



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga

International Students: Interpersonal, Institutional and Community Impacts

UPDATE OF THE 2001 LITERATURE REVIEW



International Students: Interpersonal, Institutional and Community Impacts

UPDATE OF THE 2001 LITERATURE REVIEW

Prepared for the Ministry of Education

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Abstract

The review considers interpersonal, institutional and community impacts of international students in educational, social and cultural domains. Research is patchy, and most studies on internationalisation have been conducted from the perspective of overseas students. Far less is known about the viewpoints of either domestic students or members of the receiving community. In addition, social, cultural and educational impacts have been more frequently studied in interpersonal and classroom settings, rather than in institutional and community contexts.

On the whole, research suggests that international students expect and desire contact with their domestic peers; that local students are often willing to engage in greater interaction; but that the frequency of contact between international and domestic students is low; and institutional interventions are required to remedy the situation. In the classroom context, a large body of research has discussed cultural differences in

teaching and learning styles, but noted relatively few changes in classroom processes or curriculum content. Accordingly, professional training and skills development have been identified as priority needs for teachers in multicultural classrooms. Within the wider institution, the advantages and disadvantages of internationalisation have been considered, and commonly cited concerns regarding service usage and academic performance are discussed. At the community level, social integration is examined with particular attention to prejudice and discrimination and the role of home stays in fostering social cohesion.

Finally, strategic interventions, e.g., peer-pairing, cooperative learning, residential programmes and training packages, are reviewed as means of maximising the benefits of internationalisation. Further research is recommended and directions suggested for New Zealand to establish evidence-based practice in policy and programme development.



Executive summary

PURPOSE, PROCESS AND ORGANISATION

A 2001 review on *The Impact of International Students on Domestic Students and Host Institutions* by Colleen Ward of Victoria University of Wellington was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to inform policy development and effective planning in the area of international education, particularly with respect to full fee-paying students. The review of international and local materials was directed to consider social, cultural and educational impacts of international students on domestic students and on secondary and tertiary educational institutions. Along the same lines as the 2001 review, five key areas have been identified for consideration in the 2006 update:

- *What is the nature of the interactions and relationships between international and domestic students?*
- *What are the impacts of international students on teaching, learning and classroom practices?*
- *What are the academic and non-academic impacts of international students on the host institutions, including impacts on infra-structures and educational outcomes?*
- *What is the nature of the interaction and relationships between international students and host communities?*
- *What are the conditions under which the positive benefits of internationalisation are likely to be realised?*

The review commenced with the search of electronic data bases in education, sociology and psychology. This was supplemented by posting enquiries on the electronic communication networks of various professional organisations (e.g., ISANA, IAIR), the search of various organisation web-sites (e.g., DETYA, EAIE), consultation with Ministry of Education staff, and personal contact with regional researchers. The

report on *Fostering Social Cohesion in Universities* by Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) was particularly useful in preparing the initial review, and more recently Ho, Holmes and Cooper's (2004) *Review and Evaluation of International Literature on Managing Cultural Diversity in the Classroom* has been heavily relied upon.

The review materials are organised into three major sections:

- an overview of educational, social and cultural impacts
- a description and analysis of strategies that have been used to promote internationalisation and increase intercultural understanding
- recommendations and conclusions.

The first section is divided into four parts:

- interpersonal impacts
- impacts in the classroom
- impacts on the institution
- impacts in the community.

The second section describes and evaluates:

- peer-pairing programmes
- cooperative learning in the classroom
- programmes for student halls of residence
- training packages, notably Excell.

The review concludes with a summary and recommendations for researchers, educators and administrators.

KEY FINDINGS

INTERPERSONAL IMPACTS: INTERACTIONS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STUDENTS

Although there is an extensive literature on interactions between international and domestic students, research has been undertaken almost exclusively from the perspective of the international students. These studies have considered the quality and quantity of contact, friendship patterns, social support networks, and the functional roles of intercultural interactions. The results of the research converge to indicate that the amount of cross-national interaction is typically low, that international students expect and desire greater contact, and that interaction with domestic peers is generally associated with psychological, social and academic benefits for international students.

Despite the findings that domestic students hold relatively favourable perceptions of international students, many investigations have concluded that domestic students are largely uninterested in initiating contact with their international peers. Significant intercultural interaction is unlikely to occur spontaneously to any large extent, and it is almost certain that interventionist strategies would need to be introduced to promote more and better intercultural activities. These interventions could address the concerns of educators and policy makers who have cited social integration as one of the major challenges of internationalisation.

IMPACTS IN THE CLASSROOM

The *potential* of international students to change both the content and the process of education has received considerable attention in the literature where it has been argued that international students bring a broader perspective to classroom discussions and that they challenge and

encourage teachers to consider new methods of instruction that are more consistent with their previous learning experiences. Although there is an extensive literature on cross-cultural differences in educational expectations and practices and considerable research on cross-cultural differences in student behaviours, there is little evidence on how these impact on the international classroom. Research suggests that for the most part educators (particularly those at the tertiary level) make few, if any, changes in either the process or content of educational activities. There is considerable *potential* for bringing an international perspective to the classroom, and there have been examples of how this *might* be achieved. Clearly, research on the extent and the outcomes of such changes merits serious attention.

More recent research suggests that teachers are positive about working with international students but that they often lack the skills. Furthermore, teachers' perceptions and attitudes become more negative when institutional enrolments of international students reach the 10-12% range. These findings deserve greater consideration by policy makers and planners.

IMPACTS ON INSTITUTIONS

The positive and negative consequences of increased international students have been discussed in the literature although a limited amount of research has actually been undertaken in the area. Benefits have been largely framed in terms of internationalising educational environments, while costs have been linked to heavy demands put on institutional support services. In the first instance, discussions are often rhetorical and infrequently based on empirical evidence; however, there is some suggestion that increasing cultural awareness may result from the presence of international students. In the latter instance, research is available, though patchy, and largely limited to tertiary institutions. Studies

generally find that international students experience more problems than domestic students and in some circumstances that they make greater use of health services. The overall usage of support services is still relatively low, however, and no evidence has been located that indicates support services are strained by international students, at least those in tertiary institutions. Nor is there evidence that international students have negative impacts on the overall academic standing of an institution.

IMPACTS IN THE COMMUNITY

No studies have been identified that explicitly examine the impact of international students on the larger community; however, there is research that can provide some insight into the relationship between international students and members of the host culture. These include studies of attitudes toward international students and research on home stays. There are also some descriptive writings about community outreach programmes although these are rarely evaluated.

The scant data that are available suggest that community members, on the whole, have relatively positive attitudes toward international students, but findings are inconclusive as to whether international students experience greater difficulty outside the more protective environments of their educational institutions. Very little is known about the integration of international students into the larger community although some data suggest that home stays may have positive outcomes in this area. Community outreach programmes have been developed and reported on in an ad hoc fashion, but systematic evaluations of these initiatives have not generally been undertaken.

STRATEGIES FOR FOSTERING COHESION

Research has shown that the presence of international students, even in large numbers, is insufficient in itself to promote intercultural interactions, to develop intercultural friendships and to result in international understanding. Rather, situations must be structured to foster these processes. Studies have also revealed that students, both local and international, perceive that it is the responsibility of educational institutions to increase and enhance intercultural interactions. Four strategies that have been used, evaluated and proven to foster positive intercultural perceptions and relations are peer-pairing, cooperative learning, residential programmes and training for cultural competencies.

Peer-pairing involves collaboration between international and domestic students who meet with regularity outside of the classroom environment. Although the original purpose of peer-pairing programmes was to assist the international student in adapting to a new environment, research has shown that these schemes have also increased intercultural interactions and enhanced cultural awareness in domestic students.

Intercultural cooperative learning strategies have also received attention in educational studies, although research suggests that most students, both international and domestic, prefer to work in “their own” groups. Despite this reluctance, studies have shown that intercultural group work reduces stereotypes and increases the willingness to work with people from other cultural backgrounds. Classic literature on cooperative learning in ethnically diverse classrooms, though generally conducted with nationals of a single country, demonstrate good potential for these techniques to be used both to improve academic performance and to foster intercultural friendships in international settings.

Less research is available on residential programmes (i.e., activities within student hostels) for international and domestic students although evidence available has shown promising results. Positive outcomes include increased intercultural knowledge, more intercultural interactions and a greater number of intercultural friendships. Those engaged in evaluations of such programmes have noted that their success depends upon the integration of intercultural activities across all areas of student life, skilled and committed support persons to implement the programmes and a high level of involvement from participating students.

Finally, training packages, notably Excell, available in New Zealand and abroad, have been found to benefit both local and international students. Positive outcomes include: more intercultural friendships, greater social skills, more social self-efficacy and less social avoidance.

- Experimental lab or classroom based studies.
- Evaluation studies of intervention strategies.
- Longitudinal studies.

Guidelines for the design and evaluation of intervention programmes are also offered. Finally, it is noted that New Zealand has an excellent opportunity to emerge as a leader in evidence-based policy and programme development of international initiatives, provided that commitment is made to fostering research in this area.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Research that addresses the five key questions on the impact of international students has been somewhat limited, and studies that are available are almost exclusively conducted with international students and confined to research in tertiary institutions. In response to these limitations, the following research priorities have been recommended:

- Research in the classroom.
- Research with teachers.
- Research within institutions.
- Research with home stay families.
- Research within the community.

Background

OBJECTIVES

Over the last two decades New Zealand has moved from an “aid to trade” orientation to international education, and economic analyses clearly indicate that the benefits outweigh the costs of internationalising. In 2001 there were over 10,000 international students in New Zealand schools and more than 12,000 in the tertiary sector (Ministry of Education, 2002). By 2003 the total number of full fee paying students had increased to more than 118,000, earning the country \$2.2 billion and making education New Zealand’s fourth largest export earner (Ho, Holmes & Cooper, 2004). Although numbers declined in 2005, international students still have a strong presence in New Zealand educational institutions and wider communities.

Over recent years it has become clear that economic issues are not the only relevant considerations. The educational, social, and cultural impacts of international students are also important. Consequently, in 2000 the Ministry of Education commissioned a review to consider aspects of these wider impacts to inform policy development by the Ministry and effective planning and management at the level of the institution. Five key issues were identified for review. The issues remain the same, but the questions have been slightly reframed for the 2006 review in light of new research on international students and international education. The questions are:

- *What is the nature of the interactions and relationships between international and domestic students?*
- *What are the impacts of international students on teaching, learning and classroom practices?*
- *What are the academic and non-academic impacts of international students on the host institutions, including impacts on infra-structures and educational outcomes?*

- *What is the nature of the interaction and relationships between international students and host communities?*
- *What are the conditions under which the positive benefits of internationalisation are most likely to be realised?*

In short, how does the increase of international students in New Zealand schools and tertiary institutions affect local students, teachers, classrooms, educational institutions and the wider community?

PROCESS

The 2006 review was based on *The Impact of International Students on Domestic Students and Host Institutions* (Ward, 2001) and prepared by Colleen Ward, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Centre for Applied Cross-cultural Research at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) with the assistance of Fara Sheyna Zaid Lam and Ma. Socorro Diego, international post-graduate students in Psychology at VUW. Quality assurance was provided by Dr. Elsie Ho, Migration Research Group, University of Waikato.

The process included the identification, retrieval and review of international materials initially located through electronic data bases in psychology, sociology and education, posted inquiries to members of professional groups (ISANA, International Academy of Intercultural Research), search of relevant organisational web-sites (e.g., EAIE, DETYA), consultation with Ministry of Education staff, and personal contact with regional researchers. Additional relevant materials were identified from these sources.

Certain principles have guided the review process. The 2001 review, which formed the basis of this update, was largely

concentrated on materials published within the last ten years, although earlier “classic” works were also cited. The updated review has condensed earlier material and devoted more attention to new research, when available, particularly research conducted in New Zealand. Furthermore, emphasis has been placed on empirical work, rather than descriptive commentaries on how international education may influence individuals, institutions and communities. Distinctions are drawn between secondary and tertiary education studies although it is clear from the review that most material is based on the study of tertiary institutions.

The emergent literature is patchy. On one hand, there is an abundance of studies on social interaction between international and domestic students, though undertaken primarily from the perspective of the international student. On the other hand, there is very little material on the relationship between international students and members of the host community. And while there is extensive discussion on how international students might be used as resources for internationalisation, there are few descriptions of how this has been done and even fewer evaluations of the outcomes that have been achieved.

The review is organised in three major parts. The first considers the social, educational and cultural impacts of international students. It looks at the relationships between international and domestic students, education in the multicultural classroom, institutional implications of international education, and international students in the wider community. The second part describes and evaluates interventions that maximise the benefits of internationalisation. The final part identifies gaps in research, suggests areas for future research, and highlights issues relevant to educators and administrators.

The updated review has new sections on professional development for teachers’ training programmes as a means of fostering social cohesion and internationalisation and academic outcomes. It has also expanded the section on

changes in the classroom, distinguishing the process from the content and incorporating new studies with New Zealand teachers. The section on international students in the community has also been expanded due to the availability of local research. Overall, the updated review has incorporated over 80 new references and should provide a valuable resource for educators, planners and those involved in the pastoral care of international students.

Within the updated literature review is a number of significant studies undertaken in New Zealand. These include an Asia New Zealand Foundation pre-departure and post-arrival longitudinal study of Asian students (Berno & Ward, 2003); the Ministry of Education’s national survey of international students (Ward & Masgoret, 2004); an Education New Zealand commissioned review of managing cultural diversity in the classroom (Ho, Holmes & Cooper, 2004); and a series of Education New Zealand studies on interactions with international students, including research with domestic students (Ward & Masgoret, 2005a), teachers (Holmes, 2005a; Ward, Masgoret, Newton & Crabbe, 2005) and members of the community (Ho & Cooper, 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2005b). These are discussed in detail in Part I of the report.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms, which are used throughout the review, may require further elaboration.

- Co-nationals:** individuals of the same nationality
- Cross-cultural:** involving more than one culture
- Cross-national:** involving more than one nation or nationality
- Cultural distance:** the amount of perceived similarity/dissimilarity between two cultures

- Host nationals:** individuals who are nationals of a country that accepts (and hosts) international students
- Intercultural:** between different cultures
- Sojourner:** a person who temporarily relocates to another country, generally for a specific time and purpose (e.g. education, work) and with the intention of returning to his/her home country.



Interpersonal, institutional and community impacts

INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS AND RELATIONS

This section considers social contact and friendship formation between domestic and international students. It includes a discussion of expectations and experiences, mutual perceptions and stereotypes and prejudice and discrimination. These topics are important for understanding the impact of international students on domestic students, particularly as a low level of interaction has been cited as a common concern by educators and policy-makers (Aston, 1996; Smith, 1998). Furthermore, the integration of international students into university life has been identified as one of the key dimensions of internationalisation (Ellingboe, 1998).

PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC STUDENTS

Although many have argued that international students are stereotyped by peers, academic and administrative staff, and members of the general public, most information on this topic derives from anecdotal evidence rather than empirical research. There have been few investigations of stereotyping—either of international students or by international students—and even fewer pieces of research that have considered mutual perceptions. The small body of quantitative research that exists, however, converges to indicate that although cross-national stereotypes are mixed, they are more positive, on balance, than negative.

Given that the international student population is composed of such a diverse group of individuals, it is somewhat surprising that domestic students share consensual beliefs about them. This was discussed by Spencer-Rodgers (2001) in her study of perceptions of international students at a Californian university. Although the international stereotype combined positive (intelligent, adventurous, hard-working,

determined, friendly, eager to learn and worldly) and negative (different, socially maladjusted, poor language skills, naïve, unsociable) features, on balance, the image was more favourable than unfavourable. More recent research also found somewhat favourable images of international students, but reported that American students viewed their co-national counterparts more favourably than their international peers (Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002).

In Spencer-Rodgers' original study domestic students were also asked to rate their international peers on a "social thermometer" scaled from 0 to 100. Mean ratings were 68.1, which is somewhat favourable, though noted to be in the comparable range of ratings for socially devalued groups, such as Native Americans in the United States (Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1994). In New Zealand, however, the same technique recently yielded more positive evaluations (87.3/100) of international students by their secondary and tertiary counterparts (Ward & Masgoret, 2005a).

