to negative personal changes during the period of sojourn. Nevertheless, they worried that overidentification with host values, norms, and reference groups might lead to alienation from the home culture. Consequently, the possibility of non-return was uppermost in their minds:

My parents, and especially my parents-in-law, will undoubtedly think I've become westernized and won't return with the children. (*No. 041 - Zimbabwe*).

According to Glaser and Strauss (1971), any status passage can be defined in terms of physical and social time and place. The duration of foreign study may be long or short, and given meaning as such by sojourners and significant others. The act of leaving one's home country is frequently terminal with regard to an employment status, an occupational role, or a family role obligation. That is, individuals who decide to pursue foreign training may be simultaneously contemplating a total break with their home country. If leaving implies significant discontinuities in family ties, then the act of leaving may be regarded by significant others as being undesirable. While this appears to be generally the case, there are exceptions. For example, respondents who arrived from repressive regimes were actively encouraged by their parents to migrate:

The well-educated people in China know that under the democratic system, you can live better and work better. So, most parents would be very happy if their sons and daughters remained in Canada. (*No. 063 - Mainland China*).

The data suggests that exposure to alternate models of social institutions, roles,

behaviours, and values allows for the acquisition of a new frame of reference for thinking and living. Respondents perceived themselves to have changed for 'the better' in knowledge, self-assuredness, and academic competence. Additional sojourn outcomes included an increased appreciation of home culture; a broader worldview or perspective; and a reduction in ethnocentrism, intolerance and stereotypes. Respondents and significant others regarded such outcomes as valued achievements. Personal growth in terms of self-reliance and self-confidence was found to be a more common sojourn outcome than were changes in primary cultural values related to political and/or religious beliefs.

Changes in Views of Host and Home Country

Sojourners to a foreign country bring with them a set of preconceptions and expectations which may be definite or vague, realistic or unrealistic. The respondents were asked to describe the kinds of images they held of Canada prior to studying here. Respondents developed their images of the host country, in part, through exposure to foreigners residing in respective home countries:

We had people who arrived from Canada to talk to Kenyan students. They provided us with a small orientation about Canada. We arrived as a group, but later, we dispersed to various different universities. But, at the time, the talk given to us was very general, and it did not really touch some of the issues that I later found I needed answers to. (*No. 025 - Kenya*).

I basically relied on what I had heard from Canadians I met in Ghana. But, I realized they were a special segment of

Canadian society. Slowly, I have come to understand somewhat better the lifestyle of the average Canadian. (*No. 027 - Ghana*).

I learned about Canada from English-speaking missionaries in Zimbabwe. I thought Canada was not very different from the United States. I feared the violence in the United States. But, I now realize that there are significant differences between the two countries. (*No. 041 - Zimbabwe*).

China had been opened up to the West for a number of years. I spoke on a few occasions to my English language teacher in China. She was from the United States. She told me about some aspects of life in the West. I also had several opportunities to talk to a couple of Chinese visiting scholars who spent a year or two in Canada and the United States. (*No. 058 - Mainland China*).

Given that individuals tend to judge situations they are currently experiencing in relation to their accumulated background of experience with similar situations, images of the host country tend to be formed using the home country as a frame of reference. Most respondents perceived individualism to be a defining characteristic of Canadian society:

Certainly, Canada is an individualistic culture, which is not the case in my culture. There is more of a collective identity in Greece due to the ethnic homogeneity of the society. There is a nationalism that transcends many of the social divisions, while there are a lot of things that divide Canadians. (*No. 052 - Greece*).

Consequently, interpersonal relationships in the host country were perceived as being more distant, compared to those experienced in respective home countries:

The growing divorce rate among Canadian couples is a trend I often read about. I get the impression that husbands and

wives are not as close as Chinese couples. I don't think a Canadian wife would accept the situation of being away from her husband as I am. This, I think, they would consider to be too great a sacrifice. In China, children are closer to their parents. Canadian children seek their independence, move away from home, but forget about their parents. I often wonder why Canadian students don't visit their parents every weekend. (*No. 024 - Mainland China*).

An important effect of foreign study on the individual concerns the divergence between the initial impressions of life in the host country, and actual experiences. According to Flack, one of the ways in which a more in-depth understanding of the host society is reflected “is in a reduction in the monolithic character of previously held ethnocentric stereotypes, greater understanding—approving and/or disapproving—of the functioning of the host society and of its governmental system, and a heightened awareness of the diversity of groups and positions within the polity” (1976:111). With the passage of time, an exaggerated pre-arrival image of the host country was replaced by a more realistic appraisal of the host country's social and economic conditions:

I discovered things that one does not know before arriving here. When I came here in 1982, this was during a time of the recession. Things were really rough. I couldn't believe the pockets of poverty I saw in Canada. These things you don't imagine before you come here. I could see that this was a consumerist society. I could also see the discrepancies, all of the problems and their institutionalization. So, I found that there were more problems than I imagined before I came here. (*No. 052 - Greece*).

Foreign study also affords the international student an opportunity to gain a new perspective of their home country by viewing it, presumably more objectively,

from a distance. This suggests that experiences in the host country may lead to changes in sojourner beliefs and feelings about the home country. The respondents were asked whether or not, and if so, the ways in which their views of home country changed as a result of their sojourn. Of the total number in the sample, 42 (84.0%) indicated that their views had changed, while 8 (16.0%) indicated their views had not changed. Of those whose views had changed, 8 (19.1%) held a more positive view of home country. These respondents emphasized the strong sense of community within home country societies, generating a level of personal acceptance not paralleled in the host country:

Socially, you feel like you are within a community in Kenya. I don't have this same feeling here. In Canada, people are more individualistic. *(No. 025 - Kenya)*.

The soil that I associate myself most with is India, particularly the northeast section where my family originates. When I returned from England, I felt that this was a place I could, in fact, call home. The one thing I enjoyed was the love and acceptance the people showed me. I have never been able to gain that kind of acceptance in England or Canada. *(No. 043 - India)*.

In contrast to Canadians, the Ethiopian people tend to be more responsible for one another. Family and community ties are stronger. While Canada is better off politically and economically, the more difficult life in Ethiopia builds a stronger character in her people. I think that Canadians take for granted the lifestyle they enjoy. *(No. 060 - Ethiopia)*.

Respondents who held a more negative view of home country (N=15 or 35.7%) emphasized the conspicuous lack of democratic institutions:

Lebanon used to be called the 'oasis of democracy' in the Middle East. Yes, Lebanon is democratic, but not completely democratic. Unlike Canada, Lebanon has a great deal of political sectarianism. (*No. 067 - Lebanon*).

My view of Ghana has changed. I am a bit disappointed in my country, because we have a military government. There are a few civilians in the government, but it is not what you would call a true democracy. The government claims it is working in the interests of the Ghanian people. Yet, there is a high level of corruption in the government. We also have a government-controlled press. Politically, there is much that should be changed. I believe people should have the right to determine who should govern them. I see how Canadians can freely criticize their government. You can't do this in Ghana. If you gain popular followship, you may be arrested and jailed. So, it's a false democracy, only a surface democracy, and not a real democracy. (*No. 027 - Ghana*).

The data suggests that the sojourn and educational experience engenders a more sophisticated, differentiated and concretized knowledge of the host society, and with it, a more analytical and differentiated capacity to view one's own country. This may lead to aspirations for introducing changes in one's home country, thereby underscoring the close relationship that exists between national origin and personal identity. The majority of respondents (N=47 or 94.0%) indicated they would work toward some type of change in their respective home countries. Uncongenial home country political conditions had a profound influence on personal and group identity, generating a deeper involvement and concern with home country and its destiny. Political reform, consisting of raising levels of political consciousness and/or achieving greater participation in the political process, was an important collective aspiration of respondents:

As international students, we have been exposed to democratic values. We will undoubtedly transmit what we have seen and experienced to the people of China. I expect certain political reforms, although I won't be involved in any radical activity. My Chinese friends and I often discuss this. We feel that as a group, we should participate in political change. While my duty as a scientist is to discover things, I would nevertheless support this cause. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

International students are not only the intellectual elite of their countries, but also contribute to processes of social change. Respondents who arrived from societies in which individuals are judged on the basis of 'ascribed' versus 'achieved' characteristics were vocal advocates of social change:

I would like to see a change in Lebanese society, where one is judged on the basis of one's merit, and not in terms of the type of family one comes from, one's religious affiliation, one's skin color, or one's lifestyle. In short, I would like to see real democracy operate in my country. (*No. 067 - Lebanon*).

Female Zimbabweans were once ghettoized in low paying jobs. Today, we have a Ministry of Women's Affairs that maintains that women should have equal employment opportunities and pay as men. A lot of the problems women in the Third World experience are not a problem for me. I am not the norm in this sense. As a professional woman, I am not experiencing many of these problems, but this is not to say that I don't identify with those who do. (*No. 095 - Zimbabwe*).

Veroff writes that as international students become acculturated to the host society "the contrast with their own underdeveloped countries becomes sharper and they become more interested in economic development for their own countries. This interest may be a spur to nationalistic concerns" (1963:54). Respondents

expressed a desire to contribute to the development of home countries by utilizing the training and skills acquired through foreign study:

I would work toward technological change. Indonesia is trying to catch up with Japan in this respect. There is a need for trained personnel to run the future research institute. (*No. 056 - Indonesia*).

I believe that the civil war in Lebanon will end some day. The country will need well-trained people like myself when this day arrives. (*No. 067 - Lebanon*).

When I go back, I hope to utilize the resources available in Zimbabwe in a more meaningful manner. At the same time, I hope to impart the knowledge I have acquired in Canada to my colleagues. Whereas my main interest is in maternal and child health, I would work toward the betterment of the national health of Zimbabweans. (*No. 095 - Zimbabwe*).

In the next section, the disjunction between respondents' aspirations for introducing changes in respective home countries and their ability to do so, will be shown to have implications for the return migration decision.

Factors Influencing the Return Migration Decision

The respondents were asked whether or not they intended to return to their respective home countries following the completion of their studies in Canada. The majority of respondents (N=31 or 62.0%) were undecided about their return plans. Uncertainty with regard to the future political stability of respective home countries prompted a 'wait and see' attitude in respondents. Most expressed a desire to temporarily remain in Canada, during which time

political conditions in home country were expected to normalize:

I am tortured over the decision to stay or to return. If I return, the lack of freedom is there. If I stay, and my wife and children are not allowed to join me, I suffer. What to do? (*No. 002 - Mainland China*).

I believe that an increase in religious fundamentalism will result in political instability in the next few years. There is going to be a backlash against the equally-growing movement toward secularization. (*No. 006 - Egypt*).

If life in Hong Kong remains the same, then I believe many students will return. But, no one can foretell the future. We don't trust the communist regime, particularly since the massacre in June. We intend to stay here in Canada temporarily, and see what happens to Hong Kong when it reverts to China. If I am given the chance to stay in Canada, I won't have to face the problem of 1997. (*No. 007 - Hong Kong*).

When I left, the violence was restricted to certain areas of the country. After I came to Canada, the violence spread. Last week I received a letter from a friend. He wrote that in my area, one hundred people were killed. So, until the violence ends, I am happy to be in Canada, and away from the madness. (*No. 091 - Sri Lanka*).

The international student's sentimental attachment to home country and instrumental involvement with the host country, may generate feelings of ambivalence. A pressing need to fulfill family role obligations temporarily severed by the initial migration came into conflict with an equally strong desire, on the part of some respondents, to remain in the host country:

My parents are both over seventy years of age and in poor health. This worries me tremendously. I haven't seen them in two years. This is the most important reason why I feel I

must return to China. I may never see them again. (*No. 026 - Mainland China*).

Indian parents totally support their children. They, in turn, expect that when they grow old, the duty to help support them in their old age will be fulfilled. Leaving for study abroad is a test of faith—that the son will actually return to fulfill this all-important obligation to his parents. (*No. 064 - India*).

The return migration decision is not fully crystallized prior to leaving one's home country, but rather is influenced by experiences the sojourner is exposed to while in the host country and on-going events and conditions in the home country. A combination of 'pull' and 'push' factors were found to influence the return migration decision. From the perspective of the sojourner residing in the host country, 'pull' factors refer to favourable conditions existing in the home country, while 'push' factors refer to unfavourable conditions existing in the host country leading to some form of dissatisfaction. In the sample, 13 (26.0%) indicated a clear intent to return home. Pool asserts that 'patriotic reinforcement', or renewed attachment to the homeland, is a normal effect of travel for international students:

... in many cases the most profound effect of their stay in a strange land is a better appreciation and understanding of their home country—a firmer attachment to its values (1965:122–124).

Sentimental attachment to home country was an important 'pull' factor influencing some respondents to return home:

Returning home is particularly important to me. The surety of employment does not play a role, compared to my love of Egypt. I belong there. (*No. 003 - Egypt*).

Alienation from the host culture increases pressures towards greater identification with one's home country, thereby acting as an important 'push' factor. Respondents who rejected host country cultural values and/or experienced feelings of estrangement from the host culture, expressed a desire to return home:

India offers me a lifestyle that I desire. That is, it offers me happiness, which I value more than material wealth. *(No. 064 - India)*.

I'm used to the lifestyle in my country. I find it more suitable to my person. I like the informality of Nigerian life, for example, just dropping in to see someone. I prefer the humanism of this aspect of Nigerian life. *(No. 080 - Nigeria)*.

Many of my Canadian friends say that I have adjusted to life in Canada reasonably well. But, I don't feel that Canada is my home. I feel I am a visitor in a strange land. I don't feel the warmth of the entire society. In China, a song coming from a neighbour's radio will shock me once in a while. It will remind me of my country's history — that this is my land. *(No. 087 - Mainland China)*.

I know of one friend who left Sri Lanka because of the religious anarchy, but after studying in Canada returned home. He preferred to live in Sri Lanka. He complained that Canada was a capitalist system and the people always had a sense of tension, due to the fast pace of life. *(No. 091 - Sri Lanka)*.

Return plans were frequently made amid structural constraints. Failure to return home had potentially negative consequences for those who were contracted to return to employment positions, and/or had received financial support from home country governments:

Before I came here, I committed a bond between myself and the government. There were terms and conditions which I

signed before a lawyer. I also had to produce a financial deposit. If I don't return I will lose this deposit, and my personal property may be confiscated. So, I have no intention of staying on in Canada. The idea of the bond relates to the fact that a lot of students who studied abroad failed to return. *(No. 091 - Sri Lanka)*.

