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INTERNATIONALIZATION AND COLLEGE REFORM IN CANADA: A Critical Policy Analysis of Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton in the 1990s

by

Denise DeLong 

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

in

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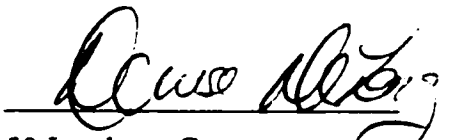

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Dr. Jerrold Kachur, Supervisor

Dr. Alison Taylor

Dr. Jacques P. E. Hurabielle

May 30 - 2001

Date

I dedicate this thesis to Joyce and Keith DeLong and Leona Landry
(affectionately known as Ma, Pa & Grom) with all my love and thanks for their faith and unconditional love.

Abstract

Using critical discourse analysis and policy analysis, this thesis examines, compares, and explains processes of internationalization in two distinct post-secondary institutions in Canada: Grant MacEwan College (Edmonton, Alberta) and University College of Cape Breton (Sydney, Nova Scotia). Ideological shifts toward internationalization for economic competitiveness in the last decade focus attention on elite global markets over less advantaged local communities. A review of substantive literature and critical methodology reveals deepening divisions between international and multicultural frameworks contributing to structural inequalities. A broader historical framework analyzes governmental and neo-liberal influences and a textual discourse analysis deconstructs language "slippage" in internationalization rhetoric used to legitimate educational agendas for profit. Finally, it identifies some inconsistencies in internalization policy highlighting issues of access and stratification and links them to critical multiculturalism, human capital and educational reproduction theories. This thesis recommends alternatives, including increased attention to humanistic educational values amid internalization initiatives.

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To simply say "thank-you" to all the people who facilitated this journey would be insufficient. First, I sincerely thank my supervisor Dr. Jerry Kachur for his support and encouragement for better writing and critical questioning. I already miss the political conversations that usually started and ended our meetings and I am so grateful for all the time he spent seeing me through this process. I was also blessed to meet Dr. Alison Taylor whose instruction and subsequent conversations spawned new ideas and inspired me to start asking the questions I needed to ask. Dr. Jacques Hurabielle rounded out the excellent committee and his insight throughout the latter stages of the writing is greatly appreciated.

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In finding my feet, I leaned on and learned from my colleagues and dear friends, who became one in the same, Bev Lemoine, Terry Selikow and David Wu. I love them like rappie pie. Thank you Martin Levinson and Norma Davis for reading those painful early drafts and Nancy Thimot and Maureen Ryan for their long-distance love and support. Finally, again, thank you with all heart to my mother, father, grandmother, and Pat, who prayed for me and cheered me on. They promised me that the light at the end of the tunnel was definitely not a train, and as always, they were right.

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CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Canadian public colleges have experienced considerable expansion and growth over the last decade. Although, historically, publicly funded colleges sprang up to serve their local geographic communities, technology, combined with distance education, has dramatically increased capacity for training students in areas far from the "mother" college. No longer limited to just providing diplomas or certificates, some colleges such as Grant MacEwan College (GMC) have succeeded in gaining degree-granting status or new "applied degree" programs that expand study into the workplace (GMCC Accessibility Plan, 1999). As well, other colleges and technical institutes have merged to create "university colleges" such as, the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB). In both institutions, the term "internationalization" has been appearing regularly as part of an institutional vision that encourages "global" or "outward-looking" perspectives.

The process of internationalization in colleges is not a new phenomenon, but the increasing demand to internationalize has gained momentum in many educational arenas (Knight, 1996). So topical is "internationalization" in education that Ellingboe (1997) calls it an " academic megatrend" (p. 1). According to the literature, the term "internationalization" is used to describe a myriad of activities, processes, directions, initiatives and trends that are found in post-secondary institutions (Knight, 1994; Patrick, 1997). These directives are often housed in an international "centre," which tackles areas such as internationalization of curriculum, faculty development, student exchanges and business partnerships (Hurabielle, 1998). While community colleges and university colleges vary in their international expertise according to size, age, and budget allotted for internationalization, most Canadian colleges share a keen interest in expanding and competing in the global "market place" (Hurabielle, 1998; Knight, 1994).

Historically, colleges have actively participated in international development activities which offer "assistance" to poorer countries. But the past decade has seen more competition to recruit international students as well as to partner with international business ventures. Higgins and Schugurensky (1996) describe this "market" model of

international education as a shift from "aid" to "trade." In other words, the driving interests are more economic than humanistic. Therefore, this study seeks *to describe, compare, analyze and explain these shifts in internationalization in two Canadian institutions, Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton* and to recommend *realistic policy changes* and *institutional reform.*

The terms "internationalization" and "globalization" are sometimes used interchangeably, but the former is more commonly used in the context of education. To introduce the term by way of Knight's definition (1994), internationalization of higher education is

> the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a university or college. An international dimension means a perspective, activity or service which introduces or integrates an international/intercultural/global outlook into the major functions of an institution of higher education (p. 3).

Her definition (1994) also provides a launching point for an extensive examination of approaches, rationale/motivations, academic activities and services, principles, strategies and organizational factors detailed in her report to the Canadian Bureau of International Education. [1]

In the next chapter, I explore several definitions that begin to reveal institutional philosophies on internationalization, but for now I offer a personal definition to set the context for this study. Internationalization is a reciprocal process of a college looking outward to learn from international perspectives but at the same time bringing those international perspectives back to facilitate the integration of international and multicultural students into all aspects of college and community life. This process would ensure that the benefits of internationalization (i.e. specialized programs, exchange opportunities, and critical discussion) are equally available to international students and domestic students and community members regardless of wealth or privilege.

The push for internationalization comes from within the colleges in the form of strategic directions. However, such initiatives do not exclude outside influences on

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[1] Knight, J. (1994). Internationalization: elements and checkpoints. CBIE Research No. 7.

internationalization policy, such as those from the educational (and economic development) sectors of the provincial and federal governments (Cantor, 1992). Although colleges are increasingly financially independent from provincial and federal governments, both levels exert some influence on college direction. For example, Knight's report (1996) demonstrates the commonalities and influence of both government and private sector in planning internationalization strategies for higher education. Specifically, she explores the priorities of education, government and business for internationalizing higher education and notes initiatives for institutions of higher education to prepare students for the "global market" (1996). Moreover, with federal funding decreases, colleges have demonstrated a tendency to forge new partnerships with private industry in an effort to better respond to the needs of the labour market (Cantor, 1992). These partnerships thereby embrace more of a "market" model of education in the neo-liberal tradition of free market education.

Literature from national organizations that represent college interests also speak to the many influences on the internationalization process. For example, Knight (1994) also notes that in 1994, the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) "adopted college internationalization as one of its advocacy priorities" (p. 2). According to ACCC, (cited in Knight, 1994),

> colleges have a duty to prepare Canadians for the future, to enable them to live cooperatively and productively in a changing world.... The new world economic order leaves us no choice (p. 2).

ACCC, like the Canadian International Development Agency, can be an important source of funding for colleges. With regard to these new alliances among the government, the private sector and the colleges and given the increase in "players" with vested interests, this study asks how equity and access of students are considered within internationalization planning as colleges take on a global corporate profile.

A similar argument concerning equality of opportunity and access to education in the era of internationalization is based on questioning the validity of "Human Capital" theory, which I elaborate on later in this study. A simple definition of human capital theory in the interim is the belief is that "human beings invest in themselves, by means of

education, training...which raises their lifetime earnings" (Woodhall, 1999, p. 219). Although this theory has been deservedly questioned and critiqued, it persists in dominating educational discussion, further justifying why institutions should "internationalize" and why students who have the means to gain access to post-secondary education should "invest" in their education. An institutional imperative to be responsive to the "global" labour market features prominently in the internationalization rhetoric but often without critiques as to how or if human capital theory functions as promised.