Despite these moderately positive findings, it is not uncommon for international students, both in New Zealand and overseas, to perceive domestic students as uninformed and disinterested in their culture (Mills, 1997; Scott, 1998; Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000; Yang, Teraoka, Eichenfield & Audas, 1994). Indeed, in the national survey of international students less than half agreed that New Zealanders have generally positive attitudes toward international students (Ward & Masgoret, 2004).

To date the only empirical study to examine concurrently the mutual stereotypes of international and domestic students was undertaken by Bond (1986), who focused on the constructive aspects of stereotyping and their role in maintaining harmonious intercultural contact. Bond investigated auto-stereotypes (in-group perceptions), hetero-stereotypes (out-group perceptions) and reflected stereotypes

(how the out-group is perceived to view the in-group) in local Chinese and American exchange students in Hong Kong. Overall the analyses revealed that the stereotypes held by the Americans and Chinese were strong, comprehensive and generally in agreement with the Americans cast as more open, extrovert and emotionally expressive. Bond maintained that the stereotypes reflected a “kernel of truth” in that they accurately mirrored significant differences in the behavioural characteristics of the two groups. Although the stereotype of Americans as more sociable led to the expectation that they would initiate relationship-building, the finding that both groups perceived the other to be more beneficent than their own, additionally encouraged positive intercultural interactions.

Complementary research by Berno and Ward (2003) and by Ward and Masgoret (2005a) provides some evidence about mutual perceptions in New Zealand. Both local and international students view their peers in a neutral to moderately positive light. Asian students see New Zealanders as intelligent, kind, helpful and accepting while the traits most strongly ascribed to international students are hard-working and intelligent. The stereotypes are presented in Table 1.

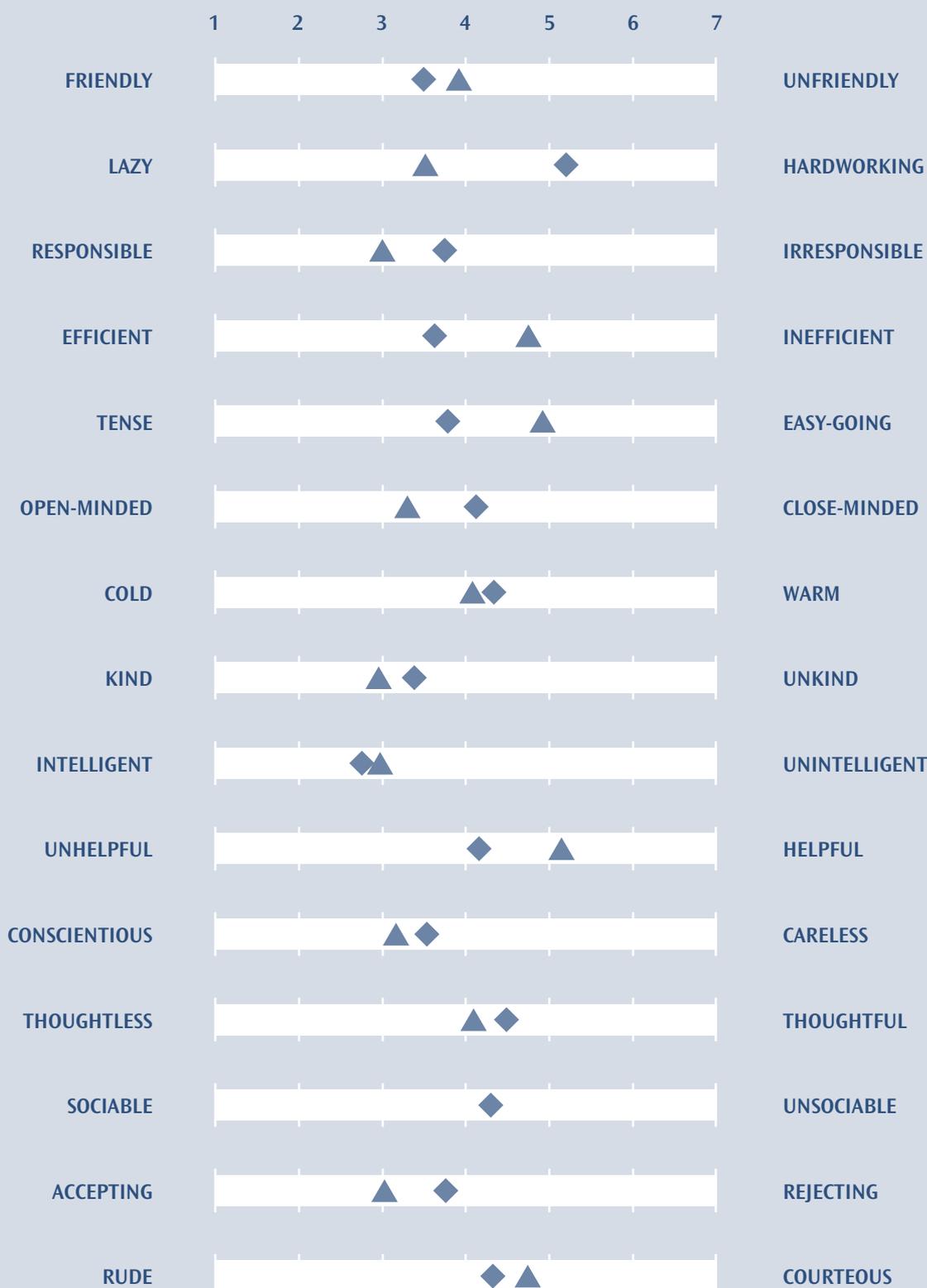
More wide-ranging perceptions of international students were also captured in Ward and Masgoret’s (2005a) research, which revealed that feelings of threat and competition from international students were generally low. For example, only 16% of the 543 New Zealand students sampled agreed that international students get too much attention and 15% agreed that they have a negative effect on the quality of education. Only a minority agreed that the presence of international students diminished local students’ resources (e.g., awards and opportunities). Overall attitudes were moderately positive with 56% agreeing that international students had qualities that they admire and 47% agreeing that they are good

classmates. Secondary students, however, were more positive than tertiary students.

Despite these encouraging trends, it is likely that the perceptions domestic students hold about their international peers vary as a function of their nationality or region of origin. Certainly, this is true about New Zealanders’ attitudes toward migrants, where more favourable perceptions are found for those from Australia and the United Kingdom, compared to those from South Africa, who are viewed more favourably than those from Asia and the Pacific (Ward & Masgoret, 2005c). Similarly, research in the United States has demonstrated that evaluations of the English accents of international students who are non-native speakers vary with Chinese and Mexican English negatively evaluated when compared to the accents of non-native English speakers from Europe (Lindemann, 2005).

Another factor that exerts significant influence on the perceptions of international students is their numbers. Gezentsvey (2003) surveyed first year university students in classes with 3% and 14% international enrolments and found that a sense of threat increased, attitudes toward international students became more negative, and more discriminatory behaviours were found in classes with greater proportions of international enrolments. This issue was further investigated in Ward and Masgoret’s (2005a) study, which included students from 12 secondary and tertiary institutions across New Zealand where the proportion of international students ranged from 2-23%. Findings indicated a curvilinear relationship between international enrolments and domestic students’ attitudes and behaviours. More specifically, interactions with international students increased and perceptions of them improved with increasing enrolments until proportions hit the 9 to 14% range after which intercultural interactions decreased and perceptions became more negative with increasing international enrolments.

TABLE 1. *Stereotypes of International and Domestic Students: Mean Ratings*



LEGEND:

▲ International students' perceptions of New Zealanders

◆ New Zealanders' perceptions of international students

Note: International students did not rate "sociable-unsociable."

Contact between international and domestic students is strongly related to perceptions and attitudes, but the association is likely to be bi-directional. Negative stereotypes predict less frequent contact (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001); however, it is also known that intercultural contact enhances perceptions (Ward & Masgoret, 2005c). Ward and Masgoret (2005a) constructed a causal model to predict global attitudes toward international students based on their work with secondary and tertiary students in New Zealand. The model (Figure 1) demonstrated that negative stereotypes led to increased feelings of threat which aroused anxiety about intercultural interactions, leading, in turn, to less intercultural contact and finally to negative attitudes toward international students. It should be noted that feelings of threat exerted both direct and indirect influences on attitudinal outcomes and that cultural inclusiveness in the classroom also affected these processes.

The model has important implications for enhancing the receptiveness of domestic students to their international counterparts. First, it demonstrates that the classroom context is important and that education in a culturally inclusive environment has positive outcomes- less intercultural anxiety, greater intercultural contact and finally more positive attitudes. Second, it demonstrates that negative stereotypes lead to increased threat and reduce open and receptive attitudes to international students. Consequently, the role that teachers and educational institutions play in influencing the receptiveness of domestic students should receive more critical attention. Furthermore, it might also be expected that the media's often negative portrayal of international students results in undesirable consequences for New Zealanders' relationships with international students.

Contact between international and domestic students is discussed in detail in the next section, and the issue of cultural inclusiveness in the classroom will be revisited later in this review.

EXPECTATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Evidence suggests that international students expect to make local friends and are open to, and desire, greater contact (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Ward, Berno & Kennedy, 2000). Zheng and Berry's (1991) study of Chinese students in Canada clearly demonstrated that international students desired more contact than they actually had.

Although international students expect and desire to form bonds with their domestic peers, they are not always successful in doing so (Holmes, 2005b). A longitudinal study of Asian students before and after arrival in New Zealand found that 92% expected to make friends with locals whereas only 41% had managed to do so three months after arrival. Additionally, 82% expected to enjoy socialising with locals but only 52% reported this to be the case (Berno & Ward, 2003).

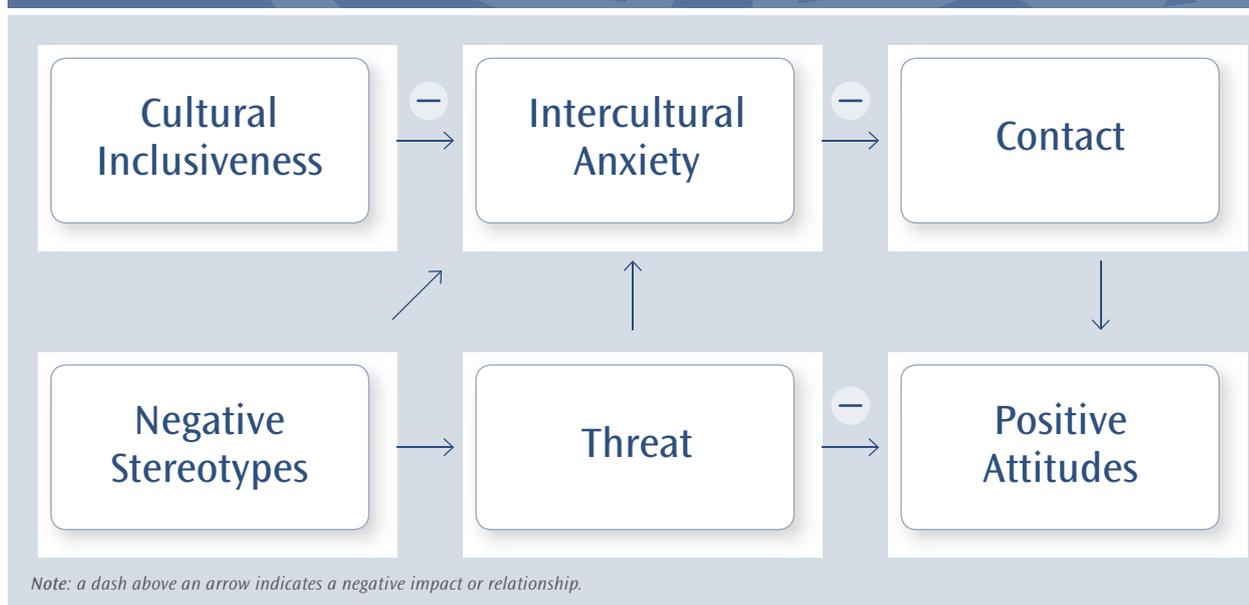
Across the Tasman, international students interviewed at Murdoch University likewise indicated that they had high expectations of mixing when they arrived and a strong desire to interact and be part of the student body (Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000).

When I first came, I had the expectation to meet many Australians, but did not. Only hi-bye friends, not close friends (p. 21).

I thought we will have lots of local friends, both long term and short term (p. 20).

Part of the reason for the discrepancies between expectations and experiences may be ambivalent attitudes about who should make the first move in relationship-building. Smart, Volet and Ang's (2000) study revealed that both Asian students and Australians thought the other should take the initiative. As remarked by an Asian student:

FIGURE 1. Causal Model of Attitudes toward International Students



The move should come from Australians. We cannot invite ourselves into their homes (p. 22).

In contrast to the comment made by an Australian:

They (Asian students) should interact in this culture. I did expect them to interact (p. 21).

It may also be the case that the tendency for overseas students to create their own subcultures prevents locals from making initial overtures (O'Donoghue, 1996; Scott, 2004). As indicated by a New Zealand Pakeha student:

When there were fewer Asian students in my class, I don't mind talking to them. But as the number grew bigger the following year, I found Koreans were talking

among themselves in their own language, and Chinese students were doing the same thing too. So I tend to shy away from them when they are speaking in their own languages among themselves. The whole language thing has become a block or barrier to interaction. I think it needs to change (Brebner, 2005, p. 50).

FRIENDSHIPS AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

International Perspectives

Cross-cultural studies demonstrate that most international students have primary bonds with co-nationals. One of the earliest and most frequently cited classic works in this field was Klineberg and Hull's (1979) research with over 2500 international university students in 11 countries. Whether internationals were resident in Japan, France or Canada, their

most regular contact was with co-nationals. The majority of students (57%) indicated that their best friend was either a co-national or another international student. The overall amount of actual contact with host nationals was slight -though students indicated that more would have been welcomed. More recent research mirrors this finding. For example, Saudi Arabian students attending university in the United States spend free time interacting with their American peers “seldom” or “sometimes” (Alreshoud & Koeske, 1997), and Japanese students in the United States spend 88% of study time and 82% of social time with other Japanese (Trice & Elliott, 1993).

The issue of intercultural friendships is an important one, and British, Australian and American research converges to demonstrate that many international students (17-100%) have no local friends (Bochner, Hutnik & Furnham, 1985; Bochner, McLeod & Lin, 1977; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Nowak & Weiland, 1998; Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000). New Zealand studies also reveal a low incidence of intercultural friendships. Chen and Chieng (not dated) found that 23% of Asian university students at Canterbury and Lincoln reported having no New Zealand friends, and Aston (1996), who studied secondary students, reported that New Zealanders composed only 11% of international students’ best friends.

Since these studies, more comprehensive research has arisen from the national survey of international students in New Zealand where 35% admitted they had no local friends (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). The percentage was highest in Chinese students, followed by students from other Asian countries and those from ESANA countries (Europe, North America, South America and Australia). The relatively high level of cultural distance between New Zealand and many Asian countries is likely to reduce the prevalence of intercultural friendships. Certainly, research has shown that greater perceived cultural distance is associated with more co-national interaction and less satisfaction with host national relations (Leong & Ward, 2000; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a).

The apparently low incidence of bonds between international and local students does not necessarily reflect complacency in the international group. Seventy per cent of international students in New Zealand want more local friends, but 40% believe that it is difficult to achieve (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). Clearly, wanting and making friends are two different things. Less than half (41%) of international students say that they try their best to make New Zealand friends.

Ying’s (2002) study of intercultural friendships found that the probability of Taiwanese students forming friendships with Americans was determined by: the students’ personality (i.e., extraversion), their knowledge of the United States, positive attitudes about forming American friendships, negative attitudes about forming Taiwanese friendships, communication skills and limited availability of Chinese students on campus.

The issue of large cohorts of co-nationals may be an important one. For example, the national survey of international students in New Zealand found that not only did Chinese students, who are the largest national group in New Zealand, have fewer local friends than other students, they also had more compatriot ones. Furthermore, although the Chinese saw the circumstances in New Zealand as being more conducive to friendship building than other students (e.g., they saw New Zealanders as more interested in having international friends and were less likely to see friendship building as difficult), they were less likely to express interest or make efforts and more likely to see New Zealanders as responsible for initiating friendships (Ward & Masgoret, 2004).