I am on paid study leave. I will return in sixteen months time — the length of my program here. If I don't return, my employer could ask for the salary he is currently paying me. *(No. 095 - Zimbabwe)*.

Changes in home country government policy also affected sojourner return plans.

Respondents who were separated from their families by marriage were compelled to return home, often against their personal wishes:

My husband was not allowed to leave with me. After the massacre, several kinds of people were not permitted to leave China: doctor, graduate student, undergraduate student, Communist Party member, and others. My husband fell into the first category. *(No. 093 - Mainland China)*.

A minority of respondents (N=6 or 12.0%) indicated a clear intent to remain in the host country. Children who resided with parents in the host country influenced sojourner return plans and behaviour. Some of the children of married respondents had grown up and were educated in the host country, making the return of their parents less likely the longer they remained. There were, however, some exceptions:

I do not want to raise my children in Canada. Here, no discipline is instilled within children by parents. It seems to me that the children in Canada have more power than their parents. *(No. 041 - Zimbabwe)*.

Chu (1968:174) examines the contributory conditions of student 'expatriation'

— defined as “rejection of one’s own cultural membership and seeking of a new cultural membership”, within a theoretical framework of social support. The perceived level of social support from the home culture plays a predominant role in determining whether or not a student will become an expatriate. For example, students who feel their academic training will be very useful to their countries are likely to return, while those who do not are more likely to become expatriates. Biggs (1992) writes that international students who plan to return to their home countries must make a number of important career-related decisions about the relevance and utility of their experiences if they are going to be successful in transferring their knowledge and skills from one culture to another. Table 5.3 shows that the most frequently mentioned factor negatively affecting future employment was the possibility that skills and training acquired abroad might not be fully utilized in respective home countries:

Egyptians tend to be conservative-minded regarding new technologies. This mind-set encompasses economic and social change in general. *(No. 006 - Egypt)*.

I may not be able to apply the knowledge I have learned while in Canada. Funding is limited in China, and is often given to the elite scholars. Equipment and materials are also antiquated. I may possibly face difficulty with regard to securing a job: I know of a Chinese student who returned to China with a Master’s of Business Administration degree, but could not secure any employment. China is still resistant to accepting people with training and skills that are more in accordance with the capitalist system. *(No. 012 - Mainland China)*.

In Algeria, the lack of laboratory equipment, particularly in my field of medical sciences, stifles one’s potential. One’s

Table 5.3
Multiple Response Frequency of Factors Negatively
Affecting Future Employment

Type of Factor	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Skills/Training N=52 [46.4%]		
Skills acquired abroad not utilized	43	38.4
Technical equipment controlled by elites	9	8.0
Career Advancement N=37 [33.0%]		
Contingent upon political, ethnic and/or religious affiliation	37	33.0
Income N=23 [20.5%]		
Salary not commensurate with academic qualifications received abroad	23	20.5
	<u>N=112</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Total number of valid cases: N=50

academic horizons cannot be expanded. (*No. 035 - Algeria*).

A friend of mine who returned home after working several years in the United States was not satisfied professionally. He would always tell me: ‘The skills I learned abroad are not required in India’. (*No. 043 - India*).

Respondents also perceived that salaries in home country would not be commensurate with academic qualifications obtained in Canada:

My eldest sister-in-law’s monthly income is about 250 – 300 Chinese dollars. She performs simple work. She has only nine years of education. In China, a factory worker with little education makes twice as much per month as someone with a Ph.D. from a western country. My wife’s income as a high school teacher is around sixty Chinese dollars. With other sources of income, she barely makes 100 Chinese dollars per month. Before I left China to study in Canada, my monthly income was eighty-six Chinese dollars. So, I was paid a little more than a high school teacher. I already had a Master’s degree in Electrical Engineering. Before I came here for a Ph.D., my friends with only a bachelor’s degree were making almost one and a half times as much as me per month. I am always playing catch-up. If I return to China, my monthly income might jump from eighty-six Chinese dollars to one hundred and fifty Chinese dollars per month. My classmates, who did not study abroad, that is, held only undergraduate degrees, received about 110–120 Chinese dollars per month. They work in research institutes, or factories as engineers. But, they also have income from a variety of other sources. So, their income will actually exceed mine, even after receiving a Ph.D. from Canada. University professors are also poorly paid. This is one of the reasons for the political unrest in China. (*No. 068 - Mainland China*).

Altbach *et al.* write that the student’s minority status in home country may subject him/her to the possibility of experiencing “the worst sides of nepotism and corruption in employment and promotion practices in home countries” (1985:33–34). Respondents mentioned that employment and/or career advancement in

their home countries was contingent upon the proper political, religious, and/or ethnic affiliation:

In Lebanon, family connections are very important. In order to get ahead in Lebanon, one usually must join a political party. If you do not, you must rely on your own resources. *(No. 015 - Lebanon).*

The President of Lebanon appointed a Christian in a traditionally Muslim position. As a Shiite, I probably cannot get a good university position. That is, one cannot cross certain lines because of one's religion. The Marinite Christians dominate the top positions. They want to maintain their privileged position in Lebanese society. Only thirty percent are Marinite Christians, yet they control most of the important positions. Because of this, I do not feel part of the country. *(No. 067 - Lebanon).*

You can't get a good position unless you support the government. You have to make personal contacts in order to get employment. In contrast, the Canadian system works more along the lines of merit. *(No. 092 - Sri Lanka).*

The preceding discussion suggests that developing countries frequently lack an adequate infrastructure to support the varied professional activities of the foreign educated. That is, there are a wide variety of professional activities which are either too specialized, technologically advanced, or expensive to be undertaken in emerging nations. Given the numerous political, economic and professional problems inhibiting work in their fields, many view the prospect of returning home to be self-defeating. The data lends support for Chu's (1968) contention that if home country governments developed the appropriate initiatives, many students would likely return home.

Post-return Adjustment Problems

On returning to his home culture, the sojourner may undergo what has been termed a 're-entry crisis' (Pearson 1964; Stolley 1965). Some sojourners encounter few adjustment difficulties upon returning home, while others may undergo a rather severe re-entry crisis. The respondents were asked to describe the kinds of adjustment difficulties they anticipated upon re-entering their home country societies. Table 5.4 shows that many respondents anticipated difficulty readjusting to a lower standard of living, compared to the one experienced in the host country. This suggests that the returning student may experience 'relative deprivation', or the inability to maintain the living standards customary in the home society, having experienced a higher standard of living in the host country:

There is a terrible shortage of housing in China. There may be no telephone in an entire building. I will have to adjust to this reality. (*No. 058 - Mainland China*).

I would have a very difficult time readjusting to my own country. The people are economically distressed. There is a high unemployment rate. (*No. 092 - Sri Lanka*).

Returning to a repressive political regime was another post-return adjustment problem mentioned by respondents, particularly those from Mainland China:

If I do return, I will have to make a mental transition from a state of freedom to a state of non-freedom. Once a student has experienced democracy, it is not easy to return to conditions like those in China. (*No. 020 - Mainland China*).

Table 5.4
Multiple Response Frequency of Anticipated Post-Return
Adjustment Problems

Type of Adjustment	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Political/Economic Environment N=64 [74.4%]		
Decline in standard of living	29	33.7
Political repression	24	27.9
Bureaucratic inefficiency	11	12.8
Social N=22 [25.6%]		
Reaction to westernizing influences	17	19.8
Pressure to conform	3	3.5
Gender inequality	2	2.3
	<u>N=86</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

6 cases not applicable; 44 valid cases

Because we have gotten used to the life and traditions here, the first half year will be a difficult adjustment to make. I probably won't challenge the Chinese government as the people in Canada are allowed to. This is nothing to be ashamed of, because if you do agitate, you will do harm to your family—to the future of your children. A parent has a responsibility to them. (*No. 051 - Mainland China*).

I will have some difficulty adjusting to a more rigid society—one that is controlled by forces both visible and invisible. When I teach to my students in China, I must be careful to remind myself that any mention of political free speech is prohibited. This is difficult, particularly when one has tasted freedom. (*No. 088 - Mainland China*).

Greater lengths of time spent in the host country engender greater shifts in value identifications. Sojourners who overidentify with the host culture are likely to experience greater difficulty readjusting to home country societies:

Getting used to one culture and then having to go back to your own culture, is not always easy. It is not too late to go back, but after a number of years, it is more difficult. It takes a few months to readjust. (*No. 032 - Mainland China*).

Hodgkin (1978) differentiates between 'international students' and 'migrants'. She asserts that the former must make a selection from the host cultural norms and exercise restraint in identification with host country ways, because they face eventual return to their home socio-cultural environment. The negative social ramifications of returning home 'westernized' was an important concern expressed by respondents. Maintaining one's cultural identity while in the host country meant safeguarding both the claim to, and likelihood of, successful readjustment to home country:

I will have to drop the language dialect picked up here when I talk to Australians. If I don't, they may think I have 'sold out'. That is, retaining my Canadian accent will be interpreted as being somehow disloyal to Australia. (*No. 010 - Australia*).

It will take me some time to readjust to the Nigerian way of life. I will have to reverse my individualistic way of thinking acquired in Canada, to accommodate the communal pattern of social interaction found in my country. (*No. 080 - Nigeria*).

The attitudes and expectations of significant others in home country may come into conflict with those of the returning sojourner. If family, friends, and work associates are afraid that negative personal changes have occurred, their responses to the returning sojourner will indicate this. Returning to the traditionalism of home country cultures may have negative ramifications for interpersonal relationships, thereby undermining the successful re-integration of the sojourner:

I will have difficulty accepting some of the traditional views held by the older generation, like females entering non-traditional roles in the workforce. (*No. 013 - Japan*).

Canada is a more open society. Ireland has a conservative mentality. Ireland fears the disruption of the status quo. It fears secularization the most. It is for this reason that the possibility of my returning is quite remote. (*No. 047 - Ireland*).

If I return, my lifestyle and the type of girl that I marry will be carefully monitored. These restraints are not so enforced in Canada. (*No. 067 - Lebanon*).

Finally, foreign study may vary in moral authority and societal legitimation. It is important, therefore, to consider the attitudes of the community from which the sojourner migrated. Female respondents who were married with children had a

'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1963). They not only experienced strong opposition to study abroad but anticipated negative evaluations upon returning home:

I'm quite sure that the people back home will view me as a bad person, morally-speaking, for having studied abroad. Males, in particular, will fear my non-traditional way of thinking. For a woman to leave her children, and for the husband to care for the children in her absence, is something that has not been approved of traditionally. In our culture, children without a mother look like they are orphans. Most of the people look only at the negative. So, when a woman leaves, people assume the worst. In this respect, my husband has to take a lot of the social pressure in my absence. (*No. 025 - Kenya*).

The negative social definition accorded female sojourners may account for their general underrepresentation in the international student population.

Conclusion

In this chapter, it is shown that exposure to events, circumstances, and learning while abroad engenders a transformation of identity, such that the sojourner becomes a 'different' person from the kind he or she had been prior to leaving home. However, the permanency of such change remains open to question and can only be determined by means of a longitudinal study. This chapter lends support for other studies that show that changes in personal growth (e.g., increased self-reliance and self-confidence), and attendant modifications to self-concept, are the most common type of sojourn outcome. Some of these changes (e.g., a reduction in stereotyping, ethnocentrism and prejudice) are

shown to have positive consequences for intergroup relations.

Changes in views of home and host country is shown to be another important sojourn effect or outcome. Greater length of time spent in the host country is shown to engender a more in-depth understanding of the host society, and a more objective view of home country. Comparative evaluations made between home and host country are shown to lead to aspirations for introducing changes in home country. Moreover, such comparisons are shown to have implications for the return migration decision (e.g., returning home due to an inability to reconcile host country cultural values with those of home country, or alternatively, remaining in the host country as a result of estrangement from home country cultural values).

In this chapter, the factors that contribute to the return migration decision are also examined. Notwithstanding the actual return plans of respondents, the data appears to confirm Chu's (1968) finding that sojourner expatriation is negatively related to the level of social support received from home country. Specifically, sojourners who feel their training and skills acquired abroad will not be utilized in their respective home countries are more likely to become expatriates, than those who do not.

Finally, the types of adjustment problems students anticipate upon their eventual return home are examined. The data suggests that overidentification with the host culture (i.e., westernization) has important implications for the post-return adjustment of the sojourner. It is argued that degree of sojourner

involvement in the host country must be balanced against the expectations of significant others in home country. That is, the sojourner must reconcile this difference by defining his or her own balance of cultural identifications. The need to guard against negative personal changes occasioned by the sojourn is suggested as being a major factor contributing to the sojourner's instrumental involvement with the host country. Although limited involvement in the host country impedes longer-term adjustment, it simultaneously contributes to the returning students' ability to successfully re-integrate into home country societies.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

In reviewing the literature on international students to date, one is immediately struck by two distinctive characteristics of this research. First, a great proportion of it is based on U.S. data. The present study contributes to the existing literature by extending the research to a Canadian context. Second, despite the voluminous literature showing the importance of social networks as a basis of social support, little research has been conducted on the social networks of international students. In examining the relationship between social network involvement and sojourner adjustment, the present study helps fill an important gap in the existing literature. Because both the Canadian social context and the incorporation of social networks represent new departures in research on the adjustment of international students, this study has been of an exploratory nature.

In this study, the kinds of factors that help or hinder international students adapt and succeed in an unfamiliar institutional and cultural environment have been examined. The findings lend support for the view that establishing effective communication with hosts is a necessary condition for successful sojourner adjustment. As seen in Chapter 3, proficiency in the host language, previous cross-cultural experiences, and the ability to reconcile cultural

differences are factors that facilitate cross-cultural communication and understanding. Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination are factors that generate a social distance between sojourner and host and, in the extreme, cause some sojourners to withdraw into conational enclaves. Self-segregation, in turn, hinders the longer-term adjustment of the sojourner and undermines the intergroup integrative process.

The importance of network involvement for successful sojourner adjustment has also been demonstrated. As seen in Chapter 4, size of conational group largely determines the type of social network to which sojourners belong. Students from large conational groups belong to a primary, conational network consisting of close friendships with other sojourning compatriots and a secondary, host network consisting of bonds with significant members of the host country (e.g., academic supervisors, students, host families, and landlords). Students from small conational groups belong to a primary, host network and a secondary, multi-cultural network consisting of bonds with other international students from countries other than their own.

The conational and host networks perform different functions in relation to the adjustment process. The primary function of the conational network is to provide a setting within which cultural values may be rehearsed. It allows the sojourner to reestablish primary group relations and maintain traditional values and belief systems. It also serves an important protective function

whereby psychological security, self-esteem, and a sense of belonging are provided and feelings of powerlessness and estrangement are reduced. International students use the conational network as an important reference group in discussing, comparing and interpreting their foreign environment.