These imperatives are often fueled by government sounding the alarm bells of a "troubled" economy, which needs "highly skilled" workers further justifying the demand for colleges to train a better skilled "elite" (Pannu, Schugurensky, & Plumb, 1994; Nova Scotia Labour Market Development Secretariat, 1999). However, a narrow emphasis on education as "training" does not necessarily fit with the college's historical profile as an "open" institution that serves the educational goals of all members of the community (e.g. low income groups, minorities etc.) (Dennison, 1995a). Similarly, Knowles (1995) notes that "although most colleges assert a primary commitment to serving local needs, resource allocations are increasingly determined by provincial, national and international demands for vocational and occupational training" (p. 189). Contradictions such as these are surfacing and need to be questioned in order to ensure that the values of equity, access, and inclusive "service" are not ignored or subsumed under "market" agendas.

Research Focus

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the thrust of liberalization and political restructuring began to alter advanced education across the country. Tracking some of the changes that have occurred in two colleges in two Canadian provinces over the last decade provides points of comparison and contrast. In the context of an increasing focus on internationalization in education, this study describes and analyzes the process of "internationalization" in two institutions, Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton. It is a historical comparative analysis that examines several policy (issue-based) and normative (value-based) aspects of two colleges in their specific regional contexts whose internationalization directives affect their respective communities.

Grant MacEwan College, formerly known as Grant MacEwan Community College, has three campuses in Edmonton, Alberta. The University College of Cape Breton, situated in Sydney, Cape Breton, was the result of an amalgamation of the St. Francis Xavier Sydney Campus with the Nova Scotia Eastern Institute of Technology that became the College of Cape Breton and finally in 1982, the University College of Cape Breton. Although each college shares similarities in its successful expansion of campuses and a long history of international activity, the ways in which each college has "internationalized" reveals differences in direction and ideologies of internationalization. Moreover, this historical comparative analysis includes a brief overview of the history of international education in Canadian post-secondary institutions to aid in better understanding institutional directives as they are created in these two diverse institutions.

Regional differences in colleges are representative of the unique ways that each region has developed economically and culturally. The colleges are part of a larger provincial governmental context with its own specific educational policies to further internationalization. Dennison and Levin ([1988] cited in Cantor, 1992) explain that colleges developed "from very different socio-cultural roots in each province and were designed to provide educational services in concert with the particular needs of the community and region, and the political and economic priorities of the time" (p. 171). Therefore, this study focuses on some of the influences of the provincial governments and social and regional contexts on internationalization policy for post-secondary education in its regional context.

In looking at underlying policy mechanisms, the study questions whether some colleges are changing more rapidly according to provincial political trends that lean towards an increasingly "free-market" model of education. A closer look into the interdependence between government policy and college policy sheds light on some of the underlying assumptions behind internationalization. Governmental ideologies are always present, but not always transparent in educational policies. As Neuman (1999) points out, "a critical science approach argues that social reality has multiple layers . . . we can uncover" (p. 77). Therefore, the methodology, on which I elaborate in chapter three, draws from critical theory and research for exploring and explaining trends and policy influences.

Mandates created by college presidents and board members have historically assumed a service of providing education to the local community (Cantor, 1992). In light of the internationalization trends to globalize education, it is worth exploring whether the colleges' commitments to the local community have shifted in accordance with these new directions. Programming in each institution, for example, is one aspect which can concretely point to dominant policy directions. Thus, this study questions which student communities might benefit from the shifts in college priorities that include expanding certain programs to make an institution more appealing to an international "markets."

Sub Questions

Besides the goals stated above, several sub questions permeate this study which explores various levels of policy at the federal, provincial, and college level. For example, with regard to the federal government, this study asks, "Have there been federal government directives that influence policy formulation at the college level?" A normative (or value-critical) analysis asks of the provincial government, "Should the provincial government's focus on post-secondary international 'clientele' take precedence over needs of post-secondary local 'students'?" Concerning college planning, this study inquires, "Are colleges narrowly focused on educational purposes or are the institutions acting as a springboard for other international trade activity?" Finally, regarding the institutions' responsiveness to the needs of the student community, I ask two questions, "Which programs are expanding due to the international initiatives?" and lastly, "Has internationalization changed the definition of who the colleges are serving in the community?"

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine and compare two colleges to better understand the impact of internationalization policies on college communities in two distinct regions of Canada. Hurabielle's research (1998) on international centres in community colleges across Canada alerted me to the absence of research that compares regional differences in colleges (p. 143). Tuohy (1996) also makes a case for an interest in regional differences by stating, "Canadian regionalism arises from superimposed

economic, linguistic, cultural and governmental cleavages within defined geographic areas" (p. 332). That these cleavages exist but are rarely written about in terms of post-secondary practice provokes an interest to explore some of these differences within this study. Therefore, this research attempts to provide some explanations as to why institutions in different regions internationalize in a particular way.

Two specific observations provoked questions on issues of equity in colleges as they internationalize and a curiosity to compare this phenomenon regionally. The first was the recruitment direction to recruit full-fee paying international students in college programs as opposed to international students from less developed countries who require "aid" to study in community colleges (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996; Lambert, 1995). Secondly, I have observed that colleges may subtly switch their focus from training government funded English as a Second Language (ESL) programs for immigrants to "user-pay" international students in university preparation programs. From these trends, I was alerted to the possibility that there were uneven or unequal effects of internationalization on the student community depending on socioeconomic status (SES). Moreover, the colleges appear to be more ethnically diverse when in fact the unequal effects of internationalization may cause an imbalance in the student community divided by economic stratifications, or in other words, divided according to socio-economic background. Thus, it appears that programming in colleges may be reflecting a move towards a two-tiered education system, that is, one for the economically advantaged and one for the (economically) disadvantaged. Finally, the internationalization policies seem to be more concerned with the advantaged in the *global* community than the disadvantaged in the *local* community, thus contradicting historical mandates to serve the local community.

Rather than evaluate regional colleges in a competitive manner, I instead describe and critique how the colleges are changing their directions. Comparing programming in two colleges in distinctly different regions could generate dialogue concerning how colleges are responding to their student populations. For example, Hurabielle (1998) also notes that in addition to structural characteristics, for community colleges there is a shared ideology of "capitalist manpower development paradigms rather than socialist or emancipatory models" (p. 11). Yet, there is little research on applying alternative

paradigms, such as critical multiculturalism, to college policy in this wave of internationalization. Thus, this research may determine whether the colleges could develop alternative paradigms or adapt their present policies to incorporate a more humanistic and inclusive approach to the local community.

Research on internationalization, like multiculturalism, raises several issues concerning government and civic responsibility. Pal (1996) argues that the "phenomenon of internationalization has posed fundamental questions about the nation-state, sovereignty and political community" (p. 370). For example, one question is, " Should the nation state be responsible for the equitable education of its citizens"? Another would be, "As the federal government has passed most of the responsibility over to the provinces, does this deregulation signal a shift in Canada's political community?" And lastly, "If educational governance is shifting with internationalization and globalization, is there or should there be resistance to these shifts?"

As Pal (1996) points out, "students of domestic policy have only rarely thought through the consequences of internationalization, and insofar as they have concentrated on the Canada–Free trade Agreement and North American Free Trade Agreement, they have taken a dim view of the process" (p. 369). As was clear to Rick Salutin (1999) in media releases on the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle, Washington, there needs to be a dialogue about whose interests are being served, not whether globalization is a good idea or not (Globe and Mail, Dec 3, 1999 p. A17). His was clearly a small voice overshadowed by the mainstream media, who like some post-secondary institutions, appear to support globalization whole-heartedly. Similarly, the internationalization movement has been afoot for a decade, yet there is little talk of the unintended consequences of internationalization for Canadian colleges. The minority opinion of those critiquing economic globalization, unequal trade and the sale of education has been mobilized to some extent by the protests against the WTO and the FTAA so that research and social action could be further stimulated. It is, therefore, time to ask questions about the recent history of these policies in post-secondary education and how they have affected distinct student communities in Alberta and Nova Scotia.