Is lack of local friends a problem? Up to half of the students from Africa and the Middle East reported feeling isolated from American students, and between 20-30% of these saw interactions as a significant issue. The concern was even higher in students from South, East and Southeast Asia (Trice,

2004). Burns' (1991) study in Australia found that 34% of overseas students mentioned a lack of Australian friends as a major problem. Choi's (1997) research with Koreans reported that 67% of students were not satisfied with their relationships with Australians and 56% mentioned difficulty in maintaining contact. Keen's (2000) study of Malaysian students found that cross-cultural contact was one of the least favourable aspects of their New Zealand experiences.

A number of researchers, including those in New Zealand, have commented on concerns of social isolation (James & Watt, 1992) and the difficulties of international students in meeting and developing friendships with locals (e.g., Lewthwaite, 1996; Volet & Pears, 1994) despite their desire to do so. Studies also reveal that, on the whole, international students experience greater difficulties and more anxiety in making friends and have less satisfying relationships than domestic students (Barker, Child, Jones, Gallois & Callan, 1991; Beaver & Tuck, 1998; Furnham & Tresize, 1981; Obong, 1997).

The difficulties in developing deep and meaningful relationships between domestic students and international students may have increasingly negative consequences over time. For example, Klineberg and Hull (1979) found that international students' attitudes toward hosts were friendly overall on arrival and slightly less so on average after a period of residence abroad. A study of American university students in France likewise found that students who had stayed a longer period of time perceived fewer positive and more negative traits to be associated with their hosts (Stroebe, Lenkert & Jonas, 1988). Early impressions and interactions are obviously important in forming later friendships, and initial disappointment may negatively affect subsequent perceptions and attitudes.

The lack of contact is disappointing given the desire for interaction expressed by international students, the general

perception of host nationals as friendly (Freudenberger, 1984; Smith, Lambert, Knox, Morey & Foster, 2000) and the obvious benefits of intercultural interactions. There is strong evidence that greater contact with domestic students is associated with psychological, social and academic adaptation. Having local friends and spending more free time with them are related to lower stress levels (Berry & Kostovcik, 1983; Redmond & Bunyi, 1993), positive mood (Furnham & Erdmann, 1995), less depression (Klineberg & Hull, 1979), greater life satisfaction, happiness and self-esteem (Noels, Pon & Clement, 1996). Satisfaction with host national relations and with one's social support network more broadly are also related to enhanced psychological well-being as demonstrated in Tofi, Flett and Timutimu-Thorpe's (1996) study of Pacific Island students and in Searle and Ward's (1990) work with Malaysian and Singaporean students in New Zealand.

Increased contact and satisfaction with the contact are also related to decrements in social difficulties as demonstrated in both studies of international students in New Zealand and New Zealand students overseas (Ward & Kennedy, 1993b; Ward & Searle, 1991). Those who have greater contact with domestic students appear to have better social skills (Trice, 2004) and "fit in" better (Kagan & Cohen, 1990). They also develop greater communication competence (Barratt & Huba, 1994; Chen, 1992; Zimmerman, 1995) and more confidence in the use of their second language (Noels, Pon & Clement, 1996). Additionally, there is some suggestion that greater contact with locals is associated with more positive assessment of teaching quality (Klineberg & Hull, 1979) and greater academic satisfaction (Perucci & Hu, 1995).

Bochner, McLeod's and Lin's (1977) classic model of intercultural friendship suggests that international students operate within three networks of relationships, each of which serves a particular function: a primary co-national network whose function is to affirm cultural identity and lend

psychological and emotional support, a secondary network of host nationals to facilitate professional and academic aspirations and a third multicultural network whose function is largely recreational. There seems to be some support of this in the research literature. For example, Trice and Elliott's (1993) study revealed that 83% of the Japanese students preferred to discuss personal problems with other Japanese compared to only 57% who chose to study English with other Japanese. The original study by Bochner, McLeod and Lin (1977) found that host nationals were relied upon for language and academic assistance. International students in Canada, Australia, Great Britain, the United States and Japan have been found to prefer locals for seeking language help and solving academic problems (Bochner, McLeod & Lin, 1977; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985; Tanaka, Takai, Kohyama, Fujihara, & Minami, 1994; Westwood & Barker, 1990). It is apparent that different networks are used for different functions, but as studies from the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Israel, New Zealand and Singapore indicate, the host national network is less salient than the co-national one, particularly for emotional support (Bochner, Buker & McLeod, 1976; Bochner, Hutnik & Furnham, 1985; Bochner & Orr, 1979; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Ito, 2004; Klineberg, 1982; Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Nowak & Weiland, 1998; Ong & Ward, 2005; Wiseman, 1997; Ward & Masgoret, 2004).

Domestic Perspectives

Research undertaken with international students clearly indicates that students are interested in and open to intercultural interaction and that they expect to have more contact than they actually experience. The literature also reveals that such contact is associated with a number of positive outcomes: psychologically, socially and academically. Far less is known about the interaction patterns of domestic students. A small number of international studies have included local students in their surveys, and more recently

Ward and Masgoret's (2005a), Brebner's (2005) and Scott's (2004) research has shed light on these issues in New Zealand.

The earliest research on domestic students was the 1977 study by Bochner and colleagues, which reported that American students who lived in mixed halls of residence had equal proportions of friends from the United States and from other countries; however, as there were only six local respondents in this research, the external validity of the findings comes under scrutiny. Similarly, Bochner, Hutnik and Furnham's (1985) Oxford study found that 55% of the British students in an international hall of residence had at least one foreign friend, but again there were only nine respondents to their survey. Slightly more robust data have been provided by Furnham and Alibhai (1985) who reported that British students in London expressed a strong preference (72%) for co-national friends. Of those British students who nominated an international peer as a best friend, these were most commonly European (16%). There were small numbers of Oriental, Middle Eastern and American students found among the best friends, but no Asians, Africans, South Americans or West Indians. This evidence suggests that friendships are more easily formed across the boundaries of culturally similar individuals (see also Bahk, Woeste & Cushing, 2003). Findings from the United States converge with respect to infrequent interactions between local and domestic students with one study reporting that 83% of American students across three community colleges had no interaction with their international peers outside of the academic setting (Shabahang, 1993).

Smart, Volet and Ang's (2000) commissioned report on fostering social cohesion in Australia likewise noted that there are hardly any studies that describe intercultural interactions from the perspective of local students. In an effort to remedy the situation, their exploratory study on students' views of intercultural interactions included both international and domestic students in their interviews at Murdoch University.

As previously mentioned, international students expressed the desire and expectation to form intercultural relations. This is illustrated by the comment:

I was disappointed that I could not penetrate the Australian circle of friends...(p. 20).

This desire, however, was not reciprocated by the Australian students. As one student commented:

I heard that there were a lot of Asians attending Murdoch, but it did not worry me. I didn't have any expectations of interacting with them (p. 20).

These attitudes are disappointing, given that a New Zealand study has shown that domestic students report beneficial effects from contact with international students (Eng & Manthei, 1984). International research has also found that greater contact with international students leads to a more positive international outlook in domestic students (Sharma & Jung, 1986).

More encouraging results were reported by Bargel (1998, cited in Otten, 2000) who found that more than 60% of German students had no or hardly any contact with international students, but that 60% also indicated that they would like to have more contact with international students at their university. Similarly, Ward and Masgoret's (2005a) New Zealand study revealed that contact between international and domestic students was infrequent, but that there was a willingness and desire for more interaction. Forty-one per cent of New Zealand students indicated that they had no international friends and the frequency of contact fell largely in the "rarely" range; however, New Zealand students desired more frequent contact. There were also differences in the type of New Zealand student who engaged in intercultural contact.

Those who interacted more frequently with their international peers were more likely to have studied a foreign language themselves or to be bi-lingual and to come from secondary, as opposed to tertiary, institutions.

Although actual interaction was somewhat limited, willingness to interact with international students was greater and fell within a moderate to strong range. For example, 49% said they were glad to do exam revision with international students, 62% were willing to share notes, 47% were glad to interact during school holidays and 58% glad to interact during free time. Students also noted barriers to intercultural interactions with different interests and difficulties international students had understanding New Zealand English topping the list. Their own anxieties about interacting across cultures, however, were in the moderate range. Language and communication issues have been highlighted by other New Zealand researchers (e.g., Holmes, 2000; Holmes & Bird, 2002).

I wouldn't say Pakeha students are not keen to have contact with Asian international students but we need extra effort to do that. I noticed Asian international students don't approach us too. They tend to stick among themselves a lot and speak in their own languages (Brebner, 2005, p. 44).

Scott's (2004) qualitative research with secondary students in Dunedin also confirmed that there was little spontaneous interaction between international and domestic students; however, overall her results were not as optimistic and she concluded that: "The research has not revealed alarmingly negative views but at the same time there is not a huge desire from domestic students to interact with international students" (p. 87). Interestingly, the students who participated in her interviews and focus groups spontaneously identified the numbers of international students from specific national

or ethnic backgrounds as a significant influence on the patterns of interaction.

It seems if there's less of them they'll just spread out and make friends with everyone else, 'cos I know two Fijians and they've just made friends with everyone else, and some of the Chinese people they just stick together with their other Chinese friends and stuff. It just depends how many there are usually (Scott, 2004, p. 74).

The ambivalence about mixing with international students on a social basis is paralleled in the academic arena (Mills, 1997). Beaver and Tuck's (1998) study of Asian, Pacific Island and Pakeha students in New Zealand revealed that having classes with a mix of cultures and mixing cultures within small group teaching were significantly more important to Asian and Pacific Island students. Pakeha students, by contrast, found it more important to participate in classes with students with a similar level of language competency. The researchers concluded that Pakeha students want to gain *their* credentials as quickly and efficiently as possible, and some practices, such as mixed language groups, may be seen to impair their progress (p. 177). Volet and Ang (1998) have noted a similar pattern in Australian students, describing "pragmatism" as a reason that domestic students are less likely to seek contact with their international peers.

Apparent differences in the desire for intercultural interactions are not matched by differences in perceptions of the nature and quality of these encounters. Table 2 compares the mean ratings of 176 international students from Berno and Ward's (2003) study with Ward and Masgoret's (2005a) research with 543 domestic students.

Despite international students' enthusiasm for intercultural interaction, they actually have less positive evaluations of the intercultural experience than do local students. This is

consistent with Obong's (1997) U.S.-based research which reported that international students were less satisfied with racial harmony on campus than were domestic students.

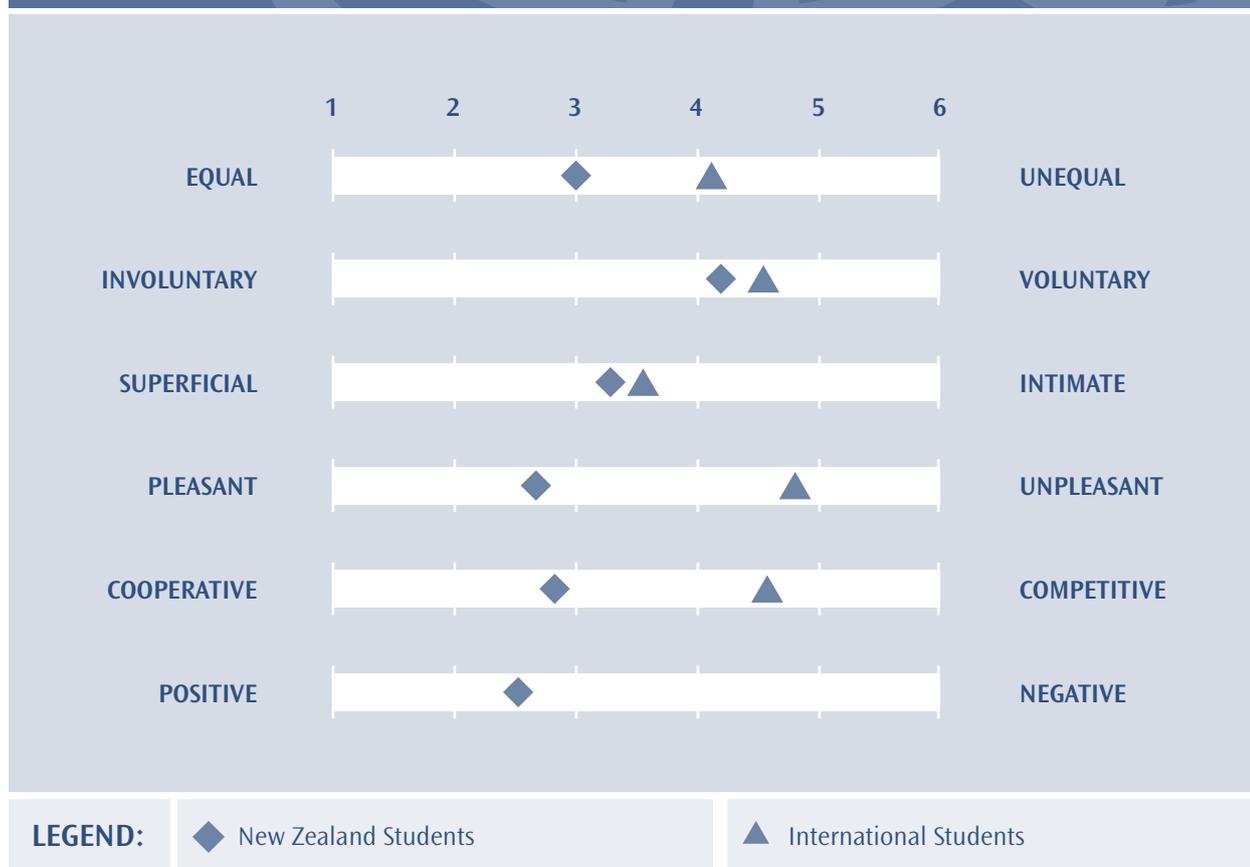
Clearly, close proximity does not necessarily lead to social interaction, and as we shall see later, interaction does not necessarily lead to positive outcomes. There are a number of reasons why students limit their intercultural encounters. One issue that deserves special attention is prejudice and discrimination (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001).

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Unfortunately, not all intercultural contact between overseas and local students is equal status, voluntary, and cooperative. Sodowsky and Plake (1992) reported that although 41% of the foreign students in an American university said that Americans treated them well, 15% indicated that their treatment was superficial, and another 17% described their treatment as negative. Similarly, 41% of the overseas students said that they treated American students in a friendly fashion, but 10% were reserved and cautious, 9% said the interactions were superficial, and 6% indicated that they did not try to make friends with American students. Sodowsky and Plake's (1992) figures appear to reflect a reciprocity of treatment although it is impossible to determine if the attitudes/perceptions precede interactive behaviours or vice versa.

It is not uncommon for international students to perceive prejudice and discrimination (Scott, 1998). Klineberg and Hull (1979) reported that about 30% of international students felt that they had been the object of discrimination in their survey of international students in 11 countries. Seven per cent of the international students in Mullins, Quintrell and Hancock's (1995) Australian university study said on campus prejudice and discrimination were serious problems, 52% described them as minor problems, and 2 of 12 post-graduate

TABLE 2. Mean Ratings of the Quality of Contact between New Zealand and International Students



Note: There are no ratings on the positive-negative dimension from the international student sample.

students interviewed from Massey University indicated that they had been victims of racism (Lewthwaite, 1996). In New Zealand 35% of international students reported experiencing discrimination sometimes to very often from local students (Ward & Masgoret, 2004).

Perceptions of discrimination are often stronger in students who are more culturally dissimilar from members of the host

population. For example, European students in the United States disagreed that there was prejudice while African, Asian and South American students (in that order) found discrimination problematic. Asian students in New Zealand reported more discrimination than those from Europe, North America and Australia (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). Perceptions of discrimination are stronger in sojourners compared to immigrant students and in those with poor language skills.

Perceived discrimination also increases over time (Sodowsky & Plake, 1992; Ward & Masgoret, 2004). The correlates of perceived discrimination are almost exclusively negative and include increased stress, more identity conflict, less academic satisfaction, and greater psychological and sociocultural adjustment problems (Berno & Ward, 1998; Leong & Ward, 2000; Pak, Dion & Dion, 1991; Perucci & Hu, 1995).

SECTION SUMMARY

The vast majority of research on social contact between international and domestic students has been undertaken from the perspective of the international student. In addition, investigations have been conducted almost exclusively at the tertiary level. Studies converge in the finding that the incidence of intercultural interactions is low and that greater contact is expected and desired by international students and in some instances by domestic students. Although studies with domestic students have reported relatively favourable perceptions of international students, most investigations have concluded that domestic students are ambivalent about initiating contact with their international peers. New Zealand findings may be slightly more encouraging; nevertheless, significant intercultural interaction is unlikely to occur spontaneously to any large extent, and it is almost certain that interventionist strategies would need to be introduced to promote more and better intercultural activities.