The primary function of the host network is the instrumental facilitation of the professional and academic aspirations of the sojourner. It is the primary medium through which students gain proficiency in the host language and learn about the norms governing relations in the host society.

The findings also suggest that students from large and small conational groups experience qualitatively different patterns of adjustment in the host country. Students from large conational groups experience a relatively smooth initial adjustment period. The conational group aids in initial adjustment by minimizing the disruptive effects engendered by the migration. It largely determines the living arrangements, friendship patterns and organizational affiliations of the sojourners involved. Social isolation from members of the host society becomes a way of life for many of these students. Such isolation is highly resistant to change, with many students finding rationalizations to support it. This has the effect of slowing the pace of acculturation to the host society, thereby hindering the longer-term adjustment of the sojourner. Whereas the conational group aids in initial adjustment, it hinders longer-term adjustment when used as a vehicle for self-segregation rather than as a beachhead from which to enter

into meaningful social interaction with members of the host society.

Students from small conational groups, particularly lone international students studying on campus, experience a difficult initial adjustment period. Lacking a conational group, such students are compelled to establish network ties among members of the host country. In doing so, they gain proficiency in the host language and learn the norms of the host society more rapidly than students from large conational groups. As stated earlier, these factors facilitate effective intercultural communication, and thus contribute positively to sojourner adjustment. However, because they lack the benefits a conational group normally provides (e.g., security, comfort, mutual aid), such students tend to experience a high incidence of homesickness and loneliness. The debilitating effects of homesickness and loneliness frequently overwhelm the solitary student. It is for this reason that establishing effective communication with hosts must be seen as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for successful sojourner adjustment.

The distribution of international students at McMaster University was found to be not too dissimilar from the national distribution (see Table 6.12). Hence, many of the conclusions of this study, especially with regard to the differential experiences of members of large and small conational groups, can be generalized with caution.

Significant differences in level of difficulty in adjustment were also found to exist between married male students and their spouses. Wives were found

to have fewer opportunities to engage in meaningful social interaction with others. This social isolation was shown to be manifested in feelings of homesickness, loneliness and boredom. Wives were also found to experience significant occupational dislocation upon accepting paid employment in the host country. Their subsequent ghettoization in multi-ethnic workplace environments was shown to retard the pace of acculturation to the host society.

A number of effects of foreign study can be identified. As seen in Chapter 5, an important effect of foreign study is the transformation of identity. The findings indicate that students consider themselves changed by the sojourn experience, particularly in the areas of intellectual development, self-reliance, and self-confidence. Another effect of foreign study concerns changes in views of host and home country. The findings suggest that students acquire a more realistic, in-depth view of the host country and a deeper appreciation of home country. A final effect of foreign study is the crystallization of the return migration decision. The findings suggest that, although several factors underlie this decision, two appear to strongly influence whether the initial migration becomes a permanent one. The possibility that skills and training acquired abroad will be underutilized in respective home countries and uncongenial home country political conditions are important factors in the expatriation decision.

A number of anticipated post-return adjustment problems can also be identified. The findings indicate that, having studied in Canada, students

anticipate a counter culture shock upon re-entering their home country societies. A second major concern among students is the reaction of significant others to the negative effects of westernization. The fear of returning home westernized helps to account for the generally limited (i.e., instrumental) involvement of many international students with the host society. Students must balance group loyalties and guard against excessive absorption in the host society, in order to ensure their effective re-integration into home country societies.

This study concludes by offering several recommendations for future research. More research needs to be conducted on the general process by which the decision to study abroad is reached. What reasons do international students offer for deciding to study abroad? What factors influence the selection of country of foreign study? Is foreign study a prelude to emigration? Answers to these questions will help clarify the relationship between motivations for foreign study and adjustment in the sojourn environment.

More research also needs to be conducted on the process by which students are socialized into the student role. In the case of international students, this involves a process of re-learning and re-negotiation. How is this done and how does one learn to do it? How do students feel about having to do it? Do students learn from one another, from specific encounters with faculty and students, from workshops that the university might organize for them, or from a combination of the above and others? The manner in which such learning unfolds

can bear important consequences for the student's self-concept which, in turn, influences his or her academic performance and overall adjustment to the host society.

Finally, more research needs to be conducted on the families of international students. Of particular sociological interest is how family life is reorganized in the host country. This issue has been addressed, in part, through an examination of spousal separation and barriers to re-unification. Other important questions remain. For example, what are the problems in transplanting young children who are cut-off from family, friends, and a world they have come to know? What barriers do wives face and what efforts do they make to improve their proficiency in the host language and upgrade their educational qualifications? What institutional resources facilitate these efforts? Answers to these questions may provide useful insights into the transplantation process and ensuing acculturation.

APPENDIX 1

A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
ATTENDING McMASTER UNIVERSITY
1980-81 TO 1987-88

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A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ATTENDING McMASTER UNIVERSITY 1980-81 TO 1987-88

Introduction

This appendix utilizes trend data in describing the general size, composition, and distribution of the international student population attending McMaster University. Annual *Registrar's Reports*—a series of internal documents of McMaster University were the primary data source used in developing this profile. These reports contain information on university student enrollment by successive academic year. Computer tabulations requested from the *Office of Institutional Analysis* provide additional information on the age, gender, and marital status of international students attending this educational institution.

Operational Definitions

The National Report on International Students in Canada defines an international student, as “a person who has been issued a student authorization by the *Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC)* for the purpose of study in Canada, and who is expected to return home at the end of his or her

period of study” (1988:2). In this report, ‘source country’ is defined as country of citizenship. This classification was used in the *Registrar’s Reports*, from which the tables presented below were constructed. The data focuses exclusively on full-time visa students and thus underrepresents the actual complement of international students. Part-time students are excluded as well as those holding Permanent Resident (i.e., landed immigrant) status.

Enrollment Trends

Table 6.1 shows visa student enrollment as a percentage of total enrollment over eight academic years. It shows that there are proportionately more graduate than undergraduate visa students at this university. It also shows a general decline in visa student enrollment over time. The percentage of visa students peaked at 8.4% in 1981-82, but declined to 4.2% in 1987-88. A breakdown of undergraduate and graduate visa student enrollment shows that the former group experienced the sharpest decline. Undergraduate visa student enrollment fell from a high of 6.4% in 1982-83 to a low of 2.2% in 1987-88.

Factors Contributing to Declining Visa Student Enrollment

The National Report on International Students in Canada asserts that the reasons for declining enrollments are complex: “Cost of living as well as tuition hikes, the world economic situation, national policies on employment and the

Table 6.1
Full-time Regular Session Enrollment, 1980-1981 to 1987-1988

	Under-graduate	Intern/ Graduate	Resident	Other	Total	Overall Rank
1980-1981:						
Visa	384	250	59	3	696	
Total	8,420	1,076	378	33	9,907	
Percent	4.6	23.2	15.6	9.0	7.0	5
1981-1982:						
Visa	553	266	58	3	880	
Total	8,961	1,145	400	29	10,535	
Percent	6.2	23.2	14.5	10.3	8.4	1
1982-1983:						
Visa	609	274	42	4	929	
Total	9,548	1,172	375	32	11,127	
Percent	6.4	23.4	11.2	12.5	8.3	2
1983-1984:						
Visa	606	240	40	1	887	
Total	9,920	1,192	363	43	11,518	
Percent	6.1	20.0	11.0	2.3	7.7	3
1984-1985:						
Visa	531	212	51	2	796	
Total	9,668	1,205	365	38	11,276	
Percent	5.5	17.6	14.0	5.3	7.1	4
1985-1986:						
Visa	454	203	47	4	708	
Total	9,738	1,119	365	46	11,268	
Percent	4.7	18.1	12.9	8.7	6.3	6
1986-1987:						
Visa	309	201	53	3	566	
Total	9,528	1,151	374	34	11,087	
Percent	3.2	17.5	14.1	8.8	5.1	7
1987-1988:						
Visa	222	207	43	13	485	
Total	9,882	1,234	371	47	11,534	
Percent	2.2	16.8	11.6	27.7	4.2	8

Source: Registrar's Report, McMaster University, 1980/81, p. 37; 1981/82, p. 37; 1982/83, p. 36; 1983/84, p. 36; 1984/85, p. 36; 1985/86, p. 37; 1986/87, p. 35; 1987/88, p. 36.

availability of financial assistance all influence enrollment patterns” (1988:5).

The relationship between declining enrollments and rising tuition fees is also addressed in this report:

Differential fees for international students have been progressively implemented and increased in various Canadian provinces since 1976; seven out of ten provinces now impose differential fees, with large variations in the fee value and in exemptions permitted (1988:5).

The report cites the results of an attitude survey on international education, as reported by various Canadian educational institutions. Of the 53 institutions surveyed, 47.2% agreed that differential fees should be abolished, 33.9% disagreed, 11.3% were uncertain, and 7.6% left the question blank or deemed it to be inapplicable. The setting of fees for international students depends on institutional as well as provincial policy. The *Canadian Bureau for International Education's* (CBIE) 1986 report, *Closing the Doors*, appears to validate the relationship between rising fees and shrinking enrollments. Provinces which charged such fees attracted fewer students.

Canadian educational institutions have expressed a desire for an international representation of students reflecting cultural, ethnic and racial diversity. However, the imposition of differential fees may discourage or prevent some international students from pursuing foreign study, particularly those from developing countries:

Students from the Third World are apt to be more affected than those from industrialized and semi-industrialized nations. Many developing countries are less able to allocate funds to foreign education. Furthermore, recent inflation in most industrialized countries has contributed to the predicament of Third World students. Therefore, compensatory measures are necessary to overcome the potentially distorting effects of differential foreign student fees. These measures might include special grants to truly disadvantaged or bilateral agreements with other countries (*Statistics Canada*, 1978:92).

The National Report on International Students in Canada states that the number of least developed countries (LDCs) identified by the United Nations in 1971, has grown to thirty-nine countries:

The UN Committee for Development Planning applies three criteria when defining LDCs: 1. Per capita gross domestic product of approximately US \$350 (in 1984); 2. Literacy rate of 20% or less; 3. Share of manufacturing in total gross domestic product of 10% or less. According to one UN agency these criteria identify “the poorest countries whose sombre development prospects merit special priority attention from the international community” (1988:16).

Differential fees accentuate the imbalance in the number who come from a particular country. The report notes that at the national level, the percentage of visa students from ‘least developed countries’ has declined over a five year period (1982-83 to 1986-87). This national trend is mirrored at the local institutional level: approximately 54.0% of such countries did not send any students to McMaster University.

Table 6.2 shows the cumulative effect of the factors cited earlier on visa student enrollment. It shows that since 1984–85, the percentage decrease in

Table 6.2
Annual Percentage Change of Visa Students and Non-Visa
Students, 1981-1982 to 1987-1988

Academic Year	Percent Change Over Previous Year	
	Visa	Non-Visa
1981-1982	26.4	6.3
1982-1983	5.6	5.6
1983-1984	- 04.5	3.5
1984-1985	- 10.3	- 2.1
1985-1986	- 11.1	- 0.1
1986-1987	- 20.0	- 1.6
1987-1988	- 14.3	4.0

Source: Derived from Table 6.1

visa students has been much greater than for non-visa students. In 1986–87, visa students experienced their sharpest decline. That is, there were 20.0% fewer visa students in this year than in the previous year. In contrast, non-visa students decreased by only 1.6% over the previous academic year.

Geographical Origin

Table 6.3 shows the most recent classification of countries by level of economic development, as listed in the *World Development Report* (1987–88:222–223). Table 6.4 was constructed using this classification. It shows undergraduate and graduate visa student enrollment by level of economic development of respective source countries. Several countries for which no economic indicators were available in the original classification, made it necessary to exclude 133 students from the analysis. The table shows that in 1987-88, 50.7% of all visa students arrived from countries classified as ‘upper middle-income’ economies. Of these, the greatest proportion were from Hong Kong. In 1984–85, students from this country reached their peak, constituting 55.8% of all visa students. The table also shows that proportionately more students have arrived from countries classified as ‘low income’ economies, particularly since 1985-86. In 1987–88, students from such countries constituted 29.1% of all visa students. This increase is attributable, in part, to the support provided by McMaster University in the form of scholarships to students from such countries.

Table 6.3
Level of Economic Development of Countries

Low-income economies

(1). Ethiopia; (2). Bhutan; (3). Burkina Faso; (4). Nepal; (5). Bangladesh; (6). Malawi; (7). Zaire; (8). Mali; (9). Burma; (10). Mozambique; (11). Madagascar; (12). Uganda; (13). Burundi; (14). Tanzania; (15). Togo; (16). Niger; (17). Benin; (18). Somalia; (19). Central African Republic; (20). India; (21). Rwanda; (22). China MLD; (23). Kenya; (24). Zambia; (25). Sierra Leone; (26). Sudan; (27). Haiti; (28). Pakistan; (29). Lesotho; (30). Ghana; (31). Sri Lanka; (32). Mauritania; (33). Senegal; (34). Afghanistan; (35). Chad; (36). Guinea; (37). Kampuchea, Dem.; (38). Laos PDR; (39). Viet Nam

Middle-income economies

Lower middle-income:

(40). Liberia; (41). Yemen PDR; (42). Indonesia; (43). Yemen Arab Rep.; (44). Philippines; (45). Morocco; (46). Bolivia; (47). Zimbabwe; (48). Nigeria; (49). Dominican Republic; (50). Papua New Guinea; (51). Cote d'Ivoire; (52). Honduras; (53). Egypt, Arab Republic; (54). Nicaragua; (55). Thailand; (56). El Salvador; (57). Botswana; (58). Jamaica; (59). Cameroon; (60). Guatemala; (61). Congo, People's Republic; (62). Paraguay; (63). Peru; (64). Turkey; (65). Tunisia; (66). Ecuador; (67). Mauritius; (68). Colombia; (69). Chile; (70). Costa Rica; (71). Jordan; (72). Syrian Arab Republic; (73). Lebanon

Upper middle-income:

(74). Brazil; (75). Malaysia; (76). South Africa; (77). Mexico; (78). Uruguay; (79). Hungary; (80). Poland; (81). Portugal; (82). Yugoslavia; (83). Panama; (84). Argentina; (85). Korea, Rep. of; (86). Algeria; (87). Venezuela; (88). Gabon; (89). Greece; (90). Oman; (91). Trinidad & Tobago; (92). Israel; (93). Hong Kong; (94). Singapore; (95). Iran, Islamic Rep.; (96). Iraq; (97). Romania

Continues...