In an initial exploration of policy changes in Canadian provinces, I have found that although Alberta was considered the leader in restructuring education from 1993 to 1994,

there were similar restructuring discussions going on across the country. For example, Nova Scotia created its own version of the "white paper" in 1994, entitled "Toward a Learning Culture: The Vision for Education and Training in Nova Scotia" (Quinney, 1998). These two provinces would seem to have little in common politically in that, Nova Scotia voted out the Progressive Conservative Party in the early nineties, whereas Alberta has been ruled by the Progressive Conservatives for decades. Yet in both provinces, the neo-liberal economic policies that relate to areas such as health and education have dominated throughout the last decade. Looking at two parallel policy directions of two provincial governments in the context of their provinces could provoke discussion about the so-called "success" of this neo-liberal internationalization of post-secondary education. More specifically, in comparing the changes in the internationalization of provincial government and college policy, the outcomes may show that

> organizational, programmatic and cultural differences exist not only within the sector as a whole, but also within individual community colleges, and even among specific components of individual colleges (Shaw, Valadez & Rhoads, 1999, p. 2).

To date, little research has tracked the effects of the internationalization trend in relation to higher education since the restructuring talks began in the early 1990s in Alberta. Thus, an examination of the impact of internationalization policies for the local community in the context of colleges may stimulate further research on the effects of internationalization.

A broader purpose of this study is to raise awareness about a crisis in educational equality that remains obscured by the increased focus on economic liberalization (part of the neo-liberal agenda) and the rise of New Public Management (streamlined, competitive public sector modeling, privatization and "client-centered" administration, Shields & Evans, 1998). For example, during the time of writing, Grant MacEwan Community College dropped the word "community" from its name to become Grant MacEwan College. The press in Alberta showed only a passing interest in this change. This omission may have seemed too insignificant for the media to note, but it clearly signals a shift in priorities from a *community* college serving a local community to a

global college to serving an elite community. Yet, the rise of neo-liberalism as expressed in provincial and institutional decisions is so common place that an absence of emancipatory ideologies that might promote participation in higher education, for example, often goes unnoticed. Thus, this research lays another brick in the foundation upon which more critical discussion can build.

For post-secondary institutions to be considered successful at incorporating international education, a great deal of attention is paid to marketing, recruiting and retaining international students. A federal illustration is the fact that Canada, compared to Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, is under pressure from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) to improve its passive and ineffective marketing record for recruiting international students and sagging enrolments (DFAIT, 1999). DFAIT makes no secret of its neo-liberal agenda to market education to international students; nor does it apologize for the differential fees as part of defining education as a business venture (1999). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that American community college literature finds its way into Canadian community college planning when, for example, Lambert (1995) boasts of the American advantage in the "international student marketplace" in the variety, diversity and accessibility of American higher institutions (p. 23). The prevalence of American literature found in Canadian colleges and advanced education departments suggests that colleges (and similar institutions) are looking to their American counterparts for ideas on how to be more "international" and at the same time more "entrepreneurial" (profit-driven). So, this research questions the validity of the economic competitiveness that seemingly guides post-secondary decisions.

With regard to competitiveness, institutions naturally engage in marketing educational outcome-based success. The notion of successful graduates is common among college information packages. For example, "MacEwan has a good record of success! *Our graduates get jobs!* Ninety per cent of graduates seeking employment find jobs within six months of graduation" (GMCC, 2000). These kinds of claims help to support a common perception that "community colleges are place[s] where virtually anyone can succeed, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status or cultural capital" (Amey, 1999, p. 60). Although the meaning of success can be

interpreted in countless ways, in a Report of the Pan-Canadian Education indicators program 1999 several themes emerge that are significant to the arguments on justifying internationalization (Council of Ministers of Education Canada & Canadian Education Statistics Council, 2000). To illustrate, the report uses the internationalization rhetoric of "competitiveness," and the human capital rhetoric of the "educated, skilled and flexible workforce" but also uses the adult education philosophies to "enhance an individual's participation in society" (Council of Ministers of Education Canada & Canadian Education Statistics Council, 2000). It is the latter that must remain despite the sometimes narrow internationalization focus in colleges. This research hopes to focus some attention on how internationalization is being justified in the literature.

Within an American college context, Tierney (1991) critiques colleges for not responding to the needs of non-traditional populations because he suggests that the failure of "moral responsibility" is generating a social crisis between the "haves" and "have-nots" (p. 23). The recruitment and programming efforts of most Canadian colleges might contradict that statement but a significant factor is that the international students (many of whom by definition would be "minorities") who are welcomed are more often those who can afford to pay the full differential tuition. Australian educators echo these concerns to strive for an examination of education in the globalized context and an inquest into inequality by stating:

> Education is or ought to be about ideas and arguments for alternative futures...the imperative produces alternative arguments and visions to those now occupying the global mainstream as a means of informing education policy and politics (Henry et al., p. 95).

Canadian research could and should look to such insights that are questioned by our other "competitors" in order to assure research agendas that are concerned with policy values of equity for all students and meaningful discussion on how to implement educational transformation.

The role of values in post-secondary education is still discussed in Canada and in other parts of the world. Some researchers, like Tierney (1991) worry that "institutions of higher education are no longer acting as democratizing, emancipatory, or

transformative forces in American life" (pp. 27-28). While it is debatable to what extent colleges really were promoting these values, at least the rhetoric and literature offer some indication that a value shift has occurred and that increased attention to economic rationale currently drives much post-secondary policy. In a Canadian context, Hodder (1996) asks, "How does one measure the ability to think or the will to act in a decent or moral fashion? How might one measure freedom of spirit and commitment to democracy?" (p. 10). Yet, she (1996) points out that "the lack of measurability does not indicate irrelevance" (p. 10). These questions that were asked at a CMEC consultation indicate a concern for prioritizing educational values. Post-secondary educators should be concerned about value indicators in global communities; therefore, Canadians need to reflect on their own universities and colleges to ensure a place for critical discussion. Moreover post-secondary institutions should strive for a global reputation that is consistent with values, such as those expressed in the Canadian Charter of Human Rights. This study attempts to revive discussion on these values in the context of internationalization activity.

While Canadian educators and policy makers may view other countries as successful based on the internationalization criteria of recruiting students and increased trade agreements, researchers must consider Canada's historical position on multiculturalism and its unique economic and political structures. Blanket adoption of internationalization models from other countries run the risk of replicating their mistakes or creating new educational crises. For example, if Canada began to create elite international colleges based on other countries' models, that direction may destroy the uniqueness of Canada's public college system, which was founded on principles of accessibility and equality. Adopting the American models of global colleges and entrepreneurial colleges without questioning the values behind college change and without considering accessibility issues in post-secondary education is unacceptable and short sighted.

Significance of Research

While the above section outlined some of the micro and macro purposes for embarking on this study, the next section suggests possible applications for the research and the limitations narrowing the scope of the study.

At the national level, organizations such as the Association of Community Colleges (ACC), the Association of Universities and Community Colleges (AUCC), the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE), and the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) may be conducting similar research on policy formation that would be complemented by a regional comparison. This research might be of value to provincial education commissions who are deciding how to formulate policy for post-secondary education. For example, Alberta Learning has not yet studied the effects of policy change on community colleges (or on higher education) since the educational restructuring of the early 1990s. Also, examining changes in Nova Scotia along with Alberta may show that a comparison could be significant to educators and policy makers in both provinces.

The colleges may make use of this research to evaluate policy changes with regard to programming and other areas of internationalization. Post-secondary institutions may revisit how internationalization models have been chosen and the impact of those choices on the surrounding communities. Community organizations that represent disadvantaged groups, such as new immigrants, refugees, underemployed persons may find the research useful for compiling information and advocating for increased educational equality. Finally, the personal significance of this research comes from an interest in the college systems and the rise of internationalization and entrepreneurialism as educational phenomena and a curiosity for understanding the role of post-secondary education in developing diverse, critical communities.