IMPACTS IN THE CLASSROOM

The presence of international students in the classroom has the potential to change both the content and the process of education. These changes may be perceived as positive or

negative. For example, educational settings that boast of students from diverse national and cultural backgrounds have intrinsic assets for widening an intellectual perspective and internationalising the content of teaching material. On the other hand, these same students, particularly if originating from non-English speaking backgrounds, may be seen, from the perspective of domestic students, to “waste” too much class time on peripheral issues. In addition, cross-cultural differences in teaching and learning expectations may precipitate awkwardness or discomfort amongst staff and students, both domestic and international. These differences can challenge teachers’ confidence to deal with cultural diversity in the classroom. This section considers empirical work relevant to these issues.

CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN TEACHING AND LEARNING

There is an extensive literature in cross-cultural psychology and in intercultural and multicultural education that documents differences in teacher and student expectations and behaviours across cultures. Factors that are known to vary cross-culturally include the relative importance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation; preference for cooperative, competitive and individualist learning; basic approaches to studying; teaching and learning styles; different views on the definition and significance of plagiarism; and even fundamental conceptions of “intelligence” (Barrett-Lennard, 1997; Beykont & Daiute, 2002; Chen, 1994; Hammond & Guo, 2002; Hayes & Introna, 2005; Holmes, 2004; Irvine & York, 1995; Lee & Lodewijks, 1995; Salili, Chiu & Hong, 2001; Shade & New, 1993; Smith, Miller & Crassini, 1998; Thomas, 1994). Ho, Holmes and Cooper (2004) have recently provided an in-depth review of these issues and their implications for cultural diversity in New Zealand classrooms, and their work has been used extensively to inform the updated discussion of classroom impacts that follows. Of primary concern in

this section are cross-cultural differences in educational expectations and practices, including communication in the classroom (Powell & Anderson, 1994). These issues also impact on the relationship between students and teachers outside of the formal classroom, particularly in post-graduate supervisory sessions (Nilsson & Anderson, 2004).

The educational environment is a microcosm of the larger society and reflects its values, traditions and practices. Hofstede's (1980) research on work-related values and Triandis' (1990) critical analysis of cultural variability provide interpretive frameworks for understanding the "implicit curriculum" that varies across cultures and affects classroom activities. Two dimensions that exert strong influence on classroom communication and interactions are individualism-collectivism and power distance.

In the broadest terms students from individualist cultures (including New Zealand) are more likely to want to "stand out" in class, to ask questions, give answers and engage in debate. They are often seen as competitive. Students from collectivist cultures (including East and South Asians, Latin Americans and some Southern Europeans), in contrast, are more strongly motivated to "fit in." They are less likely to be verbally interactive in classes and are usually unwilling to draw attention to themselves.

Ho, Holmes and Cooper (2004, p. 6) have summarized individualist and collectivist perspectives on education and learning noting that in collectivist cultures education is viewed as a means of gaining prestige and joining a high status group whereas in individualist cultures education is seen as a way to enhance economic worth and self-esteem. With respect to learning attitudes, students from collectivist cultures value education rooted in tradition and expect to learn "how to do" while students from individualist cultures value novel perspectives and learning "how to learn."

It is important to note that cross-cultural variation in individualism-collectivism also underpins communication styles in the classroom (Ho, Holmes & Cooper, 2004). Direct styles, with little reliance on context, are generally preferred by people from individualist cultures. Collectivists are more bound by context and communicate in indirect ways, which is sometimes interpreted as reflecting lack of motivation or intelligence by Western teachers (Samovar & Porter, 2004). In addition, silence can be a virtue in a Chinese classroom although it would rarely be considered so in New Zealand (Cheng & Clark, 1993; Holmes, 2006).

Collectivism is strongly related to power distance, and those students who are from high power distance cultures are also less likely to question and debate. This is generally seen as an inappropriate challenge to the teacher, which may result in loss of face. Students from high power distance cultures are more strongly motivated to show respect to teachers and to maintain formal and distant relationships with them. They are often unwilling to present opinions in class, avoid confrontation and are unlikely to express overt disagreement with teachers and fellow students (Chang & Chin, 1999). This contrasts with students from low power distance cultures, such as New Zealand, who are generally more willing to speak up and are more concerned about giving accurate information than saving face or preserving harmony. It is not difficult to see that these differences in cultural values can lead to misperceptions across cultural groups. From one perspective, quiet but attentive collectivist students may be perceived as uninterested or withdrawn by individualist teachers. From another viewpoint, the relatively frequent interruptions to lectures by individualist students may be seen as rude and unmannered by their collectivist classmates.

Aspects of the collectivist-individualist and the high and low power distance distinctions are reflected in the dialectic-dialogic approaches in education. In the former approach the

teacher holds power, “knows all,” and controls space while the student actively listens and follows instructions (Hammond & Guo, 2002). In the latter, the teacher shares power and experiences while the student contributes and offers ideas and suggestions. Chinese educational systems largely retain the dialectic mode while the New Zealand system is primarily dialogic.

The empirical literature on intercultural education elaborates cross-cultural differences in greater detail. McCargar’s (1993) research with Indonesian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Persian, Arabic, Hispanic and Thai ESL (English as a second language) students demonstrated that there were significant discrepancies between their expectations and those of their American teachers. The differences were most pronounced in connection with classroom participation and student-teacher relationships. For example, compared to the teachers, overseas students generally wanted more error correction, believed that they should agree with the lecturer, and more strongly favoured acceptance of authority. On the other hand, the educators were more likely to believe that students should have an internal locus of academic control and take responsibility for their own learning. There were also noticeable differences across the student groups. For example, the Indonesian and Chinese students most strongly opposed the idea that students should be encouraged to disagree with the teacher while the Arab and Persian students were less willing to work in small groups than were the Hispanic, Chinese and Japanese.

Liberman’s (1994) qualitative research with Asian students in the United States is largely in agreement with McCargar’s (1993) quantitative findings. His interviews revealed that international students were often critical of informality in the classroom, perceived lack of respect for professors, and insufficient focus in classroom interactions. They were

also occasionally disparaging of their American peers, particularly with respect to egotism. As stated by a Japanese undergraduate:

American students seem to want to show off their knowledge and intelligence in class and are often overconfident and egotistical; discussions seem to be like competitions (p. 184).

Similar trends have been observed by Beykont and Daiute (2002) in their work with international graduate students in the United States:

Students in my country do not volunteer very much. Whoever volunteers is seen as someone who has no sense of other people, trying to show off (p. 35).

and by Holmes (2002) in her work with Chinese students in New Zealand:

It’s very impolite to ask teacher questions...[you should] not challenge the teacher in class.

In line with these findings, Beaver and Tuck’s (1998) study of tertiary students indicated that Asian and Pacific Island students showed more concern about asking questions and approaching lecturers than did Pakeha students

On the other hand, Liberman’s interviews revealed that many students responded positively to a decreased emphasis on memory skills and a closer relationship with teaching staff. They came to be especially enthusiastic about the active learning environment and the ability to express themselves. As noted by a Singaporean student:

They encourage learning. They try to get you interested in the process of learning. In Singapore they don't care if you are interested or not, you just learn it (p. 181).

Overall, the vast majority of Asian students in Liberman's study approved of the critical thinking skills facilitated in the American system. Recent initiatives in Hong Kong to implement problem-based learning also suggest that under the right circumstances these methods can be effective with Asian students (Biggs, 2001).

Broader cross-cultural differences in value systems lead to different assumptions about student and teacher roles in Eastern and Western settings (Becker, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1997; Pratt, 1991; Volet & Kee, 1993). For example, Cortazzi and Jin (1997) argue that Chinese students are more likely to view the teacher as a model, an authority, and a "parent," compared to the British view of the teacher as a facilitator, organiser and friendly critic. Chinese students are also more likely to see their own roles as result-focused, learning by listening and reflection. British teachers, however, expect their students to develop independence, engage in dialogue and develop critical thinking. These differing views are likely to result in dissatisfying and unproductive classroom encounters.

From an American perspective Pratt (1991) similarly noted that teachers are regarded as facilitators who promote learner autonomy. The educational system is adaptive and accommodates the learner who is the centre of the educational process. To the Chinese, however, the teacher is a transmitter of knowledge, a role model and the focus of educational practice. Consequently, if students are unsuccessful in academic pursuits, this is widely perceived as a matter of motivation, effort and ability, not the fault of the teacher. In China it is deemed important to master academic material without questioning; indeed, questioning

is often seen as disruptive and disrespectful. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on additive learning, the acquisition of skills and information that complement previously attained knowledge. It is assumed that this type of learning results in greater proficiency and that questioning core beliefs often results in unnecessary difficulties. Similar contrasts have been drawn between the North American and the Japanese systems of education where there is greater social distance between students and teachers, more vertical student-teacher relationships and a one way flow of information, greater formality in the classroom, and more emphasis on rote memory (Becker, 1990).

More recent research has also demonstrated that Chinese students do not generally respond well to interactive, open-discourse approaches favoured by many Western teachers and that although they are willing to contribute to factual discussions, they are uncomfortable discussing opinions and being challenged by teachers (Bodycott & Walker, 2000; Li, 2003). Nevertheless, Li's (2004) research with Asian international students studying English in New Zealand reported that most students enjoyed their experiences despite differences in teaching styles.

There is certainly observational evidence that there are large gaps between the expectations of teachers in New Zealand and their Asian students. Common complaints from educators are that Asian students do not contribute to classroom discussions, that they are very successful in rote memory tasks but display less critical and independent thought and that they do not interact well with their local peers. Holmes' (2005a) research with teachers in New Zealand suggested that there was some change from previously seeing international students as "top" students to viewing them as "more ordinary" (p. 102). English language proficiency has been cited as a critical issue.

Many fee-paying students have gone into physics classes in the last five or six years, and have just been unable to participate in the class for most of the year because their language skills have been insufficient to cope. And therefore, you don't even know how capable they are... (p. 102).

In response to these issues Kirkness and O'Rourke (2005) have suggested that a language needs analysis can be useful in providing guidance in linguistically mixed classes at a multicultural university. They also provide guidance on how to undertake such an exercise.

Despite gaps and differences, most teachers in New Zealand have positive attitudes toward international students with 80% agreeing that international students have qualities they admire, with only 12% believing that international students are too demanding and just over half (51%) saying that they have had a positive influence on New Zealand education (Ward, Masgoret, Newton & Crabbe, 2005). There is varying recognition, however, of teachers' attitudes and abilities. Less than half (47%) of the international students in the national survey agreed that teachers understand cultural differences in learning styles, and 52% believed that teachers understood the problems of international students. However, the majority (60%) of Asian students in Chen and Chieng's (n.d.) study thought lecturers are friendly to Asian students and 64% described them as patient. This is particularly important in that overseas studies have shown that academic staff are a more important source of social support for international than domestic students (Jou & Fukada, 1996).

CHANGES IN THE CLASSROOM: PROCESS AND CONTENT

Cross-cultural differences clearly exist and are recognised as at least somewhat problematic by international students.

For example, 80% of Asian university students in Chen and Chieng's (n.d.) study cited different learning styles as a significant study problem, and many remarked on difficulties in group discussions with Kiwi students. The question of interest is how do these differences impact on what happens in the classroom? The immediate answer is we don't know. Critics have argued that educators frequently adopt negative and stereotypic views of international students (e.g., Ballard & Clanchy, 1984; Samuelowicz, 1987). Volet and Renshaw (1995) have described this tendency as the "application of a deficit model" (p. 409) and criticised the failure of educators to consider the performance of international students in the context in which it is embedded. Adams (1992) has remarked that students who are not from the dominant cultural group can often be misunderstood as "under-prepared, unmotivated or unintelligent" (p. 7), and there is evidence that local students believe minority students expect more help from teachers than they actually do (Tatar & Horenczyk, 1996). Asmar (2005) has also noted that international students are viewed as requiring more attention, if not remediation, and perceptions of them as "problems" still exist. Finally, a scan of recent writings on instructional advice for teaching international students shows that a noticeable proportion of the literature reflects the deficit approach to learning and includes a range of patronising recommendations (e.g., Collingridge, 1999; Lee, 1997). This suggests an "unexamined ethnocentrism" in the relationship between international students and teachers from the ethno-cultural majority group (Gillborn, 1995; Lawrence & Daniel Tatum, 1997).

There are two obvious areas that should be examined for the impact of international students in the classroom. The first concerns processes in the classroom and includes factors such as teacher performance and classroom dynamics, including cultural inclusiveness. The second is concerned more with educational content, in particular curriculum changes.

Classroom Processes

Youngs and Youngs (1999, 2001) were some of the few researchers to investigate mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students (see also Penfield, 1987; Byrnes, Kiger & Manning, 1997). In their research with junior and middle school teachers in the United States, they found that attitudes were neutral to moderately positive and predicted by teachers' own foreign language ability and/or exposure to multicultural education courses, ESL training, experience abroad and work with diverse ESL students.

Ward et al.'s (2005) study of 223 teaching staff across secondary, tertiary and private language schools in New Zealand also demonstrated positive attitudes toward international students as well as a strong motivation for dealing with them. For example, 79% say teaching international students is a positive challenge, and only 9% admitted to being reluctant to teach international students. However, teacher confidence did not match their motivation. Fifty-two per cent felt confident to help international students with language problems and 55% to determine their academic needs. The issue of skills for dealing with non-native English speakers has gained international attention where research suggests that mainstream teachers often possess cultural misinformation about NESB students (Clair, 1995) and expect less of students using non-standard English (Byrnes, Kiger & Manning, 1997), making it difficult for these teachers to create a welcoming atmosphere (Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

The strategies teachers used with international students were also examined in the study by Ward and colleagues, and a wide variation was found in the approaches implemented. Teachers reported engaging in a range of accommodative behaviours in the classroom, but most frequently those related to the presentation of information. For example, most repeated key points, spoke slowly, and checked to see that students understood material; however, teachers were

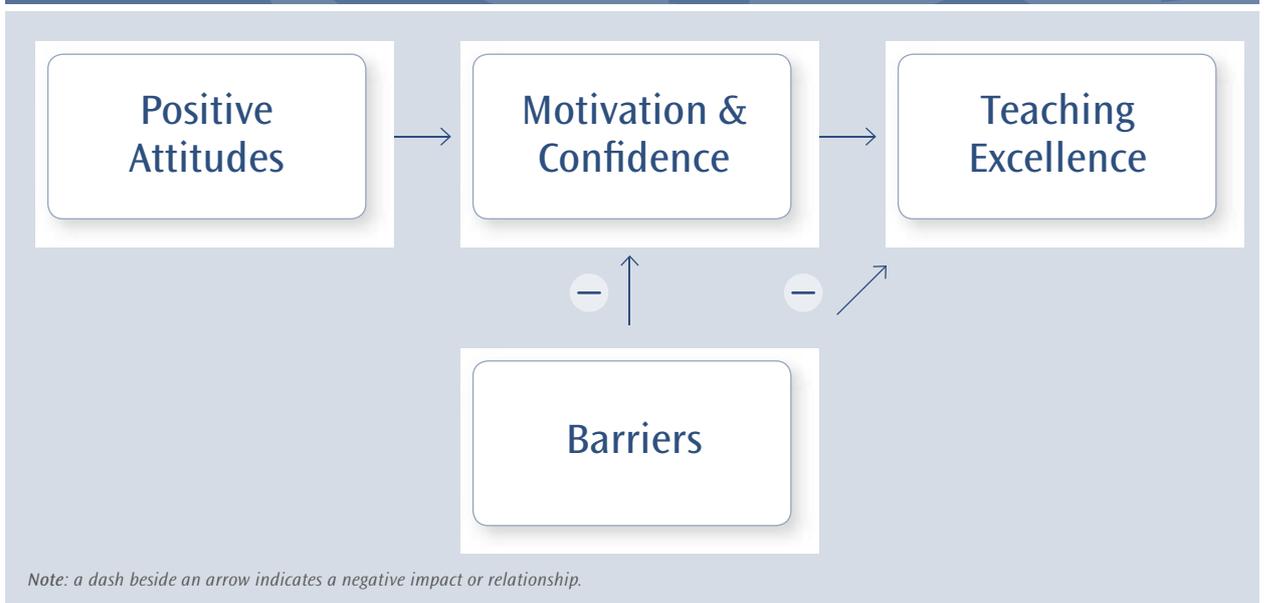
much less likely to hold additional classes, arrange seating to encourage interaction or provide additional materials.