Table 6.3 Continued
Level of Economic Development of Countries

High-income oil exporters or “Oil-Rich Countries”

(98). Saudi Arabia; (99). Kuwait; (100). United Arab Emirates; (101). Libya

Industrial market economies

(102). Spain; (103). Ireland; (104). New Zealand; (105). Italy; (106). United Kingdom; (107). Belgium; (108). Austria; (109). Netherlands; (110). France; (111). Australia; (112). Germany, Fed. Rep.; (113). Finland; (114). Denmark; (115). Japan; (116). Sweden; (117). Canada; (118). Norway; (119). United States; (120). Switzerland

Nonreporting Nonmembers:

(121). Albania; (122). Angola; (123). Bulgaria; (124). Cuba; (125). Czechoslovakia; (126). German Dem. Rep.; (127). Korea, Dem. Rep.; (128). Mongolia; (129). USSR

“West Indies and Other Islands”

Antigua; Bahamas Islands; Barbados, Belize; Bermuda; Cayman Islands, Dominica; Grenada; Guadeloupe; St. Lucia; St. Vincent; others.

Source: World Development Report 1987–88, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 222–223.

Table 6.4
Visa Students By Level of Economic Development of Countries,
1980–1981 to 1987–1988

	Low-income Economies	Middle-income Economies	Upper- Middle	Oil Rich	West Indies and Other	Industrial Market	Total	
		Lower- Middle	Other					
			Hong Kong					
	(in percent)							
1980–1981:	14.3	9.0	22.7	29.6	0.0	3.5	20.9	100.0
1981–1982:	12.8	8.7	27.0	29.7	0.0	3.2	18.6	100.0
1982–1983:	11.9	11.2	22.1	34.7	0.0	2.3	17.8	100.0
1983–1984:	11.4	7.9	21.4	41.9	0.2	1.9	15.1	100.0
1984–1985:	13.2	6.9	14.2	55.8	0.7	1.1	8.1	100.0
1985–1986:	18.9	4.9	8.9	52.6	1.1	0.9	12.6	100.0
1986–1987:	20.5	4.4	9.3	50.5	1.2	1.0	13.1	100.0
1987–1988:	29.1	6.3	10.1	40.6	1.2	1.2	11.5	100.0

The table excludes 133 students from the following “non-reporting” countries: Cyprus; Czechoslovakia; Fiji; Germany, Democratic Republic; Guyana; Korea, Democratic Republic; Macao; and Taiwan. The table also excludes Interns/Residents and those attending Divinity College.

Source Countries by Level of Study

Table 6.5 shows the top four source countries of international students at the undergraduate level of study. Hong Kong has consistently remained the top source country, followed by Malaysia, Trinidad-Tobago and Singapore. Deviation from this overall pattern occurred in the 1985–86 academic year, when twenty-four ‘nurse/lady health visitors’ arrived from Pakistan under the auspices of the McMaster-Aga Khan training program. The final two academic years show a challenge to these traditional source countries, with Pakistan and Kenya being new additions. The table also shows a pattern of increasing concentration from a few source countries. Whereas in 1980–81, 67.2% of all undergraduate visa students arrived from four source countries, in the peak year of 1984–85, this percentage increased to 87.4%. This pattern is also found at the graduate level of study. Table 6.6 shows that whereas in 1984–85, 40.6% of all graduate visa students arrived from four source countries, in the peak year of 1987–88, this percentage increased to 59.4%.

Age, Marital Status, Gender Composition

Table 6.7 compares the age distributions of visa and non-visa students by level of study, for the 1987-88 academic year. There are proportionately fewer undergraduate visa students in the 15 – 19 year age group compared to non-visa students (11.7% versus 25.6%), but more in the 20 – 24 year age group (76.6%

Table 6.5
Top Four Source Countries of Visa Students at the Undergraduate
Level of Study, 1980-1981 to 1987-1988

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Sub-total Top Four	Total Visa at Undergrad- uate Level	Percent
YEAR:							
80-81	Hong Kong 167	Trinidad & Tobago 37	Singa- pore 28	Malaysia 26	258	384	67.2
81-82	Hong Kong 226	Malaysia 71	Trinidad & Tobago 52	Singa- pore 38	387	553	70.0
82-83	Hong Kong 283	Malaysia 51	Trinidad & Tobago 50	Singa- pore 38	422	609	69.3
83-84	Hong Kong 329	Malaysia 59	Trinidad & Tobago 41	Singa- pore 35	464	606	76.6
84-85	Hong Kong 391	Malaysia 40	Trinidad & Tobago 20	Singa- pore 13	464	531	87.4
85-86	Hong Kong 329	Pakistan 24	Trinidad & Tobago 14	Malaysia 10	377	454	83.0
86-87	Hong Kong 234	Trinidad & Tobago 9	China & Malaysia 6	Pakistan 5	254	309	82.2
87-88	Hong Kong 148	Trinidad 13	Pakistan 11	Kenya 6	178	222	80.2

Table 6.6
Top Four Source Countries of Visa Students at the Graduate Level
of Study, 1980–1981 to 1987–1988

	ACADEMIC YEAR							
	80–81	81–82	82–83	83–84	84–85	85–86	86–87	87–88
1st	India 35	India 44	India 50	India 42	India 33	China 34	China 54	China 64
2nd	UK 32	UK 39	Egypt 33	Egypt 27	Egypt 19	India 26	HK 20	HK 25
3rd	USA/Egypt 25	USA 29	USA 25	USA 21	China 18	UK 19	India 19	India 23
4th	USA/Egypt 25	Egypt 28	UK 21	UK 16	USA 16	Egypt 11	UK 12	UK 11
Sub-total Top Four:	117	140	129	106	86	90	105	123
Total Visa at Graduate Level:	250	266	274	240	212	203	201	207
Percent:	46.8	52.6	47.1	44.2	40.6	44.3	52.2	59.4

Source: Registrar's Report, McMaster University, 1980/81, pp. 48 – 49; 1981/82, pp. 48 - 49; 1982/83, pp. 47 – 48; 1983/84, pp. 46 – 47; 1984/85, pp. 39 – 40; 1985/86, pp. 40 – 41; 1986/87, pp. 38 – 39; 1987/88, p. 39.

Table 6.7
Visa Students and Non-Visa Students, by Level
of Study and Age, 1987–1988

AGE GROUP	UNDERGRADUATE		GRADUATE	
	Visa	Non-Visa	Visa	Non-Visa
	(in percent)			
15 – 19	11.7	25.6	0.0	0.0
20 – 24	76.6	65.3	21.1	36.2
25 – 29	9.5	5.7	46.1	40.6
30 – 34	1.4	2.0	22.1	12.6
35 – 39	0.5	0.8	9.3	6.3
40 – 44	0.5	0.4	1.0	2.4
45 – 49	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.1
50 – 54	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
55 – 59	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
65+	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Median Age	22.0	21.3	27.5	26.2

Source: Special Tabulation, *Office of Institutional Analysis*, McMaster University, 1988.

versus 65.3%). There are proportionately fewer graduate visa students in the 20-24 year age group compared to non-visa students (21.1% versus 36.2%); more in the 25 – 29 age group (46.1% versus 40.6%); and almost twice as many in the 30 – 34 year age group (22.1% versus 12.6%). The median age for undergraduate visa students is 22.0 years compared to 21.3 years for non-visa students. The median age for graduate visa students is 27.5 years compared to 26.2 years for non-visa students. Thus, at both levels of study, visa students are slightly older than non-visa students.

Table 6.8 compares visa and non-visa students, by level of study and marital status. At the undergraduate level of study, proportionately more non-visa than visa students are married. The reverse is true at the graduate level of study.

Table 6.9 shows changes in the gender composition of visa students over five academic years (1984–85 to 1988–89). Female international students constitute a significantly lower percentage of total than their male counterparts for each of the years analyzed. Moreover, this gap has widened over time: the percentage of females decreased from 33.2% of the total visa student population in 1984–85 to 26.9% in 1988–89. The table also shows that the higher the level of education, the lower is the female international students' share of total visa enrollment. In 1988–89, the male/female ratio was approximately 2:1 at the bachelor's level of study, 3.3:1 at the master's level, and 4.5:1 at the doctoral level. Finally, the table shows that large gender differences exist between the visa

Table 6.8
Visa Students and Non-Visa Students, by Level of Study
and Marital Status, 1987-1988

UNDERGRADUATE			
Marital Status	Visa	Non-Visa	Total
Married	2 (0.9)	332 (3.4)	334
Single	219 (99.1)	9,293 (96.6)	9,512
Total	221	9,625	9,846
Chi-square = 4.27 df = 1 p < .05			

Missing Values = 36

GRADUATE			
Marital Status	Visa	Non-Visa	Total
Married	71 (35.5)	278 (27.6)	349
Single	129 (64.5)	731 (72.4)	860
Total	200	1,009	1,209
Chi-square = 5.13 df = 1 p < .05			

Missing Values = 19

Source: Special Tabulation, Office of Institutional Analysis, McMaster University, 1988.

Table 6.9
Visa Students and Non-Visa Students, by Sex and Level
of Study, 1984–1985 to 1988–1989

Level of Study *	1984–1985		1985–1986		1986–1987		1987–1988		1988–1989	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(in percent)										
Bachelor's:										
Visa	61.0	39.0	60.0	40.0	64.1	35.9	64.4	35.6	65.2	34.8
Non-Visa	52.4	47.6	51.6	48.4	51.1	48.9	50.1	49.9	49.0	51.0
Master's:										
Visa	75.0	25.0	75.6	24.4	69.6	30.4	75.7	24.3	77.0	23.0
Non-Visa	64.5	34.5	62.2	37.8	64.3	35.7	65.3	34.7	64.0	36.0
Doctoral:										
Visa	85.4	14.6	83.0	17.0	85.7	14.3	85.6	14.4	81.7	18.3
Non-Visa	72.3	27.7	71.0	29.0	71.1	28.9	69.6	30.4	70.6	29.4
Total:										
Visa	66.8	33.2	65.9	34.1	69.4	30.6	72.1	27.9	73.1	26.9
Non-Visa	54.1	45.9	53.0	47.0	52.8	47.2	51.9	48.0	51.1	48.9

* Excludes M.D.'s, Diploma, Interns/Residents and Divinity College.

Source: Special Tabulation, *Office of Institutional Analysis*, McMaster University, 1988.

and non-visa student populations. In 1988–89, the visa student population was 73.1% male and 26.9% female. This compares with the non-visa student population which was 51.1% male and 48.9% female.

Socio-economic Background

Information concerning the socio-economic background of international students attending Canadian educational institutions is scarce. A major problem in evaluating and classifying the social and economic status of individuals is that the criteria used in surveys vary considerably, particularly when the definition of any category is left to the respondent. This is particularly true in the case of international students. *The Report of the Commission on Foreign Student Policy* writes that

differences in the social structures of Western industrialized countries and developing nations, for example, will produce different perceptions and interpretations of factors determining economic and social status (1981:37).

The report cites the results of a survey of nearly 800 post-secondary students across Canada:

About one-quarter of post-secondary foreign students were from Hong Kong, and of the remainder roughly half came from urban backgrounds (cities over 10,000); the balance grew up in rural or small-town and village areas. As one might therefore expect, the bulk of foreign students are the children of entrepreneurs, businessmen or professionals. The largest number and proportion of students from primary

occupational class backgrounds are from the developing and poorest nations (1981:34).

The survey results suggest that international students come from a privileged social stratum within their respective home countries. In the present study, information concerning the occupational background of parents was solicited from international students at the graduate level of study. Each respondent was asked a series of questions concerning the type of paid employment their parents engaged in; the business or industry in which this work was performed; and the product or service rendered. Table 6.10 shows that 100.0% of fathers, and 60.0% of mothers, were engaged in paid employment. Seventy-two percent of employed fathers fell into the top occupational groupings: 54.0% were professionals, 12.0% were managers, and 6.0% were owners. Fifty percent of employed mothers fell into the top occupational groupings: 43.3% were professionals and 6.7% were managers. The data, therefore, supports the Commissions' finding that international students tend to come from privileged socio-economic backgrounds, relative to others in their respective home countries. This generalization, however, must be tempered with the knowledge that 13.8% of respondents' parents were engaged in primary (mostly farming) occupations.

Information concerning sources of income for foreign study was also solicited. Financial support provided by home country governments is generally poor and frequently limited to one year of foreign study. Moreover, students

Table 6.10
Occupational Classification of Respondents' Parents

Total Cases	OCCUPATIONAL GROUP						
	Professional	Owners	Managers	Skilled Trades	Semi-skilled and Unskilled	Service	Primary and Other
Father 50	27 (54.0)	3 (6.0)	6 (12.0)	5 (10.0)	3 (6.0)	0 (0.0)	6 (12.0)
Mother 30 *	13 (43.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.7)	5 (16.7)	4 (13.3)	1 (3.3)	5 (16.7)

() Percent of Total

* 20 cases not applicable

experience frequent delays in receiving disbursements. Head writes that undertaking a university program is risky for any student who possesses limited financial resources:

The hazards are even greater for students from so-called "Third World" countries, who ... may be affected by coup d'etat and currency restrictions in their home countries which eliminate their funding midway through a program of study (1988:6).

Table 6.11 shows sources of financial support from inside and outside of Canada. It shows that employment in the form of teaching assistantships is the primary source of income for international students at the graduate level of study. This implies, therefore, that such students rely heavily, and in some cases exclusively, on financial support provided by Canadian educational institutions and/or government agencies.

Table 6.12 provides data showing the proportional representation of graduate international students, by country of citizenship, at McMaster University and Canada as a whole. The data contained in this table helps to answer the question of how the population of international students at McMaster University compares with the larger population of international students in Canada. In doing so, it helps to ascertain whether or not and, if so, the extent to which the results of this study can be generalized beyond the local institutional level.

The table shows that small percentage differences exist between the respective distributions for categories of the variable 'country of citizenship'.