Chapter Outline

Chapter one includes an introduction to the research context, an overview of the research questions, and some details on the focus, purposes and significance of this study. Chapter two reviews related literature and several arguments therein in addition to presenting a conceptual framework for internationalization, globalization,

multiculturalism, non-traditional students, community and colleges. Chapter three explains the qualitative methodology of historical critical realism, discourse analysis, and critical policy analysis. Chapter four presents the historical context for the study and explores the relationships between federal, provincial and institutional policy actors. It also continues a language deconstruction of international education that began in chapter two. Chapter five discusses the findings as revealed through discourse analysis. Chapter six presents a policy analysis drawn from the findings and applies several theories to the data. Chapter seven concludes by synthesizing the discussion, reflecting on the research process and offering recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter explores some of the current literature on the concepts of internationalization, globalization, and multiculturalism within the context of post-secondary education. To begin, this chapter presents some key arguments on how these concepts are defined and how they are incorporated into discussions on higher education. Secondly, this chapter operationalizes related concepts, that of the college, the non-traditional learner, and the community. The complexity of the language (rhetoric of internationalization) operates with the intention to legitimize educational direction. Therefore, this rhetoric that describes internationalization, globalization, and multiculturalism needs to be unpacked in order to understand how internationalization policies have been put into place and the consequential impact on the post-secondary education and its response to local and global communities.

Internationalization

"Internationalization" in post-secondary education includes elements of partnerships, alliances, exchanges, curriculum, and "global competencies" but there is little discussion on the impact of internationalization on equality of access in programming for all students, regardless of their advantage or disadvantage within the college community. Mckendry (1996) asserts the importance of calling the colleges' roles into question with regard to "traditional college missions" and "college community service." The traditional concept of institutional service to the local "community" may not remain in the forefront of shaping college direction. However, debate over the traditional concept and its value may determine if equality of access truly means that everyone in the community has the same equal chance to fulfill their educational goals. Therefore, a key concern that is muddied by the complexity of the term "internationalization" in post-secondary education is whether internationalization policies benefit only a small number of students while ignoring the needs of the whole community. Several definitions of internationalization serve to open the discussion

before I look more specifically at the institutions and their respective communities in chapters four and five.

Definitions of internationalization in higher education are as varied as the countries that seek to define the term. Reports from universities in British Columbia, Canada to Melbourne, Australia suggest that institutions worldwide seek to define, unpack and conceptualize how "internationalization" plays out in higher education institutions (Patrick, 1997; Knight, 1994). To cite one of the most extensive, if not one of the longest definitions, Ellingboe (1997) defines internationalization as,

> a process of integrating an international perspective into a college or a university system. It is an ongoing, future-oriented, interdisciplinary, leadership-driven vision that involves top administrators creating a institutional vision and motivating people in both academic affairs and student affairs units to change an entire system to think globally, comparatively, and collaboratively while reacting to multi-dimensional environmental changes in global, political, economic, social and cultural arenas. It is the way an institution adapts to an ever-changing, diverse external environment that is becoming more globally focused (p. 9).

This definition would appeal to those who ascribe to internationalization as a top-down process initiated and implemented by senior administration in response to perceived environmental changes. Ellingboe (1997) reinforces the "global" and "futuristic" direction of institutions that choose to internationalize. Certain aspects of this definition are pervasive throughout college literature, in particular when administration prioritizes internationalization as a way to create a vision for the future that likens an educational institution to a "well-oiled," adaptable, multinational corporation poised for success. Ellingboe's definition represents much of the internationalization rhetoric.

These descriptions potentially invite critique from researchers such as Patrick (1997) who complains of the tendency for internationalization to become a "banner for universities to wave, a claim to quality and relevance" (p. 1). This criticism also applies to similar tendencies in colleges (such as those examined in this study), many of whom may lay claim to "a well-developed infrastructure and impeccable international

reputation" (Bolton, 1997, p. 2). There is an unspoken element of competition for the prestige that "international" activities bring to an institution.

Within Canada some of the literature further illustrates that "internationalization" is a contested term. A task force for the British Columbia Centre for International Education (BCCIE) offers a different perspective than Ellingboe which appears to include the community in its "vision" (Knight, 1996, p. 3). BCCIE presents as its working definition of internationalization, "a process that prepares the community for successful participation in an increasingly interdependent world" (cited in Knight, 1994, p. 3). A key feature of BCCIE's definition is the deliberate mention of Canada's "multicultural reality" [2](cited in Knight, 1994, p. 3). Whether this notion of multiculturalism (or "inter-cultural") is somehow included in an institution's definition is, however, significant in determining institutional direction. Therefore, I will continue the discussion on the various definitions of internationalization in relation to "multicultural" and "intercultural" in chapter five.

The increasing number and size of international centres and the scope of international student recruitment shows a strong commitment to internationalization directives in many institutions (Bennet, 1999). These phenomena not only exist in established universities but also more and more in technical institutes, colleges, and the hybrid, known as university- colleges. Bolton (1997) describes this trend,

> All colleges seek to expand and internationalize....Others have just begun wading into the pool. For some colleges, it is already a million-dollar business. To others, there is some uncertainty in discovering how to break in to this arena (p. 2).

Regardless of the size or experience of the institution, the recruitment activity tends to target wealthy regions of the world in addition to the wealthy who live in less economically advantaged countries. Therefore, arguably, the recruitment and exchange aspects of internationalization serve a limited student population that has the financial means to participate. Although this study does not provide the in-depth analysis that would be necessary to identify the micropolitics of the recruitment process, the fact that

at the macro-level there are suddenly more "players" indicates the need for strategic internationalization policies to capture the new student "markets."

International student recruitment is only one aspect of internationalization that indicates both a corporate and a humanist face. To illustrate the former, this last decade has highlighted corporate partnerships and alliances with the government and private sectors actively competing to recruit international students who in turn are seen to benefit Canadian economy (DFAIT, 1994). When more international students enrol in college programs, the institutions benefit financially due to international students' differential tuition fees. In Alberta, for example, the legislation of 100% minimum surcharge has been in place since 1994; therefore, international students pay at least double that of regular students (Advanced Education and Career Development, 1994). Subtle government pressure is evident when, for example, government departments such as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) keep Canadian institutions updated on how their international recruiting measures up to other countries (1999). Therefore, competition for recruitment of international students paying higher tuition fees indicates both governmental and institutional priorities for a "user-pay" student body.

On the humanistic side, the language of internationalization also suggests that institutions seek to provide for the needs of international students. For example, as colleges compete within or between provinces for international students, they are encouraged to offer programs specifically tailored to the international students' needs with a global focus. This direction is expressed by the new "visions" for colleges, as in Grant MacEwan's vision of a "global college" (G7). This vision is representative of international education literature that markets the personalized benefits of attending a "global" college. The data reveal further marketing tendencies in chapter five.

Another explanation that may explain the way that these new global directives are being presented is the rise of what Pal (1997) calls the "New Public Management" system which has helped in putting "a greater emphasis on performance, quality, and client satisfaction" (p. 182). Consider, for example, the concept of service to international

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[2] Incidentally, this definition was criticized by individuals involved in the study for being indicative of an "inward" as opposed to an "outward" vision.

students in post-secondary institutions. Grant MacEwan College, like many institutions, has incorporated "welcoming" services and home–stay facilitation committees into the price of the differential tuition for international students. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) conducted a case study that evaluated institutions on the warmth of their welcome for international students (1998). The new public management influence teamed with the pressure to compete for "clients" provoke evaluative measures to ensure the quality of service. Nevertheless, it would be naïve to view the "service" aspect of internationalization as separate from the "business" aspect of internationalization considering the industry trend of "value-added service," a term now used to promote accountability in education services. To that end, Carlyle (1999) provides an example of a critical view of the underlying purposes of international student recruitment as she refers to "International Students: Cash Cows for Cash-Strapped Universities and Colleges" (p. 65). In addition, she charges,

> despite promises at some institutions to improve services for international students, few institutions have done anything besides pump thousands of dollars into glossy promotional materials to attract more students (and their parents) at the higher "differential" tuition fee. Add this to the new, $800 federal head tax, charged even to refugees and Canada seems far from welcoming (Carlyle, 1999, p. 65).

These contradictions between service and accountability within internationalization directives lay the institutions open for critique on issues of consistency as well as ethics. These critiques will be picked up in more detail later in chapter six through looking specifically at the empirical and normative inconsistencies in the internationalization processes at GMC and UCCB.