Teachers reported a number of barriers to teaching effectiveness, with differences in abilities and language proficiency cited as the most common challenges. However, overall teachers evaluated their performance in the above average to good range, with making expectations clear and responding to difficult questions being amongst their strongest performance domains and adjusting the class to the appropriate level, helping students think critically and dealing with difficult behaviours eliciting the lowest performance ratings (Ward et al., 2005).

Evidence was also found for a causal model in which both attitudes toward international students and perceived barriers to teaching effectiveness predicted teacher confidence and motivation, which, in turn, affected teaching performance (Figure 2). The model has important implications for teaching effectiveness. Specifically, it indicates that teaching performance can be improved through institutional initiatives to remove or reduce barriers. These include providing information and training on cultural differences and managing multicultural classrooms as well as ensuring more teaching resources. The model also suggests that strategies designed to promote positive attitude change in educators also result in better teaching performance.

Issues pertaining to confidence are also echoed in Holmes' (2005a) qualitative study in New Zealand.

“suddenly you have large classes, large proportions of international students, and I'm no longer sure whether or not I'm meant to be giving a pure Western education...the difficulty of working with so many large numbers and to convert them to, what am I meant to convert them? I'm no longer sure I'm meant to be doing that... (p. 96).

FIGURE 2. *Causal Model of Teacher Performance*

Indeed, Holmes' research also brings up issues of over work and burn-out.

I have to be a brilliant administrator, brilliant teacher and brilliant researcher. There's just not the time, the energy (p. 96).

Implicit in much of the New Zealand research is the notion that international students should be assimilated into the local education system. The broader issues as to whether teachers can adopt cross-cultural approaches in the classroom have been largely unexamined. Yet, Biggs (2001) is critical about the equation of internationalisation and Westernisation, noting that this perspective assumes "we have got it right in the West, when the evidence is powerful that we have not" (p. 305). One of the many reasons he believes this to be the case is the higher level of achievement in students from Confucian Heritage Cultures, particularly in maths and science.

Despite potential benefits of adopting a range of cultural approaches to teaching, Biggs concludes:

Lecturers in Australia teaching classes with half or more students from East Asia are likely to ...be put psychologically off balance and become indignant and confused. It will be difficult for the bulk of lecturers to learn good lecturing practice for Asian students. Few academics have interest in learning an alien technology (March, cited by Biggs, 2001, p. 297).

This is consistent with Smith's (1998) survey in an American university which asked professors to consider their attitudes toward cultural diversity and assimilation. Data provided through surveys and interviews confirmed that instructors largely adopted an assimilationist attitude, believing that it was incumbent upon international students to adapt to the educational system in the United States and that special

accommodation should be minimised. They maintained that it is imperative to hold the same standards for everyone, they rarely took the time to check on difficulties that international students may experience, and they largely took for granted that international students understand to the same extent as local students what they are expected to do. On the positive side respondents acknowledged that international students raise the “intellectual atmosphere” on campus, but on the negative side they cited clannishness as a potential problem.

Broader than the issue of teaching style, is the cultural inclusiveness in the classroom. Cultural inclusiveness can be achieved by a range of strategies that acknowledge and validate cultural differences and lead to appreciation of diversity in the educational process. Although somewhat elusive, cultural inclusiveness was examined in the national survey of international students and shown to be an important component of their educational experience. International students who felt more included in the classroom reported more sources of social support, believed New Zealanders have more positive attitudes toward international students and reported less discrimination and greater life satisfaction (Ward & Masgoret, 2004). Similarly, domestic students benefit from cultural inclusiveness in the classroom, which is associated with a range of positive outcomes, including more international friends, more frequent interaction with international students, fewer perceived barriers to intercultural interaction, lowered sense of threat and competition from international students and more positive attitudes toward them (Ward & Masgoret, 2005a). What is interesting, however, are the discrepancies in teachers’ descriptions of their classroom behaviours and students’ perceptions of it. For example, 85% of teachers say they encourage intercultural contact in their classes, but only 47% of international and 35% of domestic students agree that this is the case.

Similar themes were investigated by Asmar (2005) in Australia in her study of international Muslim students. Although 75% of the students said that they felt part of a group of students and staff committed to learning, only 34% said that they felt part of the university community. In this instance students appeared to draw a distinction between the academic learning environment and the broader campus experience, with the latter being more problematic.

One might reasonably expect that with increasing numbers of international students in New Zealand classrooms we could observe a significant impact, and indeed, it has been argued that this should be the case (Kennedy, 1995). One area in which the impact is discernible is that of teacher attitudes. Ward et al.’s (2005) research with 141 secondary and tertiary instructors in 13 institutions in New Zealand found that when international enrolments at an institution reached the 10-12% proportion, teachers’ perceptions of international students became increasingly negative. This finding deserves attention from educational planners and policy-makers.

Despite these findings, the reality is that there have been few systematic studies that have examined the impact of increasing international student numbers. In addition, it is widely agreed that although there is an expanding literature on intercultural education and increasing development of training materials to enhance sensitivity among intercultural educators, in practice, the responsibility for adapting to and succeeding in a new educational system falls on the overseas student (Banks & Banks, 1995; Volet & Renshaw, 1995).

This theme was echoed in the focus group discussions of Asian university students in New Zealand (Chen & Chieng, n.d.). Fortunately, students are largely successful in adapting to these demands (Parr, Bradley & Bingi, 1992). Australian research has demonstrated that international students

adapt well over time and that even after one semester their learning goals and evaluations of study resemble those of local students (Volet, Renshaw & Tietzels, 1994). Similar findings have been reported with international students in the Netherlands (Jochems, Snippe, Smid & Verweij, 1996).

Changes in Content

Barber and Morgan (1988) considered educational impact issues in their survey of 651 departmental chairpersons and 943 faculty members in engineering schools in the United States. One of the major questions addressed in their research was whether education was changing to meet the needs of international students. They found that there was no evidence of significant change although 10% of their respondents used relevant teaching examples and 20% used international students as resources in class discussions. This is despite an internationalised curriculum being cited as one of the key features of internationalisation (Ellingboe, 1998).

Cultural inclusiveness entails both the process and content of the learning experience. Equality of participation and multiplicity of voices have been recognised as central to a culturally inclusive classroom (Beykont & Daiute, 2002). Research from the United Kingdom suggests that cultural recognition and validation are often missing in higher education. This was highlighted in Maundeni's (2001) study of African university students in Scotland. As explained by one research participant:

Almost all things we were taught about and those we discuss are British. Some are not even relevant to my country nor are they relevant to my work at home. But what frustrates me more is that sometimes when I try to share with the class my experiences, the lecturer does not show interest (p. 270).

This issue was also cited in Beykont and Daiute's (2002) research where international students suggested that they might be invited to reflect and comment on course content from the perspective of someone from another culture noting that "It's pretty unfair to narrow down things, just to a North American experience" (p. 39).

Although the presence of international students has been assumed to enhance the potential for internationalisation, there is no widespread evidence that the content of curricula has changed significantly. Informal discussions with international student advisers suggest that changes are in place, and qualitative reports suggest that there is some movement in this area (Fenwick, 1987). However, Burke's (1990) discussion of international education in Australia concluded that:

The presence of international students in classes or at an institution rarely prompts faculty members to internationalise what they teach or results in (domestic students) becoming internationally educated in a serious way (p. 5).

Indeed, Edwards and Tudball (2000) reported that only a minority of secondary pupils in Victoria study internationalisation formally. This is consistent with the conclusions of a Canadian study by Knight (2000) which found that:

Overall there appears to be a low level of interest and activity by faculty members to internationalise the curriculum and the teaching/learning process (p. 88).

More recent evidence appears slightly more encouraging. Welch (2002) cited a survey of Australian universities that elicited 1000 "international initiatives," including comparative

curricula, subjects with international focus and curricula broadened by an international component. However, internationalisation initiatives varied across disciplines and were most commonly found in business, economics, and commerce (30%) and arts, humanities and social sciences (21%). It appears, then, that there is a need for policy to underpin and direct internationalisation, as it does not emerge spontaneously to a great degree or in a naturally organised fashion.

The literature has described examples of altering curricula content and, to some extent, processes and responses to these initiatives (e.g., Allameh, 1996; Carty, Hale, Carty, Williams, Rigney & Principato, 1998). Dickson (1998), for example, has described a method where 9th graders (14 year olds) were asked to interview immigrants and refugees to construct a brief life history. The students, who knew very few international people, were offered access to new and unfamiliar people and experiences. The project was described as prompting positive outcomes, including intercultural friendships, enhanced cultural awareness amongst students and staff, and an increased sense of empowerment for the students interviewed. However, the project was not subjected to rigorous evaluation, and it is difficult to determine the outcomes with confidence.

A similar project was described by Schmid (1995) as a class-based ethnography and a novel approach to teaching sociology. Schmid argued that the project engendered positive effects in both the domestic and international students. He supported this with comments from the participants.

The project changed my view of international students. I never really cared for them, but after interviewing them I found they're just like me in a way (p. 337).

This was a wonderful experience for me. I have made friends that more than likely I would not have even met before. I no longer have the stereotypes I once had and made quite a few acquaintanceships along the way (p. 337).

Tapper (2005) described the use of student project logs and student discussions in a course that required work placements and analysed the results in terms of enhancing awareness of intercultural communication issues and expanding perspectives on internationalisation in an Australian university. Emergent themes included: awareness of cultural diversity, increased cultural knowledge, understanding differences in languages and communication styles, and positive outcomes related both to the effective teaching and learning of internationalised subject matter as well as acquisition of intercultural communication skills.

In addition, Wane, Shahjahan and Wagner (2004) have provided an illustration of a creative approach to highlighting diversity and working towards an inclusive curriculum in higher education in a dramatic presentation of issues surrounding the politics of equity of knowledge. In this instance the perspectives of an anti-racist educator, a graduate student and a community educator were presented through reflections on their marginality at the institution. The dramatic presentation was followed by discussion with the audience. The authors remark upon the empowerment expressed by some of the participants and the high level of engagement with the audience. Although the approach was not formally evaluated, the initiative was described as an avenue of change.

Internationalisation, of course, is applicable to both international and domestic students and should afford

benefits to both. Jacob and Greggo (2001) have described a novel initiative at an American university where international and counselling students participated in a research and intervention project, identifying issues of concern for the former and incorporating these into training for the latter. The project resulted in recognition and validation of the needs of international students and a valuable training experience and the enhancement of multicultural skills for trainee counsellors. Creative programmes such as this can result in positive outcomes for both international and domestic students.

Single examples of internationalisation of curricula may be found in the literature from various institutional sources. Back, Davis and Olsen (1998) have described activities at Auckland Institute of Technology to internationalise the curriculum for the Bachelor of Business in International Business and the undergraduate programme in Art and Design. In Australia, Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) reviewed efforts undertaken by Curtin University's School of Design. More recently, Schapper and Mayson (2004) and Welch (2002) have described case studies in Australia including initiatives at five Australian universities. Nilsson (2000) has similarly described efforts to internationalise curricula in Sweden, van der Wende (1997) in the Netherlands and Umakoshi (1997) in Japan. Scott (1994) has discussed the internationalisation efforts at Ramapo College in New Jersey and Lawson and Tubbs (1996) in the Californian university system. These efforts have included not only curriculum development but also professional development for staff. Although these programmes are guided by policy and planning rather than emerging spontaneously in reaction to increasing numbers of international students, for the most part, they have not been systematically evaluated.

A NOTE ON TEACHER SKILLS AND TRAINING

International and multicultural classrooms present additional challenges to educators, many of whom do not feel that they have the skills to manage increasing cultural diversity in educational institutions. This is not surprising as teacher education is often lacking with respect to training in intercultural skills. Indeed, there has been widespread recognition that professional development and up-skilling are required in these areas (Gundara, 2003; Paleologou, 2004; Teekens, 2000), particularly in light of Paige's (2001) argument that educators have a key role to play in internationalisation and that faculty development is critical to an institution's success.

In New Zealand 78% of teachers agree that teachers should be trained about cultural differences in learning styles to assist international students to reach their potential (Ward et al., 2005). Furthermore, best practice guidelines generated from Holmes' (2005a) research with teachers included recommendations to: 1) provide sufficient preparation and support to teachers for teaching and communication in multicultural classrooms, including intercultural training, and teaching and learning in English as an additional language (EAL) context and 2) fund teacher education around diversity training, especially at the tertiary level, to equip teachers with the knowledge and skills necessary for teaching in the multicultural classroom.

Research has demonstrated the positive effects of teacher education on teachers' multicultural knowledge, attitudes and classroom confidence. Educational content that provides direct exposure to cultural differences and content that stimulates more abstract understanding of culture itself lead to more positive attitudes toward ESL students. Youngs and Youngs (2001) demonstrated that both multicultural education and ESL training were related to positive attitudes toward ESL

students in mainstream teachers. In accordance with these findings, language teachers in New Zealand saw fewer barriers to teaching effectiveness and reported better performance than either secondary and tertiary teachers. Furthermore, self-reported teaching performance was unrelated to years of teaching experience or proportion of international students in classes (Ward et al., 2005). This suggests that training, rather than on the job exposure, is a more powerful predictor of positive teaching outcomes, lending even greater support to Holmes' recommendations for best practice.

Ho, Holmes and Cooper's (2004) review and evaluation of managing cultural diversity in the classroom is a very useful resource for teachers and includes recommendations for promoting cultural inclusiveness and developing a culturally responsive classroom; strategies for dealing with cultural differences in teaching and learning styles; for improving intercultural communication; and for promoting social interaction beyond the classroom. Recommendations and suggestions can also be found in Holmes (2005a) and Ward et al. (2005) arising from their research with teachers. Teaching resources such as *Teaching about Culture, Ethnicity and Diversity* (Singelis, 1998) are available. Beyond that, some training and skills development programmes are available in New Zealand, such as the ExcelL (Excellence in Cultural Experiential Learning and Leadership), and these will be discussed in Part II of this review.

In the grander scheme of things, the professional development programme of work funded by the Export Education Levy and managed by the Education New Zealand Trust provides the opportunity to support many of the professional development needs of teachers identified in this literature review.

SECTION SUMMARY

Although cross-cultural differences exist in educational traditions and expectations, there has been relatively little research undertaken on how this impacts on the classroom. Cross-cultural differences in teaching and learning styles are widespread, but evidence suggests that for the most part educators (particularly those at the tertiary level) make few, if any, changes in either the process or content of classroom activities. In many cases this lack of accommodation appears to be linked to skills deficits in mainstream educators, rather than teachers' perceptions or attitudes, and professional development initiatives have been recommended as part of best practice guidelines.

While there is considerable potential for bringing an international perspective to the classroom, and there have been examples of how this might be achieved, there has been little research on either the extent or the outcomes of such activities. Within the local context Smith and Parata (1997) commented:

Within New Zealand there have been no national surveys or studies to analyse the extent to which higher education curricula have become internationalised either in content or in form (p. 123).

Back, Davis and Olsen's (1998) research which followed reported that 19 of 34 tertiary institutions surveyed in New Zealand had strategies in place to internationalise the form and content of the curriculum; however, there has been no systematic evaluation of these initiatives. Clearly this is an area that deserves further attention.

IMPACTS AND ISSUES IN THE BROADER INSTITUTION

The positive and negative consequences of increased international students have been discussed in the literature although a limited amount of research has actually been undertaken in the area (Altbach, 1991). Benefits have been largely framed in terms of internationalising educational environments while costs have been linked to heavy demands put on institutional support services. In the first instance discussions are often rhetorical and infrequently based on empirical evidence. In the latter, research is available, though patchy, and largely limited to tertiary institutions.

One issue that has received a certain amount of attention in the literature on international education is the concern that international students may be displacing their local peers (Paffenroth, 1997). This, of course, will be dependent upon recruitment and retention policies at various institutions. In New Zealand the Education Act ensures that domestic students will not be displaced by international students and that there will be no cross-subsidy of international education by the Crown. The impact of recent changes permitting the majority of international Ph.D. students enrolled after 2005 to pay local fees, however, has not yet been evaluated.