Table 6.11
Multiple Response Frequency of Sources of Financial Support
From Inside and Outside of Canada

Type of Financial Source	Total Responses	Percent of Responses
Inside Canada:		
McMaster University teaching and/or research assistantship	44	61.1
Canadian government agency (e.g., CIDA)	10	13.9
Part-time employment	9	12.5
Fellowships and bursaries	3	4.2
Other	2	2.8
Family or friend	1	1.4
Loan	1	1.4
McMaster/CIDA scholarship	1	1.4
Private agency or foundation	1	1.4
	<u>N=72 *</u>	<u>100.1%</u>
* 4 cases not applicable; 46 valid cases		
Outside Canada:		
Family or friend	15	32.6
Scholarship, fellowship, grant-in-aid from home government agency	15	32.6
Self	12	26.1
Sponsored by employer	2	4.3
Loan	1	2.2
Other	1	2.2
	<u>N=46 *</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
* 14 cases not applicable; 36 valid cases		

Table 6.12
Geographic Distribution of Full-time Graduate International
Students by Country of Citizenship, 1989-90

	McMaster University N=314	Canada N=13,617	Proportional Difference
	<i>(proportion)</i>		
Africa	38 (.12)	2,824 (.21)	-.09
Algeria	1 (.003)	274 (.02)	-.02
Cameroon	— —	140 (.01)	-.01
Cote D'Ivoire	— —	68 (.005)	-.005
Egypt, Arab Republic	4 (.01)	143 (.01)	—
Ghana	6 (.02)	211 (.02)	—
Kenya	5 (.02)	206 (.02)	—
Libya	4 (.01)	108 (.008)	+.002
Morocco	— —	331 (.02)	-.02
Nigeria	4 (.01)	139 (.01)	—
Rwanda	— —	83 (.006)	-.006
Senegal	— —	96 (.007)	-.007
Tanzania	1 (.003)	76 (.006)	-.003
Tunisia	— —	194 (.01)	-.01
Zaire	— —	56 (.004)	-.004
Other	13 (.04)	699 (.05)	-.01
Asia	210 (.67)	6,489 (.48)	+.19
Bangladesh	1 (.003)	109 (.008)	-.005
China	133 (.42)	3,232 (.24)	+.18
Hong Kong	17 (.05)	449 (.03)	+.02
India	15 (.05)	775 (.06)	-.01
Indonesia	5 (.02)	182 (.01)	+.01
Iran, Islamic Republic	1 (.003)	143 (.01)	-.007
Israel	— —	71 (.005)	-.005
Japan	4 (.01)	181 (.01)	—
Korea, Republic of	5 (.02)	113 (.008)	+.012
Lebanon	2 (.006)	91 (.007)	-.001
Malaysia	1 (.003)	101 (.007)	-.004
Pakistan	6 (.02)	68 (.005)	+.015
Philippines	1 (.003)	50 (.004)	-.001
Saudi Arabia	— —	175 (.01)	-.01
Singapore	— —	100 (.007)	-.007
Sri Lanka	4 (.01)	119 (.009)	+.001
Taiwan	1 (.003)	70 (.005)	-.002
Thailand	5 (.02)	165 (.01)	+.01
Turkey	— —	102 (.008)	-.008
Other	9 (.03)	193 (.01)	+.02

Continues...

Table 6.12 Continued
Geographic Distribution of Full-time Graduate International
Students by Country of Citizenship, 1989-90

	McMaster University N=314	Canada N=13,617	Proportional Difference
	<i>(proportion)</i>		
Europe	32 (.10)	2,022 (.15)	-.05
France	2 (.006)	568 (.04)	-.034
Germany, Federal Republic	9 (.03)	194 (.01)	+.02
Greece	1 (.003)	171 (.01)	-.007
Ireland	— —	83 (.006)	-.006
Netherlands	1 (.003)	58 (.004)	-.001
United Kingdom	9 (.03)	455 (.03)	—
Other	10 (.03)	493 (.04)	+.01
North America	20 (.06)	1,443 (.11)	-.05
Bahamas Islands	— —	14 (.001)	-.001
Barbados	— —	20 (.002)	-.002
Bermuda	— —	11 (.0008)	-.0008
Haiti	— —	24 (.002)	-.002
Jamaica	1 (.003)	34 (.003)	—
Mexico	7 (.02)	163 (.01)	+.01
Trinidad & Tobago	1 (.003)	68 (.005)	-.002
United States	11 (.04)	1,007 (.07)	-.03
Other	— —	102 (.008)	-.008
Oceania	4 (.01)	264 (.02)	-.01
Australia	3 (.009)	153 (.01)	-.001
Other	1 (.003)	111 (.008)	-.005
South America	10 (.03)	504 (.04)	-.01
Brazil	4 (.01)	179 (.01)	—
Colombia	— —	89 (.007)	-.007
Other	6 (.02)	236 (.02)	—
Not Reported	0 (—)	71 (.005)	-.005

Sources: Registrar's Report, McMaster University, 1989/90, pp. 22 – 23.

Statistics Canada, Universities: Enrolment and Degrees 1986-91, Ottawa, pp. 54 – 55.

* Proportions may not add to 1 due to rounding

The exception to this general pattern is Mainland China. Students from this country constitute 42.0% of the total population of international students at McMaster University, but only 24.0% nationally. This overrepresentation may be accounted for by bilateral exchange agreements signed between McMaster University and universities in China—notably Beijing University. Larger percentage differences are shown to exist when countries of citizenship are grouped according to continent. In this regard, students from Africa, Europe and North America are underrepresented at McMaster University, while those from Asia are overrepresented. All of these phenomena are at least in part the result of the huge contingent of Mainland Chinese students at McMaster University.

The table also shows similarity in structure regarding size and diversity of conational groups comprising the two distributions. International students belong to large, medium and small conational groups. In addition, lone international students constitute a significant proportion of students at both the institutional and national levels. In the latter case, this is reflected in the aggregation of several countries of citizenship into a single ‘other’ category.

The data presented in this table suggests that many of the conclusions of this study can, with appropriate caution, be generalized to the situation of graduate international students in Canada.

Conclusion

In summarizing the results of this analysis, the following profile of the international student population at McMaster University emerges. First, overall visa student enrollment has declined over time, approximating the pattern found at the national level (i.e., at Canadian post-secondary institutions). It appears likely that higher differential fees account for much of the decline in visa student enrollment.

Second, an analysis of the geographical origin of international students shows a consistent pattern of top source countries. Hong Kong, Malaysia, Trinidad & Tobago, and Singapore dominate at the undergraduate level of study, while India, and most recently Mainland China, dominate at the graduate level of study. The data also shows a pattern of increasing concentration of students from a few source countries.

Third, an analysis of key socio-demographic variables shows that visa students at the undergraduate and graduate levels of study are slightly older than non-visa students, suggesting previous workforce experience or enrollment delays due to lack of facility in the English language.

Fourth, an analysis of the gender composition of visa students shows that female international students are underrepresented in the international student population. One reason is that in many of their respective home countries females are underrepresented in the population of post-secondary students. Another reason

may be that females who decide to study abroad encounter strong cultural disapproval. The data also shows that females are particularly underrepresented at higher levels of education. This gender gap has widened over time.

Fifth, an analysis of parental occupations confirms the view that international students, at the graduate level of study, come from a privileged social stratum within their respective home country societies. The data suggests that graduate visa students rely heavily upon Canadian educational institutions to help defray the costs of foreign study.

Finally, the distribution of international students at McMaster University was found to be not too dissimilar from the national distribution. Thus, many of the conclusions of this study can be generalized to the situation of graduate international students in Canada.

APPENDIX 2
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

RESPONDENT'S CODE NO. _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____
(DAY) (MONTH) (YEAR)

INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____ a.m.
p.m.

INTERVIEW ENDED: _____ a.m.
p.m.

PLEASE NOTE: **YOUR RESPONSES TO ALL QUESTIONS WILL BE TREATED STRICTLY CONFIDENTIALLY.** I am asking them in order to gain an overall description of the kinds of experiences you have had while studying in Canada.

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY ASKING YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND.

1. INTERVIEWER CODE SEX:

- 1. () Male
- 2. () Female

2. In what year were you born _____ ?

99. () Refusal/No Answer

3. In what country do you permanently reside _____ ?

999. () Refusal/No Answer

4. SHOW CARD 1, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, which of the following best describes where you spent most of your time from infancy to age 15? CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX(ES). THEN ASK: At what ages did you live in these areas?

AGES

- | | |
|--|-------|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> A village a long way from a town or city | _____ |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> A village near a town or city | _____ |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> A small town | _____ |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> A large town | _____ |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> The suburb of a city | _____ |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> A city | _____ |

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 5a. With regard to your normal living arrangements in your home country, do you live alone or with others?

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. () Alone | —> Go to Q6 |
| 2. () With others | —> Go to Q5b |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 5b. Are these others with whom you live...

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. () Your own family of birth | —> Go to Q5c |
| 2. () Friends of yours/family | —> Go to Q5d |
| 3. () Servants | —> Go to Q5d |
| 4. () Others | —> Go to Q5d |
| 5. () Own family by marriage | —> Go to Q5e |
| 6. () Spouse's family | —> Go to Q5f |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

5c. Which of the following normally live in the same dwelling as you do? CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX (ES) UNDER RELATIONSHIP, THEN RECORD NUMBER OF PERSONS ON THE RIGHT.

IF OWN FAMILY OF BIRTH, THEN ASK: Do you live with...

	RELATIONSHIP	NUMBER
1.	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	_____
2.	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	_____
3.	<input type="checkbox"/> Siblings	_____
4.	<input type="checkbox"/> Siblings-in-law	_____
5.	<input type="checkbox"/> Nieces (nephews)	_____
6.	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather (fathers)	_____
7.	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother (fathers)	_____
8.	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather (mothers)	_____
9.	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother (mothers)	_____
10.	<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt (s)	_____
11.	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle (s)	_____
12.	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (s)	_____

9. () Refusal/No Answer

5d. IF FRIENDS, SERVANTS, OTHERS, THEN RECORD NUMBER OF PERSONS ON THE RIGHT.

		NUMBER
13.	<input type="checkbox"/> Friends of yours/family	_____
14.	<input type="checkbox"/> Servants	_____
15.	<input type="checkbox"/> Others	_____

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

IF UNMARRIED, RECORD HOUSEHOLD TOTAL HERE: _____, then go to Q6.

5e. IF OWN FAMILY BY MARRIAGE, THEN CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX(ES) AND RECORD NUMBER OF PERSONS ON THE RIGHT.

- | | NUMBER |
|--|--------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Husband/wife and no children | _____ |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Husband/wife and own children | _____ |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Husband/wife and other children | _____ |
| 7. () Not Applicable | |
| 9. () Refusal/No Answer | |

5f. IF SPOUSE'S FAMILY, THEN CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX(ES) AND RECORD NUMBER OF PERSONS ON THE RIGHT.

- | | NUMBER |
|--|--------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Father-in-law | _____ |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Mother-in-law | _____ |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling-in-law | _____ |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Nieces/nephews | _____ |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Other(s) | _____ |
| 7. () Not Applicable | |
| 9. () Refusal/No Answer | |

IF **MARRIED**, RECORD HOUSEHOLD TOTAL HERE: _____ . THEN Go to Q6.

6. What was the highest level of schooling you finished in your home country? THEN ASK: Is that a government or private institution? CIRCLE G (government) or P (private).

LEVEL OF SCHOOLING

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. () Less than high school graduation | G / P |
| 2. () High school graduation | G / P |
| 3. () Some university courses | G / P |
| 4. () A university undergraduate degree | G / P |
| 5. () A university graduate degree | G / P |
| 9. () Refusal/No Answer | |

7a. Do you have any other type of training you have not already told me about?

1. () YES → **Go to Q7b**

2. () NO → **Go to Q8a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

7b. What other training do you have?

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

8a. Did you attend high school in North America, before coming to McMaster University?

1. () YES → **Go to Q8b-Q8c**

2. () NO → **Go to Q9a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

8b. What kind of institution was that? (CIRCLE G FOR GOVERNMENT OR P FOR PRIVATE)

G / P

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

8c. How many years did you study there _____?

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

9a. Did you attend any post-secondary institutions (i.e., colleges or universities) in North America/elsewhere before coming to McMaster University?

1. YES → **Go to Q9b-Q9c**
 2. NO → **Go to Q10**

9. Refusal/No Answer

9b. How many years did you study there _____ ?

77. Not Applicable
 99. Refusal/No Answer

9c. Was the language of instruction at this institution...

1. English → **Go to Q10**
 2. French → **Go to Q10**

7. Not Applicable
 9. Refusal/No Answer

10. In what kind of program are you currently enrolled?

1. Diploma program
 2. Bachelor program
 3. Master's program
 4. Doctorate program
 5. Postgraduate professional (e.g., medicine)
 6. Other _____ ?
 (SPECIFY)

9. Refusal/No Answer

11. What is your present major subject area of study?

99. () Refusal/No Answer

12. What interested you about your particular field of study? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

13. Which year of your program are you currently entering?

1. () 1st year

2. () 2nd year

3. () 3rd year

4. () 4th year

5. () Part-time

6. () Other _____ ?

(SPECIFY)

9. () Refusal/No Answer

14. How many years have you been at McMaster University?

(SPECIFY)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

15. SHOW CARD 2, THEN SAY: Which of the following sources of financial support have you received for your education abroad? NEXT SAY: Please check off all categories that apply.

OUTSIDE CANADA:

1. () Self (e.g., personal savings, including those of spouse)
2. () Family or friend at home
3. () Family or friend in another foreign country
4. () Scholarship (e.g., Commonwealth), fellowship, grant-in-aid from Home Government Agency
5. () Sponsored by employer in home country
6. () Loans (Specify) _____.
7. () Other (Specify) _____.

9. () Refusal/No Answer

INSIDE CANADA:

1. () Family or friend in Canada
2. () Canadian Government Agency (e.g., CIDA)
3. () Scholarship or grant from private agency or foundation
4. () McMaster University teaching or research assistantship
5. () Fellowships and bursaries
6. () Exam invigilation
7. () Part-time employment (Specify) _____.
8. () Loans from (Specify) _____.
9. () Other (Specify) _____.

0. () Refusal/No Answer

16a. What is your current employment status in your own country?

1. () Employed Full-time → **Go to Q16b**
 2. () Employed Part-time → **Go to Q16b**
 3. () Not Currently Employed → **Go to Q17a**
 4. () Uncertain → **Go to Q17a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

16b. IF EMPLOYED, ASK: Are you 'on leave' from that position?

1. () Employed Full-time and on leave → **Go to Q16c**
 2. () Employed Part-time and on leave → **Go to Q16c**
 3. () Uncertain

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

16c. IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME IN HOME COUNTRY AND ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE, ASK: What position do you hold and in what type of facility? GET DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF POSITION, THEN ASK: Is that a government or private facility? CIRCLE G (government) or P (private).