Another concern of the new internationalized college is that in competing with the universities, Luker (1990) suggests that colleges "insist that institutions serving working class people be as 'rich' (culturally and in terms of financial aid to students) as say near-by universities" (p. 169). Many colleges promote a cultural exchange between international students and domestic students in the spirit of the global college, so that in addition to what an international student is promised as a cultural experience, similarly, Canadian students are supposedly socially enriched by a proximity to international

diversity. Domestic students might well assume from the "marketing" strategies that increased cross-cultural interaction is a by-product of attending an internationalized college. However, other literature indicates that despite the promise of inter-cultural interaction, the social reality of international students in Canada suggests that international students may not always experience the integrative multicultural experience of Canada's education system that they had anticipated (Chaqon Arias, 1999). Sefa Dei (1991) strongly advocates increased institutional assistance with bringing international students and Canadian students together as one means of reducing intolerance. Sadly, the implicit goal of increased cross-cultural understanding is still very much a work-in-progress. Thus, another critique that might be leveled is that because of empirical and normative contradictions/inconsistencies, the policy directives of the colleges however well designed and implemented may fail to reach their stated goals, in this case of cross-cultural understanding.

Such outcomes of internationalization are further exacerbated by the socio-economic stratification that exists between "elitist" programs and other community based and career preparation programs. Unless a college purposefully encourages cross-cultural interaction, interaction across departments is usually limited thus negating the benefits assumed under the "interdisciplinary" aspect of some internationalization activity. International students paying exorbitant differential fees are often interested in areas such as international business and computers in the hope that these programs will secure them better work in their home countries. For international students, "statistics in the 1990s show that the social sciences, specifically, business and economics, are now the most popular fields of study" (CBIE, 1991). There is a certain tendency for students to cluster in certain departments. For example, the Asia Pacific Management program at Grant MacEwan College caters to a more "elite" clientele who can afford the higher tuition fees. Furthermore, specialized professions that require elite programs with limited enrolment may mean that local college students (or students from poorer countries) may not have the finances to gain equal access and in turn equality of opportunity. Thus, central to this analysis is the idea that any claims that the process of internationalization would somehow alleviate stratification may fail to materialize. In fact, the said policies

intending de-stratification of socio-economic status or equality of opportunity may accomplish the opposite, an unintended consequence of the new policies.

At the other end of the spectrum, other programs in an institution might be representative of the community that also includes those populations that traditionally have been underrepresented in post-secondary education. For example, new immigrants to Canada, financed by the Student Finance Board, fill programs such as Early Childhood education courses and other programs that are considered "career entry" instead of "university" transfer programs. One reason might be that new immigrants experience difficulty getting their credentials recognized. Another possibility that might explain significant numbers of immigrants in "para" professional courses instead of professional courses is the heavy financial investment needed for more expensive programs. Lastly, the possibility that Canadian institutions practice "cooling out," that is, guiding individuals with less "cultural capital" to non-academic programs. The prevalence of "cooling–out" as documented by American researchers such as Clark (1980) as well as first-hand observations, raise questions about the frequency of this phenomenon in Canada. The internationalization rhetoric certainly emphasizes an increasingly competitive internationalized environment that explicitly states that it is only the select few who will have the so-called global competencies to succeed in the new global marketplace.

Although some colleges have included in their strategic business plan a firm commitment to the "shared vision of the global college" (GMCC, 1997), not all programs are created "globally" equal. The types of "global competencies" that a student will be exposed to will vary depending on the college program and if directives to "internationalize the curriculum" has permeated that department. For example, students in computer and business programs may be more exposed to the global competencies being built into the curriculum than in, for example, career preparation programs. Furthermore, post-secondary directives on building "global competencies" reinforce the relationship between economic restructuring and the expectation that post-secondary must train for the new labour market. Pannu, Schugurensky & Plumb (1994) claim, "what is emerging ... is a labor market polarized by skill, composed of a small highly skilled and well paid sector, and a large, less skilled and low paid sector" (p. 508).

Notwithstanding the historical legacy of post-secondary providing human capital to the labour market, internationalized programs potentially widen the gap.

Post-secondary institutions are expected to train "globally competent" students. Programs, which facilitate access to such skills, are policy instruments of the institutions trying to solve the problem of underemployed or unemployed graduates. CMEC's *Report of the Pan-Canadian Education Indicators Program* (2000) states, "those that graduated from college and trade-vocational institutions in 1995 were less likely than 1986 graduates to be working in a job related or their field of study, although education-job fit improved between 1986 and 1995 among university graduates" (p. 7). Statistics like these might offer a supply-side justification and one explanation for the streamlined college direction to expand the university preparation programs and technological programs to be able to fulfill their promise of the education-job fit. Which programs are being expanded reveals whether colleges are reducing community programming in favour of programs that reinforce generic, computer and international skills. Livingstone (1999) argues that without expanding the job market (demand-side), more certificates without placement leads to credential inflation. Therefore, the logic of supply-side programming informs the institutions and moreover, widespread beliefs about the value in providing "global competencies" potentially export credential inflation at a global level. In response to these concerns, debate on the influence of globalization for creating or reducing employment questions the legitimacy of the internationalization process in institutions.

Globalization

Internationalization is often spoken in the same breath with the term "globalization" (Knight, 1996) and indeed both are used to justify changes in post-secondary education though it is the dominance of the economic model that provokes concerns in higher education. The complexity of the term globalization ranges from a positive view of the economic advantages of neo-liberal competition to a more critical view that portrays globalization as constituting "the domination of the world by a Western economic rationality, by the worldview of Western capitalism" (Dudley, 1998, p. 25). Kachur and Harrison (1999) reinforce this position describing globalization as the "worldwide extension of a specifically capitalist form of production of rampant consumerism and

individualism" (p. xvi). Albrow (1993) categorizes globalization as cultural, economic, and political with some emphasis on the rise of "supranational" and a declaration that "the future of the capitalist system is no longer to be seen as linked to the fate of a particular modernizing nation, the United States" (p. 249). Webster (1995) counters the perception that globalization is narrowly a "pioneer" for advanced global capitalism by suggesting that globalization is also "simultaneously a social, cultural, and political condition evident in, for example, an explosive concern for global political strategies to meet threats and challenges to survival " (p. 141). This study concurs with Cruikshank's (1996) position of resistance that "economic globalization is a potent worldwide force that changes the power structure of society-destructively" (p. 1). Therefore, critical debate that challenges the acceptance of unfettered economic globalization of higher education is essential.

Besides discussion on social theories of globalization, Taylor, Rivzi, Lingard & Henry (1997) comment on globalization rhetoric and its effect on educational policy by noting the "considerable hype, or 'globalony' as one writer puts it, about the global imperatives driving these shifts" (pp. 73-74). An example from college literature demonstrates this tendency. Gordon (1989) speaks emphatically of what is required by college leaders that "perspectives and values must change in order for colleges to respond to the opportunity. Colleges, despite being rooted in local communities, must develop truly global perspectives with respect to the services they provide and the clients they serve" (p. 1). Like the excitement around technology in universities, the globalization rhetoric in higher education uses language that "instructs," almost "commands," that is, repeating the word "must" to emphasize college priorities. Underneath the language is an underlying threat that students, faculty, and board members need to look to the future and develop a global attitude or be cast aside. Some of these linguistic devices will be further analyzed in chapter four.

These imperatives for global perspectives, as Story (1997) explains, offer possible explanations for the tendency that colleges and universities have to set their sights on international ventures, that is, "to focus on the global context is politically safe when stones cannot be easily thrown from another country" (p. 82). Another critique from a Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative (1999) editorial suggests the following,

> To assume that education--either process or content--is somehow detached from local or national needs is extremely dangerous. When education is turned over to transnational corporations and is in effect mass-produced in a different country by those whose primary goal is to make a profit, we know very well what will be sacrificed: Local needs. Local culture. Local requirements. Local customs. Local priorities.

These critical views reflect a few voices that question the often mandatory enthusiasm and overblown rhetoric about the impact of globalization on higher education while domestic education problems such as increasing tuition and escalated credentialing, which affect access and employment potential for disadvantaged students, are too often ignored. Therefore, in applying the term "globalization" to post-secondary education policy, I borrow Albrow's (1993) definition that defines globalization as a "marketing strategy"..."although it remains contested just how far a global strategy allows for cultural difference" (p. 248). This study will argue that consideration for differences (cultural or class) under globalized education policy, however varied, are being overshadowed by capitalist economic considerations and producing both homogenizing and diversifying effects on economics, politics, and cultures.