In other countries like the United States it has been the case that in contrast to displacing domestic students, international students have been responsible for the survival of certain university programmes (Barber & Morgan, 1988). Burke (1991) has also argued that a little known benefit of international students is the extent to which they underpin research activities in Australian universities. Similar claims have been made about international students in the United Kingdom (Fenwick, 1987), and it is likely that the same could be said of specific areas of study (e.g. business) in New Zealand tertiary institutions (Scotts, personal communication).

Knight (1995) has defined internationalisation as “A process of integrating an international, intercultural dimension into teaching, research and service functions of the institution.” Although this is a distant goal in most New Zealand settings, there has been some discussion about the perceived advantages and disadvantages of internationalising. This section considers these views in addition to examining service usage by international students and issues pertaining to academic performance and achievement outcomes.

INTERNATIONALISING INSTITUTIONS: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE OUTCOMES

It is no surprise that knowledgeable observers both inside and outside the academy say that an important goal of higher education is to prepare culturally competent individuals with the ability to work effectively with people from different backgrounds...Promising approaches include creating learning environments that promote and value diversity, as well as intentionally exposing students to multiple and sometimes competing perspectives that challenge previously unexamined assumptions. When embedded in appropriate pedagogy, such challenges can promote high levels of intellectual and personal development...Thus, diversity on college campuses is not a gratuitous or idealistic goal; it is essential in order for college students to learn how to live and work effectively with others who differ from themselves (Zhao, Kuh & Carini, 2005, p. 209).

Davis, Milne and Olsen (1999) conducted a survey in Australian universities about the impact of international experience, including its influence on students, staff, teaching and learning. A number of positive outcomes were identified by respondents from 15 universities. Internationalisation of the curriculum and enhancement of personal and social development of individual students were cited as were

continuous improvement and enhanced competitiveness of the university, provision of benchmarks, increasing international networks, and enhancing the reputation and international profile of the institution.

In a Canadian report Knight (2000) found increasing commitment to the internationalisation of colleges and universities including the establishment of new organisational systems and structures, expanded recruitment efforts and the development of new institutional partnerships. Reported benefits of internationalisation entailed “new opportunities for scholarship and research for faculty and positive attitudinal change and enhanced job mobility for students” (p. 3). It is important to appreciate, however, that these claims are based on the management’s view of changes which are believed to be occurring, rather than on direct measures of change.

Institutional benefits of internationalisation, including the preparation of New Zealanders to engage effectively in the “global village,” were also cited by Back, Davis and Olsen (1998) in their review of tertiary institutions. However, this was viewed very much in terms of potential. The authors noted that there was little evidence of a widespread culture of internationalisation across the sector and that some areas, such as the provision of cross-cultural training, were deficient.

Funding for internationalisation initiatives is a common concern (Heaton & Throsby, 1998; Knight, 2000), but beyond economic considerations, a minority of researchers have expressed the belief that aspects of internationalisation bring significant costs along with benefits (Bailey, 1984). Aston (1996), for example, suggested that the growing numbers of Asian students in New Zealand schools have resulted in problems for both international and domestic students. His study of New Zealand secondary schools included the survey of 42 teachers in charge of international students. Teachers were asked about the advantages and disadvantages of

international students in their school. Increased cross-cultural exposure was cited as the major “plus” factor, and pressure arising from limited language ability cited as the most problematic issue by these teachers. A more comprehensive summary of the findings is presented below with the number of respondents to each item in parentheses.

Advantages of international students:

- Providing the opportunity for New Zealand students to be exposed to other cultures (42/42).
- Financial benefits (33/42).
- Good work habits of international students provide positive examples for New Zealand students (13/42).
- Challenges for teachers to be creative and adaptable (8/42).
- Assistance to New Zealand students in learning Asian languages (4/42).

Disadvantages of international students:

- Limited English ability leading to additional pressure on classroom teachers (16/42).
- Limited interaction between international and domestic students (14/42).
- Racial disharmony (9/42).
- Different learning styles (8/42).
- Jealousy of New Zealand students over spending power of Asian students (8/42).

In addition, Aston obtained responses from the Boards of Trustees in 38 schools who have fee-paying Asian students. The three major advantages identified by Board Members

were (in order of priority) cultural, financial and academic. Difficulties were associated with lack of intercultural interaction, extra work load generated for staff and language problems.

Comparative case studies were also undertaken by Aston with institutions in Australia and the United Kingdom. Perceived advantages and disadvantages were largely in line with the New Zealand findings with emphasis on cultural and financial benefits and concerns about language proficiency and problems with integration.

Some of these themes were also echoed in Donn and Schick's (1995) study of primary, intermediate and secondary schools in New Zealand. Language issues, cross-cultural differences in teaching styles and domestic students' perceptions of their international peers, particularly resentment over their financial assets, were seen as problematic, especially in secondary schools.

It is widely believed that the presence of international students can enrich campuses and enhance international understanding (McCollow, 1989), but there has been little systematic research to demonstrate these effects. At present it appears that the potential may be largely unrealised, and that its attainment is dependent upon directed policy development and implementation rather than the mere presence of an international body of students.

USE OF SUPPORT SERVICES

Although many educational institutions provide specialised support for international students, this section is focused on generic student services and their comparative usage by domestic and international students.

There are a number of reasons to expect that international students may place heavy demands on student services, but the evidence about actual usage is mixed. Research generally indicates that international students suffer more psychological and social distress than domestic students (Hechanova-Alampay, Beehr, Christiansen & van Horn, 2002) and that they are most likely to seek counselling for academic issues as well as emotional and self-esteem problems (Yi, Lin & Kishimoto, 2003). Sam and Eide's (1991) research with university students in Scandinavia showed that international students displayed more symptoms of depression, anxiety and psychosomatic disorders than their domestic peers. Chataway and Berry's (1989) study of Chinese students at a Canadian university similarly found that the Chinese had more psychological, social and health problems than the Canadian students, and Leung's (2001) research in Australia paralleled these findings with Chinese international students reporting more loneliness and lower academic satisfaction than their Anglo- and Southern European- Australian peers. Similarly, in the United States Lippincott and Mierzwa (1995) found that Asian undergraduates displayed more psychological symptoms of distress than American undergraduates. Although evidence of increased psychological and social distress in international students is common (Burns, 1991; Mullins, Quintrell & Hancock, 1995), these studies do not provide information on actual service usage. Indeed, there is some evidence that usage is lower than would be expected as was found in an analysis of service usage at Otago University (Scotts, 2001, personal communication).

Nilsson, Berkel, Flores and Lucas' (2004) recent study in the United States revealed that only about 2% of the international student body sought help from counselling services and that compared to local students from minority groups, internationals under-utilized the counselling centre. It has been suggested that despite psychological and social disadvantages experienced by international students, they are one of the most invisible and under-served

groups on university campuses (Mori, 2000). One reason is that international students may view counselling as an inappropriate source of support (Leong & Chou, 1996; Zhang & Dixon, 2003). Another reason is that the services are seen as lacking in cultural sensitivity (Zhang & Dixon, 2001).

Pickering and Morgan's (2004) research with international students from China in New Zealand identified ten major barriers to students commencing counselling and the achievement of positive outcomes:

- Students' tendency to internalise problems.
- Advice sought elsewhere.
- Lack of knowledge or understanding about counselling.
- An assumption of lack of confidentiality.
- Trust not established between student and counsellor.
- Shame.
- Fear of expressing emotions.
- Perceived inability to communicate needs in English.
- Perceived lack of available support.
- Perception that the advisor is not interested in the student as a person.

It is clear that international students from some regions have different expectations and preferences, including favouring counsellors of the same ethnic background (Tedeschi & Willis, 1993). For example, international students from Asia often expect counsellors to be more directive and authoritarian (Yuen & Tinsley, 1981) and have preferences for this approach (Exum & Lau, 1988). There is also evidence that international students who do attend counselling often have a lower return rate after the initial session compared to local students (Anderson & Myer, 1985). Additionally, research has shown

that international students may prefer different types and sources of social support (Bradley, Parr, Lan & Bingi, 1995; Dutke, Born, Kuhnert & Frey, 2004; Zhai, 2002). Kinoshita and Bowman (1998) found that Japanese students on U.S. campuses were less likely to seek emotional and interpersonal help than their American peers and attributed this to culturally different help-seeking preferences. While Quintrell (1992) found that international students in Australia were more likely to use counselling services than their domestic counterparts, this was more apparent in Adelaide than in Sydney and Melbourne where students were more likely to have family members in the area.

The use of counselling versus health services by international students is a contentious issue. Some have argued that while these students will consult a health care provider for physical symptoms, they will seldom accept referral to counsellors or clinicians (Aubrey, 1991) and that they generally under-utilise counselling services (Bergman & Misra, 1997; Brinson & Kottler, 1995). The pattern of service usage is likely to be affected by a number of factors including cultural conceptions of health, illness, and treatment as well as practical issues related to service accessibility. For example, Zheng and Berry's (1991) study of Chinese students in Canada found that the international students did experience poorer health than the Canadians, but that the Canadian students were more likely to believe in the importance of consulting a doctor early. Furnham and Tresize (1981), who surveyed university students in London, found that although international students experienced more psychological and psychosomatic complaints than domestic students, there was no difference in the number of doctor's visits between the two groups.

A number of dated studies in the United States has documented greater than average attendance rates at university health services by international students (e.g., Ebbin & Blankenship, 1986; Ray, 1967; Rice, 1974), and Allen

and Cole's (1987) well-designed research, which controlled for age, sex and place of residence, found that Asian students in Melbourne did consult more frequently than their Australian peers (on average 3 compared to 1.4 visits per year); however, they consulted less frequently than a comparative group at home. In addition, the elevated consulting rates of Asian students in this study were specifically related to consultations for respiratory ailments.

While there is evidence that international students may use some health services more frequently than domestic students, there is no suggestion in the research literature that the usage rates are high or that institutions have not been able to cope with demands (Essandoh, 1995). Burns (1991) has maintained that both local and international students in Australia are aware of support services although few use them. Bergman and Misra (1997) reported that counselling and career services were not frequently utilised by international students in Canada, and Abe, Talbot and Geelhoed's (1998) research in the United States found that 72% of international students reported never using the career service, 78% the counselling service, 72% the employment office, 45% the health centre and 52% student organisations. More recently, Haydon (2003) reported that only 34% of international students at their university used academic support services.

Although there is relatively little information available on membership in student associations, the few studies available suggest that international students do not widely participate in clubs and social activities on campuses. Obong's (1997) study with international students in the United States found that they saw less opportunity for involvement in campus activities than did local students. Similarly, Kaczmarek, Matlock, Merta, Ames and Ross (1994) noted that international students had less institutional attachment than local students. Chen and Chieng's (n.d.) study reported that 31% of Asian students at Lincoln and 27% of those at Canterbury were involved in

clubs and associations; however, these were most often Asian associations within the university. This is disappointing in that awareness of, participation in and satisfaction with activities and services, at least those provided by international student centres, have been associated with personal well-being in international students (Chirkov & Robertson-Frey, 2005).

One issue underlying service usage is that international students are often unaware of available services. For example, Ward and Masgoret's (2004) research found that significant numbers of students did not know if services were available at their institution: mentor programmes (40%), financial advice (38%), learning support (30%), and vocational guidance (27%). Lack of awareness was also highlighted in Zhai's (2002) report on international students in American universities.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND OUTCOMES

Scholars have suggested that a "deficit model" has been used in interpreting the experiences and performances of international students, bringing into question the level of their academic performance and its implications for educational institutions. The limited literature on this issue paints a very mixed picture. Some studies have found no significant differences in pass and distinction rates between international and local students (Ackers, 1997) while others have reported that international students perform as well or better than their local counterparts at universities (Dobson, Sharma & Calderon, 1998; Marshall & Chilton, 1995; Pauley, 1988; Williams, 1989). A British study on submission rates of doctoral theses also found that the submission rates of overseas students in the arts and humanities were higher than U.K.-domiciled students (Wright & Cochrane, 2000). In contrast, there are also studies that have suggested overseas students perform less well at university than their local counterparts (Makepeace & Baxter, 1990; Smith & Eccles, 1993).

The most systematic and comprehensive study of this issue was undertaken by Morrison, Merrick, Higgs and Le Métais (2005) in the United Kingdom based on Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) data from 1995-2000 on the class of degree obtained by undergraduate students. The results indicated that overall, fewer international students achieved first and upper second class honours degrees than British students; however, these differences were not significant across all groups. Students from the European Union, Asia, Africa and the Middle East performed less well, but those from North and South America, non-EU Europe and Australasia did not differ from U.K. students.

The study also revealed some areas in which international students excelled compared to their local counterparts. For example, overseas students in physical sciences were more likely to achieve a higher class of degree as were Japanese students in engineering and technology.

Paewai and Meyer (2004) undertook a more limited study on academic achievement in international students in the secondary and tertiary sectors in New Zealand based on data from the Ministry of Education, Tertiary Data Warehouse and NZQA's Information Services Unit. At secondary level they found that there were no differences in the percentage of international and domestic students who did not achieve the standards they undertook and only slight differences in achievement, merit and excellence levels; however, international students were less likely to pass Bursary exams. At the tertiary level, qualification rates were consistently higher for international students at universities and the same or slightly higher for those at polytechnics.

On the whole, comparisons between international and domestic students are complicated and outcomes are likely to vary as a function of nationality, course of study, level of study and other factors. However, there is no compelling evidence

to suggest that international students are underachievers and should be a concern to educational institutions.

SECTION SUMMARY

This section has considered the potential benefits of increasing international students in schools and tertiary institutions in terms of internationalising educational environments and the potential costs in terms of demands placed on support services and comparative academic outcomes. In the first instance, the literature more frequently addresses possible benefits rather than actual or perceived; however, there is some suggestion that increasing cultural awareness may result from internationalisation. In the second instance, research indicates that international students experience more problems than domestic students and in some circumstances that they make greater use of health services. The overall usage of support services is still relatively low, however, and no evidence has been located that indicates generic support services are strained by international students. Furthermore, in many instances the academic performance of international students compares favourably with that of domestic students and should not be a significant area of concern.

IMPACTS IN THE COMMUNITY

Since the 2001 literature review was completed there have been two important studies in New Zealand about international students in the community. The first study was conducted by Elsie Ho and Jenine Cooper (2005) and involved interviews with key informants in government, education, health, transport, business, community and recreational organisations in four New Zealand cities. The second was a telephone survey of over 500 New Zealand households

to assess attitudes toward and perceptions of international students within the general community. These studies will be highlighted in this section. In addition, information on prejudice and discrimination, home stays and community programmes will receive attention.

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF AND INTERACTIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

The study by Ho and Cooper (2005) had three major aims: 1) to examine how business and community sectors in Auckland, Hamilton, Christchurch and Tauranga perceive and interact with international students; 2) to explore how this may vary across centres with high, medium and low concentrations of international students; and 3) to identify issues of concern. The study revealed concerns about social integration across the four cities, with international students themselves identified as a source of blame. In addition, economic impacts of international students were recognised in Auckland, Christchurch and Hamilton, but far less so in Tauranga, with the business sector reacting most strongly to the recent decline in student numbers. Identified areas of concern included negative media portrayals of international students, provision of adequate information to students, accommodation, social integration, health and problem behaviours such as gambling. Concerns for the pastoral care of international students were more apparent in Auckland and Christchurch, which had the highest concentrations of international students.

The study by Ward and Masgoret (2005b) examined both the attitudes toward and interactions with international students by members of the community and whether these varied across centres with high, medium and low concentrations of international students. The findings revealed that perceptions were largely positive, with international students seen as intelligent and hard-working, as having admirable qualities

and as making an important contribution to New Zealand. Most New Zealanders (66%) believed that the number of international students in the country is about right although 26% thought the number was too high. The amount of contact with international students was moderate and the conditions described as positive. Nevertheless, less than half of the respondents said they would like to get to know more international students. In addition, New Zealanders perceived students from Europe and North America more favourably than those from any other region, and those from the Middle East as less favourable than all others. Community members viewed the economic impacts of international students more positively than the social impacts. Overall there was little evidence of regional variation in perceptions and attitudes.