POSITION

TYPE OF FACILITY

_____ G / P

7777. () Not Applicable

9999. () Refusal/No Answer

17a. IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED OR UNCERTAIN, THEN ASK: Were you previously employed in your home country prior to coming to McMaster University?

1. () YES → Go to Q17b-Q17f

2. () NO → Go to Q18

9. () Refusal/No Answer

17b. IF RESPONDENT NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, BUT WAS PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED IN THE HOME COUNTRY PRIOR TO COMING TO McMASTER UNIVERSITY, THEN ASK: What position did you hold in your last employment, and in what type of facility was that? THEN ASK: Is that a government or private facility? CIRCLE G (government) or P (private).

POSITION	TYPE OF FACILITY	
_____	_____	G / P

7777. () Not Applicable

9999. () Refusal/No Answer

17c. How many years did you work prior to entry to Canada?

_____ (SPECIFY)

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

17d. What type of paid work did you do?

7777. () Not Applicable

9999. () Refusal/No Answer

17e. In what business or industry is (was) that?

777. () Not Applicable
999. () Refusal/No Answer

17f. What product is (was) produced, or services given?

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

18. What is your present marital status?

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. () Married | → Go to Q19a |
| 2. () Single | → Go to Q23 |
| 3. () Widowed | → Go to Q23 |
| 4. () Divorced | → Go to Q23 |
| 5. () Separated | → Go to Q23 |
| 6. () Other _____ | → Go to Q23 |
| (SPECIFY) | |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

19a. Is your spouse also an international student?

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. () YES | → Go to Q19b |
| 2. () NO | |

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

19b. Is your spouse with you here in Hamilton?

1. () YES

—> **Skip to Q21a**

2. () NO

—> **Go to Q19c**

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

19c. Where is your spouse living now?

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

20a. Will your spouse be joining you later?

1. () YES

—> **Go to Q20b**

2. () NO

—> **Go to Q20c**

7. () Not Applicable

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. () Refusal/No Answer

20b. Why did your spouse not accompany you?

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

20c. Why won't your spouse be joining you?

-
77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

21a. Do you have any children?

1. () YES → Go to Q21b
2. () NO → Go to Q23

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

21b. SHOW CARD 3, THEN ASK: How many children do you have in each of the following age categories? (NEXT, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN BLANKS TO RIGHT OF AGE CATEGORIES).

AGE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
1. 0 – 2.11 years	_____
2. 3.0 – 5.11 years	_____
3. 6.0 – 10.11 years	_____
4. 11.0 – 15.11 years	_____
5. 16.0 – 20.11 years	_____
6. 21 years or older	_____

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

RECORD TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN HERE: _____

22a. With whom is/are your child/children currently living?

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1. () All with self | —> Skip to Q23 |
| 2. () All with others | —> Go to Q22b-Q22e |
| 3. () Some with self and
some with others | —> Go to Q22b-Q22e |
| 7. () Not Applicable | |
| 9. () Refusal/No Answer | |

IF CHILD/CHILDREN LIVING 'ALL WITH OTHERS' OR 'SOME WITH SELF AND SOME LIVING WITH OTHERS', THEN ASK: What are the ages of your children and in what country are they now?

22b. AGE OF FIRST CHILD:

1. _____

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

22c. AGE OF SECOND CHILD:

2. _____

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

22d. LOCATION OF FIRST CHILD:

1. Canada
2. Home country
3. Elsewhere

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

22e. LOCATION OF SECOND CHILD:

1. Canada
2. Home country
3. Elsewhere

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

23. Is your father living?

1. () YES → Go to Q24a
2. () NO → Go to Q24a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

24a. Does/did your father/other male household head do paid work either inside or outside the home?

1. () Yes, works/worked inside the home → Go to Q24b
2. () Yes, works/worked outside the home → Go to Q24b
3. () NO → Go to Q25

9. () Refusal/No Answer

24b. What type of paid work does (did) your father/other male do?

8888. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
9999. () Refusal/No Answer

25. Is your mother living?

1. () YES → Go to Q26a

2. () NO → Go to Q26a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

26a. Does/did your mother/other female household head do paid work either inside or outside the home?

1. () Yes, works/worked inside the home → Go to Q26b

2. () Yes, works/worked outside the home → Go to Q26b

3. () NO → Go to Q27a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

26b. What type of work is (was) that?

7777. () Not Applicable

8888. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9999. () Refusal/No Answer

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU ARRIVED AT YOUR DECISION TO STUDY ABROAD.

27a. Did you discuss with anyone (e.g., friends, family) whether or not you should apply to a foreign university, before you did so?

1. () YES → Go to Q27b

2. () NO → Go to Q28a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

27b. With whom did you discuss it? (CIRCLE ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY IN COLUMNS TO LEFT OF RELATIONSHIP CATEGORIES).

	S.E.	E	D	S.D.	N.A.
1. Husband	1	2	3	4	5
2. Wife	1	2	3	4	5
3. Father	1	2	3	4	5
4. Mother	1	2	3	4	5
5. Father-in-Law	1	2	3	4	5
6. Mother-in-Law	1	2	3	4	5
7. Brother(s)	1	2	3	4	5
8. Sister(s)	1	2	3	4	5
9. Uncle	1	2	3	4	5
10. Aunt	1	2	3	4	5
11. Employer/Academic supervisor	1	2	3	4	5
12. Classmates	1	2	3	4	5

NEXT, SHOW CARD 4 AND FOR EACH CIRCLED RELATIONSHIP, ASK: Using this card, how would you describe the kind of encouragement you received from your (state identified relationship), THEN CIRCLE ABOVE:

1. **S. E.** : IF STRONGLY ENCOURAGING
2. **E** : IF ENCOURAGING
3. **D** : IF DISCOURAGING
4. **S. D.** : IF STRONGLY DISCOURAGING
5. **N. A.** : IF NOT APPLICABLE

99. () Refusal/No Answer

28a. Whose decision was it that you would study abroad?

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. () Self | —> Go to Q28b-Q30b |
| 2. () Self and others _____ (SPECIFY) | |
| 3. () Family member | —> Go to Q31a |
| 4. () Employer | —> Go to Q31a |
| 5. () Other _____ (SPECIFY) | —> Go to Q31a |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

28b. SHOW CARD 5, THEN SAY: This card lists some of the reasons that international students mention for studying abroad. GIVE RESPONDENT TIME TO LOOK AT CATEGORIES, THEN ASK: ARE THERE ANY CATEGORIES YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD TO THE LIST? NEXT, USING THE CATEGORIES ON THE CARD, ASK: What would you say was your most important (i.e., FIRST) reason for studying abroad. Next, ask for their next most important (i.e., SECOND) reason for study abroad, and continue questioning until all categories are ranked. FINALLY, CIRCLE ALL ANSWERS THAT APPLY IN COLUMNS TO RIGHT OF 'REASONS FOR STUDY ABROAD' CATEGORIES BELOW.

REASONS FOR STUDY ABROAD										
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	NA
1. Wanted to study/travel in another country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
2. Personal independence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
3. Placement too competitive in home country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
4. Wanted more training not available in home country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
5. Recommended by family or counsellors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
6. Family or friends reside in Canada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
7. Lower tuition fees and cost of living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
8. Attracted by quality and type of programs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA
9. Other _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	NA

[1] : 1ST REASON GIVEN

[6] : 6TH REASON GIVEN

[2] : 2ND REASON GIVEN

[7] : 7TH REASON GIVEN

[3] : 3RD REASON GIVEN

[8] : 8TH REASON GIVEN

[4] : 4TH REASON GIVEN

[9] : 9TH REASON GIVEN

[5] : 5TH REASON GIVEN

NA : NOT APPLICABLE

99. () Refusal/No Answer

29a. Did any family members or friends support your decision to study abroad?

1. () YES → Go to Q29b
 2. () NO → Go to Q30a
 3. () UNCERTAIN

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

29b. Who was that and what do you think their main reasons were? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP	REASONS
1. _____	_____ _____ _____
2. _____	_____ _____ _____
3. _____	_____ _____ _____
4. _____	_____ _____ _____

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

30a. Did anyone in your family or any of your friends oppose your decision to study abroad?

1. YES → Go to Q30b

2. NO → Go to Q32a

8. Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. Refusal/No Answer

30b. Who was that and what do you think their main reasons were? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP	REASONS
1. _____	_____

2. _____	_____

3. _____	_____

77. Not Applicable

88. Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. Refusal/No Answer

31a. IF FAMILY/EMPLOYER/OTHER made or participated in the decision that you would study abroad, what do you think their main reasons were? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP	REASONS
1. _____	_____

2. _____	_____

3. _____	_____

77. Not Applicable

88. Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. Refusal/No Answer

31b. At that time, did you support or oppose that decision?

1. () Support that decision? —> What were your main reasons?

RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE:

77. () Not Applicable
 88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

2. () Oppose that decision? —> What were your main reasons?

RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE:

77. () Not Applicable
 88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

32a. Did political conditions in your home country influence your decision to study abroad?

1. () YES —> **Go to Q32b**

2. () NO —> **Go to Q33**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

32b. What were these conditions? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

33. SHOW CARD 6, THEN ASK: I am going to give you this card which looks at the various reasons international students might mention for **CHOOSING CANADA** as a place of study? GIVE RESPONDENT TIME TO LOOK AT CATEGORIES, THEN ASK: ARE THERE ANY CATEGORIES YOU WOULD LIKE TO ADD TO THE LIST? FINALLY, ASK: What is your **FIRST** reason for choosing Canada as a place of study. Next, what is your **SECOND** reason? Continue asking until all categories are ranked.

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	NA
a. Relatives are here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
b. Family members studied here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
c. Friends are here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
d. Attracted by nation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
e. English/French spoken here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
f. Wanted to improve English language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
g. Attracted by type & quality of academic programs offered	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
h. Enhanced value of a foreign degree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
i. Availability of scholarships for study abroad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA
j. Lower tuition fees and cost of living	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NA

99. () Refusal/No Answer

34a. Did you apply for admission to any other universities in North America?

1. () YES → Go to Q34b

2. () NO → Go to Q34b

9. () Refusal/No Answer

34b. Can you tell me what your main reasons were in selecting McMaster University? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

35a. Did you ever visit Canada prior to studying here?

1. () YES

2. () NO

9. () Refusal/No Answer

36a. Did you ever have any concerns about leaving your country to study abroad?

1. () YES → Go to Q36b

2. () NO → Go to Q37

9. () Refusal/No Answer

36b. What were your main concerns? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

37. What did you think life in Canada was like, before actually coming here to study? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

38a. Have your initial images about Canadian society changed in any significant way?

1. () YES → **Go to Q38b**
 2. () NO → **Go to Q39a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

38b. In what ways have they changed? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

IF RESPONDENT IS UNMARRIED, SKIP TO Q42

39a. SHOW CARD 7, THEN ASK: How would you best describe the kind of support you received from your spouse regarding your decision to study abroad?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. () Very supportive | —> Go to Q39b |
| 2. () Generally supportive | —> Go to Q39b |
| 3. () Generally not supportive | —> Go to Q39c |
| 4. () Not supportive at all | —> Go to Q39c |

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

39b. In what way(s) was your spouse supportive?

77. () Not Applicable
88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

39c. Why was your spouse not supportive?

77. () Not Applicable
88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

40a. Was there anyone in you spouse's family who was particularly supportive of your decision to study abroad?

1. () YES —> Go to Q40b

2. () NO —> Go to Q41a

7. () Not Applicable

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. () Refusal/No Answer

40b. Who was this person and in what way(s) was this person supportive? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____

77. () Not Applicable

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. () Refusal/No Answer

41a. Was there anyone in your spouse's family who was particularly opposed to your decision to study abroad?

1. () YES —> Go to Q41b

2. () NO —> Go to Q42

7. () Not Applicable

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 41b. Who was this person, and why were they opposed to your studying abroad? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE):

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU THINK ABOUT YOURSELF.

42. If you were to describe 'who you are' to someone whom you didn't know, what would you tell them? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER GIVEN BY RESPONDENT. IF RESPONDENT IS UNCLEAR OF QUESTION REPEAT QUESTION USING "YOURSELF" INSTEAD OF "WHO YOU ARE").

99. () Refusal/No Answer

- 43a. Which of the following designations would you most prefer being referred to as?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. () An international student | —> Go to Q43b |
| 2. () A foreign student | —> Go to Q43b |
| 3. () A visa student | —> Go to Q43b |
| 4. () None of these | —> Go to Q43c |
| 5. () All are interchangeable | —> Go to Q44a |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

43b. Why do you say that?

99. () Refusal/No Answer

43c. How would you wish to be referred to as?

9. () Refusal/No Answer

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT VARIOUS ASPECTS OF YOUR ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT HERE IN CANADA.

44a. SHOW CARD 8. Using the categories on this card, in general, how satisfied are you with your overall academic experience at this university thus far?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. () Very satisfied | —> Go to Q45a |
| 2. () Generally satisfied | —> Go to Q45a |
| 3. () Generally not satisfied | —> Go to Q44b |
| 4. () Not satisfied at all | —> Go to Q44b |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

44b. What aspects of your overall academic experience are you not satisfied with? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

45a. Do you find the educational approach at McMaster University different from that which you are accustomed to?

1. () YES → Go to Q45b
2. () NO → Go to Q46a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

45b. What are the main differences in the educational approach taken at McMaster University, in comparison to that which you are accustomed to? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

46a. Do you notice any differences regarding the student/professor relationship between your home country university and that of McMaster University?

1. () YES → Go to Q46b
2. () NO → Go to Q47a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 46b. What differences in the student/professor relationship do you notice at McMaster as opposed to that experienced in your home country? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 47a. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: SHOW CARD 9, THEN SAY: Using the categories on this card, please identify those items that were a source of difficulty, either at the moment or in the past, that affected your stay in Canada. CHECK OFF ALL CATEGORIES THAT APPLY BELOW. FINALLY, RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER.

1. () Financial problems
2. () Poor health
3. () Personal depression
4. () Difficulty adjusting to climate/local foods
5. () Difficulty with the local language
6. () Lack of opportunity to use the local language
7. () Lack of meaningful social interaction with conationals
8. () Lack of meaningful social interaction with Canadians
9. () Difficulty making new friends (e.g., lack of opportunity)
10. () Difficulty in securing housing
11. () Academic difficulties (e.g., insufficient academic training)
12. () Problems with method of examinations
13. () Problem of equivalence

99. () Refusal/No Answer

47b. Of the items mentioned in Q47a, please indicate the THREE items that were the greatest source of difficulty for you, in order of importance. (RECORD NUMBER USING Q47a CATEGORIES IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES BELOW).