At the World Trade Organization conference in Seattle, Washington, a reporter from CBC National television news stated in response to globalization critics that "globalization is not a choice, it's a fact" (CBC National News, Monday, November 29, 1999). However true in both economics and education, the literature indicates that some educators are looking for a voice to address some of the issues surrounding globalization and its impact on higher education. For example, educators are discussing strategies to reconcile how to work with or against globalization in educational contexts (Henry, Lingard, Rivzi & Taylor, 1999). With regard to globalization, educators are faced with questions such as "what pressures does this mix of private commercial interests--international education now exceeds wheat as an export earner--and public educational interests place on educational delivery and certification?" (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 73). As Higgins and Schugurensky (1996) note post-secondary institutions are putting a greater emphasis on internationalizing to compete in the global marketplace. This emphasis includes "revenue generating strategy (ies) based on cost-recovery or profit-oriented activities which in practice consist of selling international education services to anyone

who can afford them" (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996, p. 60). With the educational market being put on the table at trade conferences, it is natural for educators to be concerned with issues of educational autonomy and equality.

Henry et al. (1999) accurately question whether it would be idealistic to assume that increasing choice and competition made available by the new competitive educational markets means that it is a pluralist system, assuming a system of equal access and opportunity. This assumption ignores the structural inequalities, such as class and socio economic status (SES) advantages inherent in a dual system of education. These inequalities tend to offer better access and programming to "advantaged" students. These tensions between public and private, cooperation and competition, and pluralist and elite influence discussions on the future of higher education as educators and policy makers struggle to implement policy at the micro and macro levels. Therefore, post-secondary initiatives that are justified by "globalization" should not be accepted without further examination of the relationship between post-secondary programming and inclusive participation for the community.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism can be interpreted as fact, ideology, policy, and process (Fleuras & Elliot, 1996). As an ideology, multiculturalism links with policy because historically, multiculturalism was prescribed normatively as to what "ought to be," based on an ideology "modeled after liberal virtues of freedom, tolerance, and respect for individual differences" (Fleuras & Elliot, 1996, p. 326). However, the last decade has virtually ignored multiculturalism as a valid concept to be applied through policies to post-secondary education. Furthermore, Ghosh (1996) refers to multiculturalism as a concept that has changed over time, however, she argues that "multicultural policy addresses minority cultures, the 'others', rather than *both* the dominant (English and French) and minority groups (other ethnocultural groups)" [emphasis in original](pp. 5-7). Therefore, multiculturalism, as it has been constructed in Canadian culture, falls short of engaging the dominant groups in discussion on how post-secondary institutions could reshape multiculturalism ideology, policy and process to address equality and accessibility concerns.

A related concept, "critical multiculturalism," tackles some of the key issues on ethnic diversity, democracy, and equality in post-secondary education, specifically in American community colleges (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996). Critical multiculturalism differs from multiculturalism because the former,

> combines the conditions of cultural diversity with the emancipatory vision of a critical educational practice borrowing from feminism, postmodernism and critical theory....from this point of view, multiculturalism reaches into the depths of what educational institutions *are* with the hope of creating what *ought* to be [emphasis in original] (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996, p. 9).

This theory of "critical multiculturalism" may help bridge the gap between elitist and pluralist approaches to college policy and programming through a normative analysis of internationalization and how it responds to community needs. Before continuing to explore critical multiculturalism, I briefly take up the concept of "community."

Community

Community is slippery concept, at best. A noteworthy political science dictionary defines community "at minimum...(as) a group of people within a bounded geographical area who interact within shared institutions, and who possess a common sense of interdependence and belonging" (Shor, 1993, p. 98). This definition serves to locate the community geographically and tie the community together through its interaction with the institutions. For this reason, when mission statements in community college declare, for example, "responsiveness to the community" (GMC, 1994), there is a normative expectation that the institution interacts with the people in its geographic community. Williams ([1976], cited in Shor, 1993) also "links the community as (an) adjunct to a host of institutions whenever deep, horizontal and natural comrade-ship is implied (community care, community centre, the local community, the European Community), however tenuous" (p. 99). This linkage implies that the "community" includes, and should include, different cultures, ethnicities, genders, and backgrounds.

Post-secondary institutions have been embracing market economy to restructure the so–called "public" institutions into individualistic entrepreneurial institutions that through

directives of globalization and technology are not bound to a local geographic community. The dominance of neo-liberalism as demonstrated by increasing privatization, corporatization and marketization in Canadian and global politics, is well-documented (Hurabielle, 1998; Kachur & Harrison, 1999). Some literature points to a change in community colleges' original mission to serve the residents of its community (Fusch, 1996; Ruhl, 1995). A glum but accurate analysis of community in the public sphere comes from Marshall and Anderson (1994)

> community is replaced by clusters of autonomous individuals, each with a personal set of individual concerns. Individuals become de–politicized as bureaucratic and market rationality makes the notion of community and solidarity, at best, an inconvenience, and at worst, a bad risk (p. 176).

Therefore, the idea that colleges serve "global communities" is focused on embracing neo-liberal economics and multiple mandates falsely espousing the myth of institutional equality of opportunity. It seems that these multiple mandates present contradictions given the dynamics of internationalization and globalization.

Historically, multicultural policies in a broader political context were sometimes perceived as compromise and peacekeeping government strategies (Levin, 1994). Canada has employed multiculturalism for similar reasons. As Kachur (1999) explains, "multiculturalism provided a pragmatic solution to the conflicts between French, English, aboriginal, old immigrant, and new immigrant groups" for liberal meritocratic ideology (p. 57). In keeping with critical theorists' views of multiculturalism then, Taylor et al. (1997) believe that

> while it (multiculturalism) recognizes that ethnic minorities are indeed systematically disadvantaged, the notion of equality with which it works is a minimalist one, concerned with equality of access of individuals to the dominant institutions which paradoxically, symbolizes inequalities for many ethnic people in the first place (p. 143).

This statement reinforces the need for applied theories such as critical multiculturalism to challenge taken for granted assumptions that multiculturalism (or diversity) policies are

prioritized in post-secondary education.

Critical Multiculturalism

For the critical multiculturalist, colleges are representative of one type of institution that offers the promise of diversity, equality, and democracy under the political umbrella of multiculturalism. In keeping with the literature on critical multiculturalism, critical theorists would "tie their investigations to a concern for social justice and democracy (Tierney, 1991, p. 41). However, the actual implementation of multicultural policy as "unity in diversity" is what Mazurek and Kach (1990) call an "oxymoron...Canada's policy was born out of conflict and institutionalizes conflict" (p. 149). This conflict (or "resistance") has not erupted in the colleges to the same extent as the universities but so far it seems unlikely that any globalization directives will work as unifying strategies (Dudley, 1998). Therefore, since the concept of multiculturalism is steeped in historical and current controversy this seemingly poses a challenge for educators concerned with equality to locate the argument in multiculturalism framework.

Literature on critical multiculturalism in American colleges (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996; Shaw, Valadez & Rhoads, 1999) appears to be conspicuously absent in Canada. Several possibilities come to mind. Is this a semantic confusion that differs north and south of the border? Do Americans concern themselves with critical multiculturalism that shares criticism of "racial" inequality while Canadians are arguing about "ethnic identity?" Or is it possible that the term "multiculturalism" got retired and replaced with "internationalization" and "globalization"? In which case, does it follow that discussion on educational equality and access has been replaced with discussion on educational competition and marketplace mobility? This study takes up these questions later. Suffice it to say here, Taylor et al. (1997) believe that Australia's lack of civil rights movement has weakened the opportunity for more organized political mobilization of ethnic communities to combat racism through multicultural educative practices. If Canada shares Australia's comparatively weak positioning in the fight for ethnic equality in higher education then that could diminish the hope for significant changes. Given Canada's historical commitment to multiculturalism, at least in principle, it would seem that concepts such as critical multiculturalism could find a voice in current debates on

equality and accessibility in post-secondary education in the internationalization and globalization discourse. Any debates that question whether these issues are being voiced or addressed adequately pose risks to the powers that maintain and reproduce stratification in post-secondary education. At the same time, a new vocabulary may provide possibilities for a progressive critical agenda for college reform.