The research indicated that increased contact with international students was associated with more positive attitudes, and Ward and Masgoret (2005b) recommended that contact should be increased through home stays, campus community links, and involving NGOs in pastoral care. Some of these recommendations are considered in greater detail in the following sections.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Although there is some suggestion that international students perceive greater discrimination in the broader community than at their educational institutions, this is only partially supported by empirical evidence. Burke (1997) surveyed international students at the University of New South Wales (Sydney) and commented that students experienced lower levels of personal discrimination on campus, but were subjected to “some racial harassment of an impersonal and anonymous kind” off campus. Mullins, Quintrell and Hancock (1995) quantified this in their study of university students in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne. Ten per cent of the students in this study found off campus prejudice and discrimination

to be a serious problem and 54% saw it as a minor problem. This is similar to 7% and 52%, respectively, on campus. More recently, the Ward and Masgoret (2004) report on the national survey of international students in New Zealand found that 41% experienced unfair treatment “sometimes” to “very often” from members of the community. This was more common in Asian students compared to those from ESANA countries. Furthermore, 34% thought international students OFTEN experienced discrimination in New Zealand, and only 46% agreed that New Zealanders have positive attitudes toward international students. Despite these perceptions, the household survey revealed very little evidence of negative responses to international students. For example, only 8% of New Zealanders agreed that the more they learn about international students, the less they like them (Ward & Masgoret, 2005b). Conversely, there appears that there is considerable room for improvement in integrating international students into the local community.

HOME STAYS

Studies with tertiary students suggest that major support networks are found within the educational setting and that there is relatively superficial contact with members of the larger community. Only 7.6% of the 224 Asian students in Chen and Chieng’s (n.d.) study were lodged in home stays and only 20% were involved in local clubs or associations.

Home stays are more central to the experience of secondary school students, and both McFedries’ (2001) and Aston’s (1996) studies suggest that they are often a source of significant distress. Almost half (46%) of the Asian students in Aston’s research changed their home stays. Frequently cited reasons were: problems with home stay families and location of premises. Unhappiness over home stays was commonly mentioned as an area of concern by Asian parents. McFedries

concluded that adequate support was not available for Asian secondary students in Christchurch and that home stays were often problematic.

More recent research by Ward and Masgoret (2004), however, painted a different picture. The national survey found that home stays were common for secondary (75%) and private language students (43%) although less so for students enrolled in tertiary institutions (25%). Despite the “bad press” home stays have received, students in home stays evaluated their accommodation more positively than those in flats or hostels. On the whole, students were satisfied with their home stays, particularly with their relationship with their home-stay family, described as very or extremely satisfying by 62% of the respondents. Despite this high level of satisfaction, the frequency of interaction with home-stay family members was relatively low with 70% of students indicating that they interact no more than 10 hours per week and 12% claiming the interaction was less than one hour weekly. One of the most unanticipated findings of the research was that 83% of the students reported that there were no problems in their home stays, and of those who cited difficult issues, such as freedom, privacy, food, and overcrowding, in no case was this was apparent in more than 1% of the students in home-stay care.

Home stays are important as they offer social support and learning opportunities for international students and assist in their social integration into the larger community. The social integration function of home stays was highlighted in Maundeni’s (2001) study of African students in Great Britain; the positive outcomes in terms of informal teaching was described by Fobes (2005) with international students in Peru; and the benefits for language learning was discussed in Walker’s (2001) study of TESOL students in New Zealand. Home stays also offer benefits to the local family members. Kendall-Smith and Rich’s (2003) study of home stays found that these arrangements were a significant source

of satisfaction for family members, particularly in terms of cultural enrichment, intellectual stimulation and social contact. It has frequently been suggested that international student exchanges involving host families help to foster cross-cultural awareness in the community (Jardine, 1990), but there has been no systematic evaluation of these claims.

Despite the importance of home-stay arrangements for both international students and members of the local communities, very little is known about the characteristics of a “successful” home-stay, the selection and matching criteria, and the long term impact on host families. It is recognised, however, that home-stay families often require training and support to function effectively (Kendall-Smith & Rich, 2003) although these resources are often unavailable. Based on their research with home-stay families in Spain and Mexico, Knight and Schmidt-Rinehart (2002) have advocated orientation programmes and on-going support for families who host overseas students.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

The literature includes some examples of community outreach programmes that utilise international students for special events such as International Day, student sponsored workshops, Global Week, international food fests, school presentations and even community service programmes such as voluntary work in nursing homes and alternative schools (Allameh, 1996; Ebert & Burnett, 1993; Hochhauser, 1990; Paige, 1990). Although it is suggested that these strengthen international awareness in the host community, there has been no systematic evaluation of these activities to document the claims.

In New Zealand Ho and Cooper (2005) have described effective initiatives for international students in Auckland, Christchurch, Hamilton and Tauranga. In Auckland this has included

an International Students Services Centre at the Citizen’s Advice Bureau that provides free “one stop” information and advice to international students. As the service is staffed by international student volunteers, it is able to offer bilingual and cultural support. Beyond this, there have also been moves in Auckland to refocus services provided by Youthtown and extend these to international students.

In Christchurch, Operation Friendship, formed in 1991, acts as a befriending service to international students who are linked to Kiwi hosts. The programme offers the opportunity for international students to meet hosts on a regular basis with social and cultural benefits as well as the opportunity to practice and improve English. In addition, the Asian Youth Trust, originally formed to assist migrant youth, has been extended to service international students, providing information, building networks and offering recreational activities. The Trust is also sometimes active in mediating between international students and their educational institutions.

In both Hamilton and the Tauranga area, Volunteering Waikato and Volunteering Bay of Plenty have been active in recruiting international students for voluntary community activities, which can facilitate their learning about New Zealand as well as improve their English proficiency. As in other instances, however, the outcomes of these initiatives and their benefits for international students and the wider community have not been systematically evaluated.

SECTION SUMMARY

The relationship between international students and the communities in which they reside has attracted some discussion in the international education literature, but little research. Despite the need to learn more about the dynamics

of these interactions, most investigations of cross-national relations have been confined to educational institutions. This trend clearly merits further attention, particularly given that for some international students (e.g., those in English language schools), the wider community, rather than the educational environment, provides the major point of contact with host nationals.

In the main very little is known about the integration of international students into the larger community. Research is inconclusive as to whether prejudice and discrimination encountered there are more problematic than within the educational setting. Home stays have been suggested to offer the opportunity for fostering intercultural relations and increasing intercultural understanding, and this deserves greater attention in future research. Positive aspects of community programmes have also been described in the literature; however, these have largely been developed and reported on in an ad hoc fashion and have not been systematically evaluated.



Fostering cohesion and enhancing international understanding

STRATEGIES FOR ENHANCING SOCIAL COHESION

A campus cannot simply recruit a critical mass of international students; it must also arrange its resources so that international and American (local) students benefit in desired ways from one another's presence... Thus, any efforts to increase the number of international students on a campus must also be accompanied by programmes and services that induce these students and their American (local) counterparts to engage with one another... (Zhao, Kuh & Carini, 2005, p. 225).

Research has shown that the presence of international students, even in large numbers, is insufficient in itself to promote intercultural interactions, to develop intercultural friendships and to result in international understanding. Rather, situations must be structured to foster these processes. Research has also shown that students, both local and international, perceive it is the responsibility of educational institutions to increase and enhance intercultural interactions (Smart, Volet & Ang, 2000). This section reviews some strategies that have been used, evaluated and proven to foster positive intercultural perceptions and relations.

PEER-PAIRING PROGRAMMES

Peer-pairing or “buddy” systems are one of the most frequently adopted schemes to assist international students to adapt to their new environments. They have been used for the general international student population (e.g., Quintrell & Westwood, 1994), for students on specific courses (Bigelow, 1996) and for English as a second language students (Blakely, 1995). On the whole, these schemes are strongly advocated by international students (Alexander & Shaw, 1991) and appear to be very effective. Abe, Talbot and Geelhoed (1998) found that international students who participated in peer

programmes were better adjusted socially than those who did not. Quintrell and Westwood (1994) reported that peer-paired international students appear better integrated into their educational environment and are more likely to make use of institutional support services.

Peer programmes are frequently used to facilitate intercultural interactions. Research by Westwood and Barker (1990), who implemented and evaluated peer-pairing programmes in Australia and Canada, provides an example of this. In their research local peers were recruited and trained in a range of roles: cultural interpreters, facilitators and information givers, referral agents, confidants and friends. Participating students met minimally twice a month, and common types of contact involved study skills, accessing facilities and services, family invitations, travel, sport and recreation, entertainment, social activities, and referrals. Programme evaluations confirmed that international students who chose to participate in the peer-pairing had higher academic averages across three years of university study. They also had a stronger preference for interacting with local students than those who had not participated in the programme. It should be noted, however, that pre-participation indicators of academic performance and social interactions were not taken before the peer-pairing commenced, and as students chose to participate in the scheme, rather than having been randomly assigned to conditions, the possibility that pre-existing differences contributed to the findings cannot be eliminated.

Unfortunately this study did not report the effects of peer-pairing programmes on domestic students although Westwood, Lawrance and McBlane (1986) described anticipated long and short term benefits for hosts in an earlier paper, and Quintrell (2001, personal communication) suggested that the effects may be even more positive for local than international students. Suggested benefits include: increased cultural awareness and sensitivity, establishment of

international friendships, and opportunities for future work, travel and study abroad. Some of these suggestions appear to be borne out in research by Legge and Allemeh. Legge's study at Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (cited in Smart, Volet and Ang, 2000) reported that the most commonly expressed outcome of their peer-pairing programme was greater social contact among students. Allameh's (1996) report on peer programmes set up for both secondary and tertiary students documented a wide range of positive comments from the local students.

The experience was very rewarding to me because it gave me the chance to experience a different culture first hand (p. 15).

I realise for the first time that all the ideas and concepts that I have learned about other cultures are not just stories but actual facts. I think that even though I have talked about cultural differences in some of my classes, I never really stopped to realise what I was learning is going on in the present (p. 15).

The American way is not the only way to do things. Our way is not always better! (p.15).

In some instances peer-pairing has been found to have course-specific effects for domestic students. Bigelow's (1996) description of a peer-pairing programme for second and third year MBA students found that one of the most significant advantages noted by local students was an insight into cross-cultural management. In addition to an increase in specific knowledge areas, it has been suggested that peer-pairing can also have psychological benefits for its participants. Kennedy and Dewars (1997) noted that local peers assumed an important role in the educational system and suggested that assisting NESB students may positively affect self-esteem. Black (1993) similarly noted that local students appreciated

the opportunity to act as peer tutors and appraised the activity as a valuable learning experience.

COOPERATIVE LEARNING

The low levels of intercultural contact in social domains is largely reflected in classroom activities. Although culturally mixed groups offer the opportunity for increased contact and intercultural learning, research reveals that these types of groups rarely form spontaneously. Volet and Ang's (1998) research in an Australian university suggests that Australians prefer low levels of contact with Asian students- despite the positive outcomes of such interactions.

To explore the outcomes of cooperative learning in culturally diverse groups Volet and Ang interviewed 40 second year business students who participated in group projects. These students were required to complete two assignments in self-selected groups of up to four students. Two groups were composed of Australian students only and three of international students. Although six groups were mixed, they were constituted more by "chance than choice," with students generally missing the previous tutorial where the groups were originally formed.

After completion of assignments students participated in focus group discussions about culturally mixed groups and any changes experienced in those conditions. Both Australian and international students initially preferred working in "their own" groups. This was due to four major reasons:

- cultural connectedness
- language
- pragmatism
- negative stereotypes.

The following comments reflect these themes.

Sometimes it's easier to talk to people who come from the same country (p. 10).

Sometimes we don't understand what they are saying and sometimes they don't understand what we are saying (p. 13).

We don't have families here so we can spend much more time studying (p. 13).

I believe they have great ideas but no motivation to work (p. 13).

After working in culturally mixed groups, however, students realised their stereotyped views, that cultural differences may not be as important as individual differences, and that misperceptions can be corrected. As indicated by an Australian student's comment:

With opportunities to work together, perceptions change (p. 16).

Despite these positive outcomes, Australian students were not ready to be proactive in seeking mixed group activities. Their comments largely reflected a willingness but not a strong interest in working with international students.

I would not go out of my way to work with them, but I would not avoid it (p. 17).

Coughlan's (1996) qualitative study of students in a TAFE college in Western Australia was a bit more encouraging.

Students appeared comfortable with culturally mixed group work. As expressed by one Australian student:

We have had group activities where we are mixed up and things have worked fine so I think it was good that teachers did it like that (p. 13).

Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) reported similar results. In their research 17 students (8 international and 9 local) at Murdoch University were interviewed, and most expressed positive attitudes about working in culturally mixed groups.

It's a good idea to have group work where people mix. It gives you different perspectives, and ideas of how people think and behave. Widens your ways of thinking. It is a valuable experience, a part of learning (p. 37).

However, it is interesting to note that the local students in this research were selected on the basis of their appointment as student representatives in the Student Residential Village; therefore, they already experienced a reasonably high level of contact with international students. Indeed, there is wider evidence to suggest that cross-cultural experience is generally associated with positive attitudes toward participating in culturally mixed groups. Volet's (1999) study found that Australian students with experience of "crossing cultural borders" were more likely to be found in spontaneously occurring mixed groups. More specifically, 64% of Australians found in these groups had bicultural backgrounds compared to only 8% in the Australian only groups.

Despite the general resistance to working in culturally mixed groups, there is considerable evidence that this practice produces positive academic and social benefits. This evidence, however, has been derived primarily from research on teaching and learning in culturally diverse classes within

single societies (within society contact) rather than in classes of international and domestic students (between society contact) and in primary and secondary schools rather than in tertiary settings (Ward & Rzoska, 1994). First, there is strong evidence that cooperative learning in culturally mixed groups produces higher levels of academic achievement across ability groups (Lucker, Rosenfield, Sikes & Aronson, 1976; Slavin & Oickle, 1981). Secondly, cooperative groups enhance cross-ethnic friendships (Wiegel, Wisner & Cook, 1975; Cooper, Johnson, Johnson, & Wilderson, 1980). Rzoska and Ward (1991), for example, found more intercultural friendship choices among Maori and Samoan children who had been exposed to cooperative rather than competitive group learning conditions in Christchurch schools. Ziegler (1981) documented improvements in intercultural relations among Canadian children of Anglo, Italian, Chinese, Greek and West Indian heritage. In addition, Warring, Johnson, Maruyama and Johnson's (1985) research found that relationships formed under cooperative learning conditions extended to other social activities at school.

Shachar and Amir (1996) have discussed the effectiveness of cooperative learning, which they refer to as a "school integration approach" in contrast with conventional teaching methods and in relation to the contact theory of intergroup relations. They argue that more traditional teaching is often based on an assumption of "sameness" where diversity (cultural, ethnic or ability) is frequently perceived as an impediment to academic progress. Such an approach advocates initial assessment of students' abilities, followed by assignment to ability groups, and adapting subject material, usually presented in traditional frontal type of whole-class instruction. In contrast to this, the integration approach is based on the assumption that diversity constitutes an opportunity for student and teacher enrichment. The teaching methods adopted are informed by contact theory that requires intergroup interactions to be characterised by:

- equal status contact
- cooperation
- meaningful and involved participation
- activities sanctioned by the relevant authorities
- satisfaction with the situation experienced by participants (p. 404).

The cooperative learning strategy generally includes the following features:

- classrooms divided into small heterogeneous groups which constitute the learning units
- students interact directly with one another
- interaction includes mutual cooperation, assistance and exchange of ideas in pursuit of a common goal
- small groups assume responsibility for selecting, planning, implementing and presenting learning outcomes (p. 404, see Sharan, 1994, for a full range of cooperative learning methods).

These conditions fulfil the requirements of the contact theory as illustrated in Table 3.

Given the analysis offered by Sachar and Amir it is apparent that cooperative learning methods hold great potential for enhancing academic performance and increasing social cohesion among international and domestic students. Fortunately, the New Zealand curriculum includes social and cooperative skills among the specified eight essential skills for students and advocates working cooperatively to achieve common goals (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 19).