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

48a. SHOW CARD 10, THEN SAY: Overall, which of the following best describes your adjustment to life in Canada since you arrived here?

1. () Very difficult → **Go to Q49a**

2. () Generally difficult → **Go to Q49a**

3. () Generally not difficult → **Go to Q48b**

4. () Not difficult at all → **Go to Q48b**

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

48b. Why do you think you have generally not experienced any difficulties in adjusting to life in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. () Refusal/No Answer

ASK MARRIED RESPONDENTS ONLY: IF UNMARRIED, SKIP TO Q53a

- 49a. SHOW CARD 9 AGAIN, THEN SAY: Using the categories on this card, please identify those items that were a source of difficulty, either at the moment or in the past, that affected your SPOUSE'S stay in Canada. CHECK OFF ALL CATEGORIES THAT APPLY BELOW. FINALLY, RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER.

1. () Financial problems
2. () Poor health
3. () Personal depression
4. () Difficulty adjusting to climate/local foods
5. () Difficulty with the local language
6. () Lack of opportunity to use the local language
7. () Lack of meaningful social interaction with conationals
8. () Lack of meaningful social interaction with Canadians
9. () Difficulty making new friends (e.g., lack of opportunity)
10. () Difficulty in securing housing
11. () Academic difficulties (e.g., insufficient academic training)
12. () Problems with method of examinations
13. () Problem of equivalence

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

49b. Of the items mentioned in Q49a, please indicate the THREE items that were the greatest source of difficulty for YOUR SPOUSE, in order of importance. (RECORD NUMBER USING Q49a CATEGORIES IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES BELOW).

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

50a. SHOW CARD 10 AGAIN, THEN ASK: Overall, which of the following best describes your SPOUSE'S adjustment to life in Canada since you arrived here?

1. () Very difficult → Go to Q51

2. () Generally difficult → Go to Q51

3. () Generally not difficult → Go to Q50b

4. () Not difficult at all → Go to Q50b

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

50b. Why do you think your spouse has generally not experienced any difficulties in adjusting to life in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. () Refusal/No Answer

51. Does your spouse find the adjustment to Canada more or less difficult than you?

- 1. () More difficult
- 2. () Less Difficult
- 3. () About the same

- 7. () Not Applicable
- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

52a. Does being an international student place strains on your marriage?

- 1. () YES → **Go to Q52b**
- 2. () NO → **Go to Q53a**

- 7. () Not Applicable
- 8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

52b. What aspects of your being an international student places strains on your marriage? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

- 77. () Not Applicable
- 99. () Refusal/No Answer

53a. Do you feel you suffered a loss in social status (i.e., the respect people have for you) when you left your home country and became an international student?

1. () YES → Go to Q53b-Q54a
 2. () NO → Go to Q55a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

53b. In what way(s) do you feel that you suffered a loss in social status with the transition of becoming an international student? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

54a. Was this loss in social status also the result of leaving the work force in your home country?

1. () YES → Go to Q55a
 2. () NO → Go to Q55a

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

55a. Did your social status increase in any way with the transition of becoming an international student?

1. () YES → Go to Q55b
 2. () NO → Go to Q56a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

55b. In what way(s) did your social status increase with the transition of becoming an international student? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

56a. Do you consider yourself to be a member of a minority group in your home country?

1. () YES → Go to Q56b
2. () NO → Go to Q57a
9. () Refusal/No Answer

56b. Which of the following types of minority groups do you feel you are a member of? INTERVIEWER: Rank those mentioned in order of importance.

1. () Political → Go to Q57a
2. () Economic → Go to Q57a
3. () Racial/Ethnic → Go to Q57a
4. () Religious → Go to Q57a
5. () Gender → Go to Q57a
7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

57a. Do you feel you have in any way changed as a person since you began studying in Canada?

1. () YES → Go to Q57b
2. () NO → Go to Q58a
9. () Refusal/No Answer

57b. In what way(s) have you changed as a person since you began studying in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

58a. Have your views about your own country changed as a result of your stay in Canada?

1. () YES, more positive about home country → **Go to Q58b**
 2. () YES, more negative about home country → **Go to Q58b**
 3. () YES, both positive and negative → **Go to Q58b**
 4. () NO → **Go to Q59a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

58b. What views about your own country have changed as a result of your stay in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

59a. SHOW CARD 11, THEN ASK: How often do you speak a language other than English outside of the classroom?

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. () Almost continuously | —> Go to Q59b |
| 2. () Frequently | —> Go to Q59b |
| 3. () Occasionally | —> Go to Q60 |
| 4. () Seldom | —> Go to Q60 |
| 5. () Never | —> Go to Q60 |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

59b. Do you think that your infrequent use of the English language handicaps you in your social relationships with Canadians?

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| 1. () YES | —> Go to Q59c |
| 2. () NO | —> Go to Q60 |

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

59c. In what ways does your infrequent use of the English language handicap you in your social relationships with Canadians? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

60. SHOW CARD 11 AGAIN, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, how often do you experience feelings of homesickness?

1. () Almost continuously
2. () Frequently
3. () Occasionally
4. () Seldom
5. () Never

9. () Refusal/No Answer

61. SHOW CARD 11 AGAIN, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, how often do you experience feelings of loneliness?

1. () Almost continuously
2. () Frequently
3. () Occasionally
4. () Seldom
5. () Never

9. () Refusal/No Answer

62a. SHOW CARD 12. Using the categories on this card, how would you describe yourself?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------|
| 1. () Extremely religious | → | Go to Q62b-Q62c |
| 2. () Very religious | → | Go to Q62b-Q62c |
| 3. () Religious | → | Go to Q62b-Q62c |
| 4. () Not very religious | → | Go to Q63a |
| 5. () Not at all religious | → | Go to Q63a |

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

62b. Do your religious beliefs prevent you from engaging in activities with Canadians?

1. () YES → Go to Q62c

2. () NO → Go to Q63a

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

62c. What specific religious beliefs prevent you from interacting with Canadians? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

63a. Was learning to become responsible for yourself (i.e., independent) here in Canada, a difficult adjustment for you to make?

1. () YES → Go to Q63b

2. () NO → Go to Q64

9. () Refusal/No Answer

63b. What factors would you say account for the difficulty you had in learning to become responsible for yourself? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

64. In your opinion, what are the MOST IMPORTANT problems facing most international students in adjusting to their new environment? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

65. In your opinion, what personal qualities do international students need in order to successfully adjust to life in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

IF MALE, SKIP TO Q69a

- 66a. SHOW CARD 13, THEN ASK: Which of the following best describes the attitude of most people from your country regarding the appropriateness of females studying abroad?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. () Highly accepted | —> Go to Q67 |
| 2. () Generally accepted | —> Go to Q67 |
| 3. () Generally not accepted | —> Go to Q66b |
| 4. () Not accepted at all | —> Go to Q66b |

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 66b. Why do most people from your country feel that it is inappropriate for females to study abroad?
(RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

67. What adjustment problems, if any, do you feel female international students experience that male international students do not? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

- 68a. Do the male students from your own country at McMaster, tend to "supervise" you according to the social and religious norms of your country?

1. () YES → **Go to Q68b**
2. () NO → **Go to Q69a**

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

68b. How does this make you feel? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

69a. Do you think of yourself as someone who makes friends easily?

1. () YES → **Go to Q70a**
 2. () NO → **Go to Q70a**
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

70a. Do you find making friends with a new group of CANADIANS, compared to people from your own country, easy or difficult? (EXCLUDE PEOPLE FROM HOME COUNTRY WHO ARE CANADIAN).

1. () Easy → **Go to Q70b**
 2. () Difficult → **Go to Q70c**
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

70b. Why do you find it easy? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

70c. Why do you find it difficult? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

71a. Did you know anyone in the Hamilton area before you arrived here?

1. () YES → Go to Q71b
 2. () NO → Go to Q72

9. () Refusal/No Answer

71b. What is the relationship of this person to you?

i. Person/Relationship: _____

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

72. Where did you first meet people from your own country when you arrived in Hamilton? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

73a. Can you think of any person in particular who helped in introducing you to new people?

1. () YES → Go to Q73b
 2. () NO → Go to Q74

9. () Refusal/ No Answer

73b. Was this person...

1. () A Canadian, not of the same ethnic background as yourself
 2. () A Canadian of the same ethnic background as yourself
 3. () A family member in home country
 4. () A relative in Canada
 5. () An international student from home country
 6. () An international student not from home country
 7. () Other _____
 (SPECIFY)

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

74. In what type of dwelling do you live presently?

1. () University residence
 2. () Room in private home
 3. () Apartment
 4. () House
 5. () Other _____
 (SPECIFY)

9. () Refusal/No Answer

75a. With regard to your normal living arrangements in Canada, do you live alone or with others?

1. () Alone —> **Skip to Q78a**
2. () With others —> **Go to Q75b**
9. () Refusal/No Answer

75b. Are these others with whom you live... (CIRCLE RELEVANT RESPONSES, THEN RECORD NUMBER OF PERSONS ON THE RIGHT).

- | RELATIONSHIP | NUMBER | |
|--|--------|----------------------|
| 1. Local (Canadian) [student(s)] | _____ | —> Go to Q76 |
| 2. Local (Canadian) [non-student(s)] | _____ | —> Go to Q76 |
| 3. A local Canadian family | _____ | —> Go to Q76 |
| 4. Relatives | _____ | —> Go to Q75c |
| 5. Own family by marriage | _____ | —> Go to Q75d |
| 6. International students
[from my own country] | _____ | —> Go to Q78a |
| 7. Conational(s) [non-student(s)] | _____ | —> Go to Q78a |
| 8. International student(s)
[not from my own country] | _____ | —> Go to Q78a |

9. () Refusal/No Answer

75c. IF RELATIVES:

RELATIONSHIP	NUMBER
1. <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings-in-law	_____
2. <input type="checkbox"/> Nieces (nephews)	_____
3. <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather (fathers')	_____
4. <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother (fathers')	_____
5. <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather (mothers')	_____
6. <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother (mothers')	_____
7. <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt(s)	_____
8. <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle(s)	_____
9. <input type="checkbox"/> Other(s)	_____

99. () Refusal/No Answer

75d. IF OWN FAMILY BY MARRIAGE:

1. Husband/wife	_____
2. Husband/wife and own children	_____
3. Husband/wife and other children	_____

RECORD HOUSEHOLD TOTAL HERE: _____

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

ASK THOSE WHO CURRENTLY SHARE OR HAVE EVER SHARED AN ACCOMMODATION WITH A CANADIAN:

76. How did you eventually come to share an accommodation with a Canadian? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

- 77a. Has/did sharing an accommodation with a Canadian(s) help(ed) you in learning about Canadian culture and social norms?

1. () YES → **Go to Q77b**
2. () NO → **Go to Q78a**

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 77b. In what way(s) are/were your Canadian roommate(s) of help to you? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

- 78a. Would/do you prefer to share a lodging with a person from your own country?

1. () YES
2. () NO
3. () BOTH YES AND NO
4. () NOT NECESSARILY/IT DEPENDS

9. () Refusal/No Answer

78b. Why do you say that? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

79a. SHOW CARD 14. I am going to give you this card which describes several groups of people that you may regard as your close friends. GIVE RESPONDENT TIME TO LOOK AT LIST, THEN SAY: Are there any other groups of people you would like to add to this list? Using the categories on the card (IF APPLICABLE, INCLUDE THOSE ADDED BY THE RESPONDENT), who would you say is your CLOSEST friend here in Hamilton? ON CARD 14, CIRCLE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED GROUP, THEN ASK: Who is your next most closest friend? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER TO RIGHT OF RELATIONSHIP CATEGORIES AND CONTINUE ASKING RESPONDENT THEIR NEXT CLOSEST FRIEND, UNTIL ALL GROUPS ARE RANKED).

FRIENDSHIP CATEGORIES	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	NA
1. A local (Canadian) [student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
2. A local (Canadian) [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
3. A member of a local (Canadian) family	1	2	3	4	5	NA
4. A member of a local family of same national or ethnic origin	1	2	3	4	5	NA
5. An international student [from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
6. A conational [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
7. An international student [not from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA

[1] : CLOSEST FRIEND	[4] : 4th CLOSEST FRIEND
[2] : 2nd CLOSEST FRIEND	[5] : 5th CLOSEST FRIEND
[3] : 3rd CLOSEST FRIEND	NA : NOT APPLICABLE

9. () Refusal/No Answer

79b. Why do you consider (WHOEVER IS CLOSEST FRIEND IN FRIENDSHIP CATEGORY SPECIFIED IN Q79a) to be your closest friend? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

80. How frequent are your informal social (i.e., non-academic) contacts with Canadians? Are they...

1. () Very frequent
2. () Generally frequent
3. () Generally not frequent
4. () Not frequent at all
5. () No informal social contacts at all

9. () Refusal/No Answer

81a. Do you perceive any barriers that prevent social interaction between yourself and Canadians?

1. () YES → Go to Q81b
2. () NO → Go to Q82a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

81b. What barriers do you perceive inhibit social interaction between yourself and Canadians?
(RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

82a. Have any close friendships developed between yourself and Canadians, other than from your own racial or ethnic background, who are studying at McMaster?

1. () YES → **Go to Q82b**
2. () NO → **Go to Q83a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

82b. How many close Canadian friends do you have?

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

83a. Have any close friendships developed between yourself and students from your own country who are studying at McMaster?

1. () YES → **Go to Q83b**
2. () NO → **Go to Q84a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

83b. How many close friends from your own country do you have?

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

84a. Why do you think close friendships between yourself and persons from your home country have not developed? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

85a. Have any close friendships developed between yourself and students from a country other than your own, or Canada, who are studying at McMaster?

1. () YES → **Go to Q85b**

2. () NO → **Go to Q86**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

85b. How many of these friends do you have?

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS:

86. Could you please tell me how you would define a "close" friend? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

87. SHOW CARD 14 AGAIN. I am going to give you this card which describes some of the groups of people you might spend time with from day to day. GIVE RESPONDENT TIME TO LOOK AT LIST, THEN SAY: Are there any other groups of people you would like to add to this list? Using the categories on the card (IF APPLICABLE, INCLUDE THOSE ADDED BY THE RESPONDENT), with whom would you say you associate with MOST FREQUENTLY? ON CARD 14, CIRCLE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED GROUP, THEN ASK: With whom do you associate next most frequently? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER AND CONTINUE ASKING RESPONDENT THEIR NEXT MOST FREQUENT ASSOCIATION UNTIL ALL GROUPS ARE RANKED).