Non-Traditional Students

In a local context, this study asks "internationalization for whom?" in addition to "accessibility for whom?" Herideen (1998) provides a rich description of a non-traditional student who often has multiple roles in any local/regional community. She (1998) paints a realistic picture of non-traditional students in colleges who are "bearers of the 'hidden injuries of class' (Sennett and Cobb, 1972), race, gender, and age" (p. 11). Non-traditional students' lives must be

> organized around children, domestic work, paid labour and time spent commuting. . . time is a limited and often inflexible resource. . . economic hardship drives many back to school in order to acquire a better life for themselves and their families (Herideen, 1998, p. 11).

On the other hand, Herideen (1998) defines traditional students as recent high school graduates who may be displacing non-traditional students because the former are being "pushed into the community colleges by rapidly rising tuition rates at four year institutions " (p. 13). These concerns although American in context, also speak to the concerns explored in this study.

My definition of non-traditional students borrows from Herideen but also includes those who are non-native English speakers, thereby including Canadian immigrants whose mother tongue is other than English. Another frequently used descriptor is "targeted groups" or those who are "underrepresented" in the college populations. If for example, an institution is targeting 18-24 year old students and referring to them as the "echo boom," then the group that is generally understood to be the traditional college student (GMC Accessibility Plan, 1999). Conversely, a Spanish speaking, 36 year old, single mother of three who does not have an educational background that is sequential

because of military service, for example, would be considered "non-traditional." Within what is perceived as "internationalization" (the new global vision discussed in college directives) the non-traditional student might contribute to the increasingly ethnically diverse mosaic of the community college but will not necessarily be considered "international."

This definition of "non-traditional" students also includes all potential learners who come from disadvantaged socio-economic background, including international students who are not generously financed by their families or their company to study. To sum up, ethnicity, mother tongue, and socio-economic status factor into my definition of non-traditional students.

The above section provided an overview of the complexity of contested definitions of internationalization, globalization, and multiculturalism. The first, internationalization, may be linked to the economic globalization or cultural homogenization of an institution. At the same time, internationalization could also mean incorporating the diversity (of ethnicity and SES) of a local community into institutional practices. While all three concepts may share a language that indicates institutional service to both traditional and non-traditional students in both local and international communities, the language of policies and practices also indicate that colleges may apply these concepts differently.

The College

Community colleges and university colleges share many similar characteristics in their affiliations and functions. These institutions share affiliations with CBIE, ACCC, and CIDA as well as other provincial and federal organizations. As Hurabielle (1998) explains, Canadian colleges (and post-secondary technical/vocational institutions) are comparable in that generally students "train to enter mid-level careers; that is, careers located between those characterized by an unskilled labour force, and those engaged in by skilled professionals" (p. 11). Gallagher ([1990] cited in Cantor, 1992) rejects strict definitions of community college and points out that community colleges

> defy simple categorization; the term "community college" in Canada is more generic than specific and, as we shall see, is used

> to identify a wide range of institutions that operate at several educational levels concurrently and perform a variety of functions (p. 169).

There is an overlap between the variety of functions that university colleges and other types of public colleges perform in both regional and international communities and research must consider their high variability.

Trends in programming further justify the need to reconsider how non-university institutions categorize the dividing lines between colleges and universities and their specific context; and in this study, the differences between Alberta and Nova Scotia. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, education needs vary from province to province because of the political, economic, and cultural environment (Dennison & Levin, 1988). The Council for Ministers of Education (CMEC, 1999) aptly mentions, "the distinction between colleges, technical institutes, and university colleges differs from one jurisdiction to another" (p. 9). For example, a public institute in British Columbia might have more in common with a public institute in Nova Scotia based on maritime programming. Therefore, the shared (or different) "name" or the "category" of an institution is at times inconsequential.

In addition to valuable definitions of colleges and socio-cultural roots, program developments and reforms also vary. As previously discussed, given the expansion of applied degree programs in Alberta and other parts of Canada, what was historically a "college" appears to increasingly resemble a "little" university. Grant MacEwan College is strengthening its articulation agreements with neighbouring universities to facilitate "transferability." Whereas the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB), Canada's first hybrid "University College," offers a combination of trade programs, Bachelor's programs, and an MBA program. Competition between community colleges, university colleges, and other private colleges and universities has forced each institution to both diversify and specialize in marketable programs in order to compete for students, which may mean more vocational programs or more transfer programs depending on the targeted market. For clarity and concision, I refer to both institutions as "colleges" because the word "college" defines them both in the sense of a non-traditional post-

secondary institution that offers *both* "university transfer" courses and "career or technical/vocational" courses.

Colleges adapt like chameleons to suit the highly volatile labour market in the global economy. Distance education and virtual colleges have allowed colleges to free themselves from a particular region and liberate themselves from the bonds of loyalty to that region's constituents. In this way, colleges are utilitarian institutions, responsive to business needs and government imperatives. To illustrate this analogy, Muller (1990a) comments on Luker's examination of the Canadian Jobs Strategy in Ontario to show that

> colleges had been re-designed in the 1980s as public enterprises that were forced to sell the various products and services....college managers started to market their program (which were increasingly becoming "training packages), courses and certificates to whomever could afford to purchase them" (p. 18).

Muller's view contradicts Rhul's (1995) historical portrayal of community colleges as "meeting the steadily increasing student and community demands for their services" (1995, p. ix). Ruhl (1995) proudly proclaimed, "no other institution of higher learning is more responsive to the needs of the general population" (1995, p. 1). Clearly, Rhul's thesis requires reassessment given current social and policy trends in post-secondary education. In chapter four, I elaborate on this debate and assert that changes in an institutional mandate permit colleges to cater to a more elite clientele in the global marketplace. Furthermore, ideological shifts in college mission statements appear to encourage colleges to consolidate the positioning of certain groups who have the "social capital" and the economic resources to compete globally.

The changing relationship among business, government, community, colleges, and the public at large raises another issue concerning popular democratic and social justice issues related to post-secondary education. Consequently, the identity of the college as an institution that embodies equality and democracy seems now debatable. For example, some literature on the recruitment aspect of internationalization in colleges would seem to indicate that there is a bias towards partnering with those who are relatively "advantaged" in the global community (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996).

International students (or local students) who have the "right" background, networks and finances to gain entry into the more expensive or "elite" programs compared with those students who are more culturally or economically "disadvantaged." Research indicates that for most post-secondary institutions, tuition fees as well as debt load upon degree or diploma completion is increasing (Doherty-Delorme & Shaker, 1999). Consultations conducted by the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC) indicate that many people in the regional community felt that even if they could afford the tuition fees, the combination of tuition fees and the high cost of living in Nova Scotia discouraged post-secondary study (Nova Scotia Community College, 1998). Moreover, the trend for specialized programs with tuition fees that are comparable to expensive university tuition fees reflects a move towards a two-tiered, (if not a multi-tiered) education system, that is, programming for the economically advantaged and programming for the economically disadvantaged. Two questions that pertain to this trend are: "If this bias does exist, does internationalization help or hinder access to post-secondary? " and "To what extent have the colleges been concerned with equality of opportunity?" Simply stated, who wins, who loses, who cares?

The application of "Human Capital" theory, which continues to justify educational decisions, raises questions concerning equality of opportunity and access to education in the era of internationalization. Human capital theory is based on a belief that education offers a return investment, that is, money spent on education (in particular, post-secondary education) will ensure employment success. In other words, students can, in effect, buy a "private rate of return" through purchasing education. Woodhall (1997) explains that "human capital produces benefits to the individual and to society as a whole (p. 220). Livingstone (1999) acknowledges that individuals may benefit to a diminishing degree but firmly disputes the notion that society benefit from the "learning-earning" link (p. 134).