TABLE 3. Comparison between Two Educational Approaches based on the Contact Theory of Intergroup Relations (Sachar & Amir, 1996, p. 405)

	I	II
Contact Conditions	Assessment-Assignment- Adoption	Cooperative Learning
Equal Status	Absent: Students assigned to ability groups according to academic level	Present: All groups share same activity
Cooperation	Absent: Prevailing instructional method fosters competition	Present: All groups share same activity
Meaningful situation	Often absent: Learning tasks are routine and imposed by teacher	Often present: Students are empowered to make choices and decisions
Support by authorities	Absent when school authorities employ a policy of tracking and ability grouping	Present when school adopts instructional methods supporting cooperation
Satisfaction	Depends on chance factors such as an unusual teacher	Present: Students manage their own behaviour

More recently there has been some discussion of collaborative learning in the international and multicultural education literature. Crosling and Martin (2005) have related it to the broader framework of curriculum internationalisation and placed emphasis on the role of collaborative learning in culturally sensitive problem solving and equipping students with the skills to function successfully in a global workplace. According to Crosling and Martin, collaborative learning is always cooperative, but it goes further in that it requires students to confront issues of power in the learning process. It has also been described as student-focused in contrast to cooperative learning which is focused more specifically on outcomes or educational products.

For successful outcomes, collaborative learning requires significant preparation. Students must be informed of the purpose and objectives; collaborative activities should be placed in a broader context of multiple approaches to teaching and learning; the role of culture in communication and interactions should be discussed and explained; in addition to making students aware that culture influences the way in which people acquire and process information and knowledge. Crosling and Martin recommend that teachers make the selection for culturally diverse groups both as a means of bringing diverse groups together and achieving an effective mix. Unfortunately, the authors can only conclude with a statement that “Collaborative learning activities in

the curriculum have the potential to foster both students' and teaching staff members' intercultural and international literacy" (p.146) as no evaluation of the techniques was conducted.

Whether group work is described as collaborative or cooperative, there is often resistance from local students to participate in these activities. A British survey revealed that students were reluctant to engage in group work with a mix of local and overseas students, particularly when the work was assessed (Ledwith, Lee, Manfredi & Wildish, 1998). There were strong preferences for working with students like themselves and in mono-cultural group settings. Furthermore, there was a particular concern that an individual average mark would be pulled down by mixed group work and impact negatively on their final degree classification. Although this issue has not been widely researched, these views are implicit in Volet and Ang's (1998) study of Australian students.

To address this issue, De Vita (2002) examined data from a large cohort of first year business students at a British university. Analysis revealed that the performance of culturally mixed groups is neither a function of the individual ability of the least able group member nor the average ability of group members. Rather, the outcome is most likely to reflect the ability of the most able group members. Furthermore, his study showed that "assessed multicultural group work has, on average, a positive, rather than negative effect on the individual mark of all students" (p. 153).

In conclusion, cooperative learning has been advocated for international and domestic students (van der Wende, 1997) on the basis of sound and consistent research findings from multicultural classrooms within various countries (e.g., United States, New Zealand). There is also evidence that students who participate in these groups are advantaged, rather than disadvantaged, academically by assessment. However, there

have been no systematic evaluations of broader outcomes of cooperative programmes, including the suggestions that they counter ethnocentrism in educational institutions, prepare students for the global workplace, enhance cultural understanding and appreciation and challenge cultural stereotypes (De Vita, 2002). This should receive attention in future research with international and domestic students here and abroad.

RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMMES

University residences offer opportunities for social interaction and friendship formation although studies have shown that close proximity does not necessarily lead to close relationships (Nesdale & Todd, 1993). Intervention strategies have proven more effective. Along these lines, Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) have described Murdoch University's initiatives in their Student Village. Students who are admitted to the residence are assigned to 6-8 bedroom flats with shared common room, kitchen and bathrooms. The flats are mixed by race, gender and nationality, and students are required to accept assignment rather than choosing their own flatmates. Despite initial uneasiness about these arrangements, students reported long term friendship formation, removal of racial stereotypes and social cohesion. Although the students acknowledged that they would not have voluntarily selected these culturally mixed groups at the outset, they are nonetheless more receptive to forming friendships in the early stages of their university careers (Volet & Ang, 1998). Indeed, other studies have shown that, at least for international students, first impressions are important, relate to attitudes toward members of the host culture, and predict the amount and patterns of social interaction (Foley & Clawson, 1988).

The best documentation of effective interventions in residential settings has been provided by Todd and Nesdale (1997) in their work in an Australian university. One hundred

and forty-seven students (78 international and 69 local) participated in their research with 76 of these students exposed to the experimental residential programme. Three areas of student life were targeted for promoting interaction: the orientation programme, college tutorials and floor group activities. In addition, to facilitate incidental contact approximately equal numbers of international and domestic students were assigned to each wing of each floor of the college residence.

Seven months later students in four residential colleges were administered questionnaires to assess their intercultural contact, knowledge and acceptance. Significant differences emerged between Australian students who resided in the college with the experimental programme compared to students who resided in other colleges. Although all colleges had a similar mix of domestic and international students, Australian students from the experimental residence were more likely to engage generally in intercultural contact and to interact more frequently with international students in connection with assignments, leisure pursuits, and travel. They were more knowledgeable about intercultural issues, and they were more interested in taking part in future activities designed to promote intercultural interactions. Australian students in the experimental programme also maintained that intercultural friendships are more important, that they more frequently attempted intercultural friendships and that they had more success in forming these friendships.

Despite the positive effects of the residential programme on Australian students, there were no significant differences between the international students in the four residences. This may be partially influenced by their pre-contact attitudes as studies have shown that in general international students have greater interests in interacting with local students than vice versa (Nesdale & Todd, 1993). If this is the case, this study would suggest that intervention strategies such as these are

more effective in eliciting change in apathetic than motivated students.

In discussion of their work Todd and Nesdale (1997) argue that three factors were critical for the success of the intervention, and these should be borne in mind by educators and administrators. First, the programme is based on the assumption that “the more an intervention programme overlaps or coincides with the full range of a student’s daily routine...., the more likely it is to be successful” (pp. 71-72). Second, the success of such programmes is dependent upon the skills and commitment of student leaders and support persons. And third, the programme’s success is dependent upon the positive involvement and active participation of the students themselves.

TRAINING PROGRAMMES: EXCELL

The Excell (Excellence in Cultural Experiential Learning and Leadership) programme is a skills-based, practice-oriented, experiential learning programme designed to improve cross-cultural competencies. The programme is based on established principles of learning, including observational learning and modelling, to enhance social effectiveness. Although the programme has been used most frequently with international students and immigrants, its structure and delivery methods make it suitable for anyone involved in intercultural interactions, including local students.

Characteristics of the programme include:

- Bicultural trainers, that is, trainers from both the “mainstream” culture to authenticate host culture norms and behaviours and from a “non-dominant” cultural background to provide a credible role model for participants.

- Training in basic social competencies: seeking help and information; participating in a group; making social contact and conversation; seeking and giving feedback; expressing disagreement and refusing a request.
- Facilitating the rehearsal and retention of competencies through the construction of cultural maps that describe effective ways of behaving in specific social situations.
- Incorporating observation, modelling, feedback, and practice into the learning process.
- Increasing self-confidence and self-efficacy through skills acquisition.
- Delivering training over several sessions to allow for intervening practice in real life social situations.

What distinguishes the ExcelL programme from many other training alternatives is the rigorous evaluation studies that have been conducted on its outcomes. Not only has this included a collection of course evaluations, but also systematic comparisons between students, both international and domestic, who have and have not completed the ExcelL programme. Research findings converge to document an increase in cross-ethnic friendships, higher levels of social self-efficacy, better social skills, and reduction in social avoidance (Mak, Barker, Logan & Millman, 1999; Mak & Buckingham, 2005). ExcelL evaluation studies have been conducted in Australia (Mak & Buckingham, 2005), New Zealand (Daly & Brown, 2004), Canada (Wong, 2001) and the United Kingdom (Mak et al., 1999).

SECTION SUMMARY AND POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION

This section has reviewed four strategies that have been used to enhance intercultural relations between international and domestic students: peer-pairing, cooperative learning, residential programmes and ExcelL training. Varying degrees of success have been reported in evaluation studies.

Peer programmes are used to assist international students to adapt to a new cultural and educational environment. They have also been used successfully to increase intercultural interactions. An important point for consideration, however, is that peer interactions should involve equal status contact. If programmes are set up to place local students in the expert or donor role and international students in the learner or recipient role, the programmes are less likely to empower the international student and to enhance intergroup relations. It is important for international students to contribute something tangible to the interactive process. Whether their contribution is framed as cultural informant, language teacher or some other role, it is essential that their contribution can be recognised by both parties.

Cooperative learning in group settings has also been found to enhance intergroup relations although much of the evidence for this has been taken from research on heterogeneous within-society groups. The conditions for fostering social cohesion in these groups meet the criteria specified by the contact hypothesis, and the strategy shows good potential for use with international and domestic students. However, more research should be undertaken to ensure that the positive effects of cooperative learning will extend to these groups. There are reasons to believe that cooperative methods are more familiar to and comfortable for members of certain cultures than others (Ward & Rzoska, 1994) and the strength of positive effects may vary between domestic and international

students as they have been shown to vary in majority and minority children (Conoley & Conoley, 1983).

Residential programmes have also been used to foster social cohesion among domestic and international students. Unfortunately, the only in-depth description of how this has been achieved has been provided by Todd and Nesdale (1997). They have also relied upon elements of the contact theory to guide the development of their programme, which involved both goal oriented tutorials and recreational activities. The significance of their study is that contact in residential halls extended into other contact situations, increasing intercultural knowledge and friendships more generally. One clear advantage of residential programmes is that they may be implemented in the earliest stages of transition to a new educational institution. This is a period at which students are most receptive to forming new friendships. This point should also be borne in mind in developing orientation programmes with a particular view to bringing domestic and local students together for these activities, at least for a portion of the programmes (Mullins, Quintrell & Hancock, 1995).

The Excell programme has also demonstrated effectiveness in enhancing intercultural relations both with domestic and international students. Major issues in this case are linked to the implementation of the programme, which requires not only the proper training for Excell facilitators but also institutional endorsement of the programme. Excell may be linked to existing courses or offered as an optional programme through student learning support or residence halls. In short, this programme requires institutional commitment, including funding.

Overall, there is some material available about intervention schemes that promote social cohesion, and there is theory that may guide us in programme development; however, there is very little information available that is based on the

development, implementation and evaluation of programmes specifically designed for domestic and international students in schools and tertiary institutions. In that regard, Smart, Volet and Ang (2000) have accurately summarised the state of the art:

We have some ideas about programmes in a range of domains that seem to foster increased social interaction. However, in very few cases do we have rigorous evaluations or detailed case studies which could help us establish the underlying principles and dynamics that would be likely to enable design and implementation of more universally applicable initiatives (p. 49).



Recommendations and conclusions

Despite an extensive cross-cultural literature on the experiences, problems and patterns of adaptation of international students (see Ward, 2001; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001), there is substantially less information available on their impact on domestic students, host institutions and the wider communities in which they reside. Studies of intercultural interactions have shown that the amount of spontaneous contact between international and domestic students is low, although positive outcomes of this contact have been documented. There is considerable discussion in international education about the benefits presumed to arise as a natural consequence of the increasing presence of international students; however, this is founded more on opinion than on empirical evidence. In most cases interventions are required to maximise the benefits of internationalisation, and although the outcomes appear promising, there have been few well-planned evaluations to confirm this. When research is available, it is based almost exclusively in universities and is focused more frequently on international students than their domestic peers. What is clearly needed is more research on local students, multicultural classrooms and institutions, and even the broader community. Recent initiatives in New Zealand have only dented the surface of these complex issues. In addition, well designed programme evaluations must be conducted. Only with research directed in these ways can we make confident conclusions about the impact of international students on their domestic peers, their host institutions and their surrounding communities.

The abundance of rhetorical discussion and large gaps in empirical investigations identified by this review indicate that there is the opportunity for innovative researchers to establish themselves as leaders in the field. Although New Zealand is small and has far fewer international students than the United States, Great Britain and Australia, the ratio of international students to domestic students, particularly in secondary schools, is relatively high, and the consequences

of internationalisation are likely to make a proportionally greater impact on our local schools and communities. With the numbers of international students expected to increase, concerted efforts to foster impact and evaluation research in New Zealand would be timely. Indeed, New Zealand has an excellent opportunity to establish its international education programmes and policies as some of the first that clearly reflect evidence-based practice.

RESEARCH PRIORITIES

At the outset of this document, five key questions were identified for review:

- *What is the nature of the interactions and relationships between international and domestic students?*
- *What are the impacts of international students on teaching, learning and classroom practices?*
- *What are the academic and non-academic impacts of international students on the host institutions, including impacts on infra-structures and educational outcomes?*
- *What is the nature of the interaction and relationships between international students and host communities?*
- *What are the conditions under which the positive benefits of internationalisation are most likely to be realised?*

In order for these questions to be answered confidently, the following research should receive priority attention:

- **Research in the classroom.** *This can assist with understanding classroom dynamics, the impact of international students on teaching and learning, communication in the classroom and the impact of cultural*

inclusiveness in the classroom on academic and non-academic outcomes for international and domestic students.

- **Research with teachers.** *This can assist in establishing the extent (if any) of change that has occurred in educational process and content introduced by teachers, as a result of increasing international students. The research may also address the challenges presented by the multicultural classroom and issues relating to teachers' skills, performance and professional development needs.*
- **Research within institutions.** *This can assist with identifying the optimal ratio between international and domestic students for both positive academic and social outcomes. This is a priority issue not only for each educational institution, but also for the industry more widely.*
- **Research with home stay families.** *This can provide information not only on the problems, but also on the positive outcomes of hosting international students. Impact on both students and host families should be examined as well as research on selection or successful matching of international students and hosts. Training and/or support needs of host families should also be investigated.*
- **Research within the community.** *This can assist with a better understanding of the social and cultural impacts of international students in the community. Although some research has begun in this area, more studies are needed.*
- **Experimental lab or classroom-based studies.** *These should include the experimental investigation of specific techniques that may enhance intercultural interactions, perceptions or relations. Studies of this type are generally small scaled and self-contained but designed to be generalised to the broader educational setting.*
- **Evaluation studies of intervention strategies.** *This refers to real life interventions with international and domestic*

students in their natural educational environment. If interventions are undertaken, it is important to examine their effectiveness empirically, rather than merely reporting selected observations. The development, implementation and evaluation of interventions should receive the highest priority.

- **Longitudinal studies.** *These studies may relate to any of the above topics, but longitudinal studies are useful for establishing and monitoring trend data. They can also be used to examine if changes resulting from various interventions continue over time.*
- **Regular review of relevant literature.** *The vast body of accumulating research requires regular review and synthesis for policy development and planning. This permits us to monitor the progress of research, reflect on its quality and application, and to make recommendations for future studies. Particular attention should be paid to New Zealand research.*

A NOTE ON INTERVENTIONS

Research has clearly shown that the presence of international students alone is insufficient to promote intercultural interactions and friendship formation or to induce significant changes in educational process and content. Intervention strategies are required to achieve these outcomes. Theory and research on intergroup interactions have demonstrated that contact per se does not always lead to improved relations. Rather, experimental social psychological research and field studies have identified specific factors that lead to the enhancement of intergroup perceptions and relations. These include equal status contact and cooperative activities directed towards a common, meaningful, and mutually

beneficial goal. These findings should be borne in mind when designing strategic interventions. It has also been suggested that intervention strategies should encompass a wide range of student activities and those that permeate multiple facets of student life.

Laboratory based studies are particularly useful for examining single or specific aspects of intervention programmes and their effects. Consequently, this type of research provides a sound base for the design of intervention programmes.

When a whole programme has been designed and is ready for implementation, it is extremely important for the programme to be accompanied by an evaluation study. In most instances this should include pre- and post testing of programme participants as well as comparisons between students who have and have not participated in the programme. Only under these circumstances can researchers be confident that changes which occur have been caused by the intervention.

CONCLUSION

The number of international students in New Zealand has been increasing, and the economic benefits of export education are considerable. Less is known, however, about the social, educational and cultural implications of internationalisation. This review has considered five key questions related to the impact of international students on domestic students, educational institutions and the wider community. This has included changes in educational process and content, comparative usage of institutional support services by domestic and international students, the relationships between international students, domestic students and the wider community, and the conditions

under which the benefits of internationalisation can be maximised. Although empirical evidence is patchy, it is clear that the desired outcomes of internationalisation do not occur spontaneously and that strategic interventions are required to maximise the benefits. Priority research areas have been identified to assist with this process. It is also recognised that with a growing international student population, New Zealand has an excellent opportunity to emerge as a leader in these research endeavours.



About the author

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