FREQUENCY OF INTERACTION CATEGORIES		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	NA
1.	A local (Canadian) [student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
2.	A local (Canadian) [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
3.	A member of a local (Canadian) family	1	2	3	4	5	NA
4.	A member of a local family of same national or ethnic origin	1	2	3	4	5	NA
5.	An international student [from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
6.	A conational [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
7.	An international student [not from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA

[1] : 1st ANSWER

[2] : 2nd ANSWER

[3] : 3rd ANSWER

[4] : 4th ANSWER

[5] : 5th ANSWER

NA : NOT APPLICABLE

9. () Refusal/No Answer

IF RESPONDENT IS UNMARRIED, SKIP TO Q89

88. SHOW CARD 15. I am going to give you this card which describes several groups of people with whom your spouse might associate with. Using the categories on the card, with whom would you say your SPOUSE associates with MOST FREQUENTLY? ON CARD 15, CIRCLE NUMBER OF DESIGNATED GROUP, THEN ASK: With whom does your SPOUSE associate next most frequently? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER AND CONTINUE ASKING RESPONDENT THEIR SPOUSE'S NEXT MOST FREQUENT ASSOCIATION, UNTIL ALL GROUPS ARE RANKED).

FREQUENCY OF INTERACTION							
CATEGORIES		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	NA
1.	Canadian [student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
2.	Canadian [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
3.	A local (Canadian) family	1	2	3	4	5	NA
4.	A local family of same national or ethnic origin	1	2	3	4	5	NA
5.	Conational [non-student]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
6.	Spouse of international student [from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA
7.	Spouse of international student [not from own country]	1	2	3	4	5	NA

[1] : 1st ANSWER

[2] : 2nd ANSWER

[3] : 3rd ANSWER

[4] : 4th ANSWER

[5] : 5th ANSWER

NA : NOT APPLICABLE

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. () Refusal/No Answer

89. Have you ever been invited to visit a Canadian family in their home?

- 1. () YES → Go to Q90a
- 2. () NO → Go to Q90a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

90a. Do you ever have the opportunity to discuss what you consider to be significant issues with Canadians?

- 1. () YES → Go to Q90b
- 2. () NO → Go to Q91

9. () Refusal/No Answer

90b. What types of issues do you discuss? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

91. What types of activities do you engage in, when in the company of CANADIANS? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

9. () Refusal/No Answer

92a. Other than yourself, have any members of your family (i.e., siblings and parents) studied abroad?

1. () YES → Go to Q92b

2. () NO → Skip to Q94

9. () Refusal/No Answer

92b. What is the relationship of these family members to you and in what country(ies) did they study?

	PERSON/RELATIONSHIP	COUNTRY
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

93a. Did their studying abroad influence your decision to study in Canada?

1. () YES → Go to Q93b

2. () NO → Go to Q94

7. () Not Applicable

9. () Refusal/No Answer

93b. In what ways did their studying abroad influence you to study in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

94. Do any of your close relatives presently live in North America?

1. () YES → Go to Q95a

2. () NO → Skip to Q96a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

95a. Did their being here in any way influence your decision to study in Canada?

1. () YES → Go to Q95b

2. () NO → Go to Q96a

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

95b. In what ways did their being here influence you to study in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

96a. SHOW CARD 16, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, how important is it for you to attend a University near relatives?

1. () Very important → Go to Q96b
 2. () Generally important → Go to Q96b
 3. () Generally not important → Go to Q97a
 4. () Not important at all → Go to Q97a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

96b. Why is it important for you to attend a university near relatives? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

97a. Have your relatives been of any help to you since you arrived in North America?

1. () YES → Go to Q97b
 2. () NO → Go to Q98

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

97b. In what ways have your relatives been of help to you since you arrived in Hamilton? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

98. SHOW CARD 17, THEN ASK: How informed do you keep yourself about events in your homeland?

1. () Very informed
2. () Somewhat informed
3. () Generally not informed
4. () Not informed at all

9. () Refusal/No Answer

99. SHOW CARD 18, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, which of the following ways do you mainly keep in touch with your relatives in your homeland?

1. () Visits
2. () Telephone calls
3. () Exchange of letters
4. () Receive newspapers
5. () Other _____
(SPECIFY)

9. () Refusal/No Answer

100a. Do you have any difficulties keeping in touch with your family in your country?

1. () YES → **Go to Q100b**
2. () NO → **Go to Q101a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

100b. What difficulties do you have in maintaining contact with your family in your country? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

101a. Do you maintain contact with students from your own country who are also studying internationally?

1. () YES → Go to Q101b

2. () NO → Go to Q102

9. () Refusal/No Answer

101b. What is their relationship to you, and in what country(ies) are they studying?

	PERSON/RELATIONSHIP	COUNTRY
i.	_____	_____
ii.	_____	_____
iii.	_____	_____

777. () Not Applicable

999. () Refusal/No Answer

102. SHOW CARD 11 AGAIN, THEN ASK: How often do you keep in touch with the persons you have identified?

- 1. () Almost continuously
- 2. () Frequently
- 3. () Occasionally
- 4. () Seldom
- 5. () Never

- 7. () Not Applicable
- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

103a. Have any close friend(s) of yours moved away in the last year?

- 1. () YES —> Go to Q103b-Q103c
- 2. () NO —> Go to Q104a

- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

103b. How many of your close friends have moved away in the last year?

_____ (RECORD NUMBER)

- 7. () Not Applicable
- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

103c. What were your feelings when this person(s) moved away? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

- 77. () Not Applicable
- 99. () Refusal/No Answer

104a. SHOW CARD 19, THEN SAY: Here are some of the kinds of help people sometimes provide to each other. During your time in Canada, which of the following kinds of help have you **RECEIVED**? (CHECK ALL MENTIONED). THEN ASK, which of the following kinds of help have you **GIVEN**? (CHECK ALL MENTIONED)

TYPE OF HELP	RECEIVED		GAVE	
	Y	N	Y	N
1. () Financial help or a loan	___	___	___	___
2. () Means of transportation	___	___	___	___
3. () Academic advice	___	___	___	___
4. () Personal services, for example shopping errands	___	___	___	___
5. () Moving to or from an apartment	___	___	___	___
6. () Securing an apartment	___	___	___	___
7. () Emotional or moral support	___	___	___	___

9. () Refusal/No Answer

104b. From whom did you receive most help? What is the relationship of this person to you?

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____
(SPECIFY)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

104c. To whom did you provide most help? What is the relationship of this person to you?

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____
(SPECIFY)

99. () Refusal/No Answer

105a. If you have any immediate problems, such as needing a helping hand, is there any particular person to whom would you go for help?

1. () YES —> Go to Q105b-Q105c

2. () NO —> Go to Q106a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

105b. What is the relationship of this person to you?

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____
(SPECIFY)

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

105c. Why would you seek help from this particular person? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable

99. () Refusal/No Answer

106a. Do you find that as an international student you are often dependent on others for help, and/or not in a position to provide help to others?

1. () YES —> Go to Q106b

2. () NO —> Go to Q107a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

106b. How does this make you feel? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

107a. Since you have been in Canada, have any organizations such as religious institutions, ethnic associations, or student associations assisted you?

1. () YES → Go to Q107b
 2. () NO → Go to Q108a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

107b. In what way(s) did they assist you? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

THE FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS DEAL WITH YOUR PARTICIPATION IN CLUBS, ASSOCIATIONS OR ORGANIZATIONS.

108a. Do you belong to any clubs, associations or organizations?

1. () YES → Go to Q109a

2. () NO → Go to Q108b

9. () Refusal/No Answer

108b. What are your reasons for not joining any organizations? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. () Refusal/No Answer

ASK ONLY THOSE WHO BELONG TO ORGANIZATIONS. INTERVIEWER SAY: I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THESE ORGANIZATIONS.

109a. What type of organizations are they?

109b. Do/did you hold office in any of them?

109c. Do you attend seldom, occasionally, or frequently?

ORGANIZATION	OFFICE HELD		ATTENDANCE		
	(Y)	(N)	(S)	(O)	(F)
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

77. () Not Applicable

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

99. () Refusal/No Answer

110a. Was there any person(s) in particular who helped to introduce you to these organizations?

1. () YES

—> Go to Q110b

2. () NO

—> Go to Q111a-Q111b

7. () Not Applicable

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember

9. () Refusal/No Answer

110b. What is the relationship of that person to you?

PERSON/RELATIONSHIP: _____
(SPECIFY)

77. () Not Applicable
88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

111a. Of all the groups, organizations, associations that you have mentioned, which is the most important to you?

Name of organization/association: _____

Type of organization/association: _____

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

111b. Why is this organization/association the most important to you? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
99. () Refusal/No Answer

112. SHOW CARD 17 AGAIN, THEN ASK: How informed do you think Canadian students on campus are of the domestic/foreign problems facing your country?

1. () Very informed
2. () Somewhat informed
3. () Generally not informed
4. () Not informed at all

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

113a. **SHOW CARD 21, THEN ASK:** Using the categories on the card, in general, what do you think is the attitude of Canadians toward your country?

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1. () Very favourable | —> Go to Q114a |
| 2. () Favourable | —> Go to Q114a |
| 3. () Neutral | —> Go to Q114a |
| 4. () Unfavourable | —> Go to Q113b |
| 5. () Very Unfavourable | —> Go to Q113b |

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
9. () Refusal/No Answer

113b. Which attitudes held by Canadians concerning conditions in your country do you feel are particularly unjustified? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

114a. Do you ever find yourself having to defend the policies of your country's government to Canadians?

- | | |
|------------|----------------------|
| 1. () YES | —> Go to Q114b-Q114c |
| 2. () NO | —> Go to Q115 |

8. () Don't know/Can't Remember
9. () Refusal/No Answer

114b. How often does this occur? Would you say...

1. () Almost continuously
2. () Frequently
3. () Occasionally
4. () Seldom

77. () Not Applicable
88. () Don't know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

114c. How does this make you feel? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

77. () Not Applicable
88. () Don't know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

115. How do you think Canadian students on campus would describe persons of your racial/ethnic background? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
99. () Refusal/No Answer

116a. BEFORE YOUR FIRST VISIT to this country, did you think that students from your country would suffer discrimination or be disliked in this country because of their nationality, religion, or skin color?

- 1. () YES → **Go to Q116b**
- 2. () NO
- 3. () I had no expectations in this area → **Go to Q117a**

9. () Refusal/No Answer

116b. SHOW CARD 22, THEN ASK: Using the categories on the card, since your arrival in this country, have you found more or less discrimination than you expected?

- 1. () More than what I expected
- 2. () Less than what I expected
- 3. () About what I expected

7. () Not Applicable
9. () Refusal/No Answer

117a. Do you know of any international student(s) who has/have experienced discrimination in this country?

- 1. () YES → **Go to Q117b**
- 2. () NO → **Go to Q118a**

8. () Don't know/Can't Remember
9. () Refusal/No Answer

117b. Please describe to me the situation or context within which they were discriminated against?
(RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

- 77. () Not Applicable
- 88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
- 99. () Refusal/No Answer

118a. Have you personally had the experience of being discriminated against in this country?

- 1. () YES → Go to Q118b-Q118d
- 2. () NO → Go to Q119a

- 9. () Refusal/No Answer

118b. What were the circumstances? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

- 77. () Not Applicable
- 88. () Don't know/Can't Remember
- 99. () Refusal/No Answer

118c. How did/would this experience make you feel? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER).

77. () Not Applicable
 88. () Don't know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

118d. Did/would this experience cause you to reduce your social interaction with Canadians?

1. () YES → **Go to Q119a**
 2. () NO

7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

I WOULD LIKE YOU TO THINK AHEAD TO THE TIME WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED YOUR STUDIES IN CANADA.

119a. Do you think your FAMILY OF BIRTH AND/OR BY MARRIAGE will in any way benefit as a result of your travelling abroad to study?

1. () YES → **Go to Q119b**
 2. () NO BENEFITS → **Go to Q120a**
 3. () NO, ONLY NEGATIVE EFFECTS → **Go to Q120a**

7. () Not Applicable
 8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

119b. In what ways do you think your FAMILY OF BIRTH AND/OR BY MARRIAGE will have benefited as a result of your travelling abroad to study? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

120a. Do you think that you will have benefited from studying in Canada?

1. () YES → Go to Q120b
 2. () NO BENEFITS → Go to Q120c
 3. () NO, ONLY NEGATIVE EFFECTS → Go to Q120c

9. () Refusal/No Answer

120b. In what ways do you think you will have benefited as a result of your travelling abroad to study? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

120c. Why do you feel there would be no benefits, or only negative effects of studying in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

99. () Refusal/No Answer

121a. Do you think your FAMILY OF BIRTH AND/OR BY MARRIAGE has made/will have to make any adjustments or sacrifices in order for you to be able to study abroad?

1. () YES → Go to Q121b
 2. () NO → Go to Q122a-Q122b
 3. () UNCERTAIN → Go to Q122a-Q122b
7. () Not Applicable
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

121b. What are these adjustments and sacrifices? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

122a. In what ways do you think that your experience as an international student at McMaster University will help you, regarding your future employment? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

122b. In what ways do you think that your experience as an international student will make it more difficult for you, regarding your future employment? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

123. Based on your experience of living in Canada, what kinds of adjustments do you expect you will have to make once you have completed your education and return home? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

124. In what way(s) will your parents or close family members think you have changed as a person as a result of studying in Canada? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 88. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

- 125a. Do you plan to return to your home country when you have completed your studies?

1. () YES → Go to Q125b
 2. () NO → Go to Q126a
 3. () UNCERTAIN → Go to Q126a

9. () Refusal/No Answer

- 125b. What are your reasons for returning? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

126a. Are there any political conditions in your home country that may influence your decision not to return home?

1. () YES → Go to Q126b
 2. () NO → Go to Q127a

8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

126b. What are these political conditions? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

127a. If you return to your own country, will you work toward making any changes there?

1. () YES → Go to Q127b
 2. () NO → Go to Q128

7. () Not Applicable
 8. () Don't Know/Can't Remember
 9. () Refusal/No Answer

127b. What kinds of changes will you work toward? (RECORD VERBATIM ANSWER IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE).

77. () Not Applicable
 99. () Refusal/No Answer

128. INTERVIEWER: How would you rate this respondent's English language skills?

1. () Excellent

2. () Good

3. () Fair

4. () Poor

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

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