Herideen (1998) describes human capital theory as investing in people in order to develop a society of "technologically advanced workers" who will enable their country to better compete in the new "global" economy (p. 9). However, critics such as Brown and Lauder (1997) believe that human capital theory is flawed because although investment in education and training should increase national efficiency and social justice, this

investment does not account for the gross inequalities in access to education that continue to exist in this so-called "post-industrial" or "knowledge" economy. Besides, Carnoy (1999) claims that "employment and wage policies are nested in larger political philosophies which produce 'packages' of policy that inherently influence education and training responses" (p. 65). In addition, he questions "the increased inequality of access to high quality education and on-the-job training" (Carnoy, 1999, p. 65). The policies inherent in internationalization are closely linked to promoting the myth that investment in internationalized training will ensure a smooth transition to the labour market.

Canadian labour market analysts, however, are concerned about the growing gap between a highly skilled and highly under-skilled population (Nova Scotia Labour Market Development Secretariat, 1999). Livingstone (1999) also refers to the stagnation or decrease in real income earnings despite widespread educational expansion in the United States and Canada over the last few decades (p. 164). Colleges lie at the heart of this debate over the merits of human capital theory because they have traditionally been the sites where education and training converge to create the highly skilled labour market allegedly needed by all so-called "advanced" nations. Therefore, if colleges wish to create programs that are responsive to the labour market and are "in-line" with governmental policies, then a normative (moral) evaluation is essential to ensure responsiveness to the student community as well as to government and private partners. Colleges, as integral international "players" in the so-called "knowledge economy," should not add to the inequality or "gap" between the skilled and unskilled.

Luker ([1990] citing Muller, 1990) argues that colleges are not the great equalizers of class and race as was originally intended. Moreover, Luker (1990) believes that some colleges contribute to the divisiveness of class and race cleavages through reproducing class structures (p. 169). Valadez (1999) suggests that Bourdieu's construct of "habitus" is useful in examining the college student's preferences and decision-making process, which arguably contributes to class reproduction. Valadez (1999) defines "habitus" as a "strategy generating principle that drives all thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions, enabling individuals to decide about diverse tasks in their daily lives" (p. 85). Swartz (1997) explains Bourdieu's theory of "social capital" as those coming from a dominant cultural background and possessing the learned socially

acceptable behaviours that allow for upward mobility in education and employment. It is, however, the structural inequalities that determine the value of certain types of "social capital," in exchange for access to school and work, that limit individual choice if the individual has less social capital to cross socio-economic boundaries (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996). This approach looks beyond the individual's perception of the institutional structure and investigates the absence and impact.

As Canadians become more aware of the increasing trends in post-secondary education with an internationalized emphasis on "differential fees, full cost-recovery and the establishment of programs for profit," resentment toward the elite that provides the financial balance may surface (Fisher & Rubenson, 1998, p. 96). It is already the case that in some English as a Second Language (ESL) college programs the "Visa Students" appear to receive special considerations and privileges over the local provincially funded students in areas such as mandatory attendance. To clarify, if immigrants receiving government funding miss classes then instructors are duty bound to report them to the funding authorities while "Visa" students' absentees are generally overlooked. This inconsistency of regulations for all students within one program has the potential for conflicts and tension between the students based on perceived and preferred socio-economic status.

Research into the conflicts should direct its attention away from the students and critically examine how the college is organizing itself according to the new "vision" of the college to determine if the normative claims of accessibility are reinforced or undermined by this new direction. Some colleges, for example, have developed international business programs that share similarities with elite Masters in Business Administration (MBA) programs. This trend follows other college tendencies of emulating university programs, aspiring to become a "little" universities and therefore, more difficult to enter. Like the universities, colleges are increasingly encouraged to be entrepreneurial so programs that can promise full cost-recovery are highly valued. Fisher and Rubenson (1998) also predict "the marketing of programs at profit making rates to foreign elites will become the norm" (p. 96). Programs that "fit" the new vision will survive; the others will not. Therefore, institutional policy, some of which is influenced

by internationalization initiative, determines which ethnic and socio-economic communities participate in the new internationalized colleges.

As previously noted, the trend in internationalization is toward recruiting fully funded students. Campaigns are geared toward wealthy families in countries that lack the domestic educational resources to properly educate their elite (Lambert, 1995). This change in focus from "aid to trade" is a significant departure from international education departments in the past that were offering student exchanges with students from less industrialized countries who needed to be financially subsidized in order to attend community colleges (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996). Therefore, equality of opportunity is assumed despite elitist practices such as international students' full fee policies that facilitate a greater cleavage between the economically advantaged and disadvantaged and introduce new opportunities and constraints for non-traditional students.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter explores the methodology used to conduct a critical policy analysis of the post-secondary trend of internationalization and its impact on the local communities. After reviewing many theories on policy analysis and depictions of the complicated and contested nature of policy studies, Taylor et al. (1997) offer this simple definition, "policy analysis might be, the study of what governments do, why and with what effects" (p. 35). In addition, to engage in critical policy analysis means "there must be a concern with reform and change, recognizing, of course that these are value-laden terms" (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 37).

Critical policy analysis analyzes documents (text) and reviews secondary literature as qualitative research. After reviewing the structure of this study, I situate it in a critical realist framework then discuss the methodological implications of a critical social science design. Then I describe some field experiences and justify my choice of the two particular institutions analyzed here. My preferred method, that is, critical discourse analysis, is also justified. Finally, the chapter explores the application of critical policy analysis in more detail in relation to how it can be used to study post-secondary institutional reform.

Theoretical Models

This document analysis compares two public institutions, Grant MacEwan College (GMC) and the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB). Specifically, it examines provincial and college policies that reveal the processes of internationalization over the last decade. Selected documents from both GMC and UCCB in addition to documented policies from the Nova Scotia and Alberta governments are described, analyzed, and critiqued. Thus, I provide a critical historical analysis incorporating both primary and secondary sources.

Critical and Historical Realism

The process of conducting qualitative research begins with an exploration into how the researcher sees the world. Guba & Lincoln (1994) offer a helpful starting point through the explanation of the concept "paradigm." A paradigm "represents a worldview that *defines* for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107 [emphasis in original]). Critical research, as part of qualitative research, requires a personal examination of epistemological and ontological beliefs so that the methodology complements the researcher's worldview as well as the research method. To this end, Guba & Lincoln (1994) reiterate the need for methodological questions, such as "how can the inquirer (would-be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?" keeping in mind that these questions impact choice of method (p. 108).

The methodology that suits the philosophical and practical purposes of this study is most closely linked with "critical realism." Morrow & Brown (1994) credit Bhaskar (1979) for developing critical realism, a "post-empiricist alternative that is largely compatible with critical theory and strengthens its critique of skeptical postmodernism" (p. 136). Scott (2000) lists Bhaskar's four foundational principles that clarify the "transcendental realist" ontological position. In short, Bhaskar (as cited in Scott, 2000, p. 14) maintains that according to a realist, (1) objects in the world exist even if they are not known; (2) "knowledge is fallible" therefore claims are open to contest; (3) we may only have knowledge of what appears yet there are "underlying structures which are not easily apprehended"; and (4) "truths....may be in conflict with their appearances." With regards to the first principle, this study believes, similarly, that ideologies in post-secondary institutions exist even if they are not "known" or explicitly stated in post-secondary documents. This study also concurs with the realist concept of the contingent nature of the "real (consisting of mechanisms), the actual (consisting of events), and the empirical (consisting of experiences)" (Scott, 2000, p. 14). Research that explores the underlying reality consequently requires identification, description and a critical orientation in order to understand the internationalization process in post-secondary institutions.

Wai-Chung Yeung (1997) takes up Bhaskar's second principle that lays knowledge claims open to debate. He (1997) argues that according to a critical realist,

"all knowledge is fallible, but not *equally* fallible" (p. 54 [emphasis in original]). This view offers an important distinction with regard to the need for "explanatory critique" and "human example" in determining fallibility (Wai-Chung Yeung, 1997, p. 54). Therefore, a critical realist perspective can be advanced by a critical theory paradigm that probes for explanation for not only *what* we know but for *how* we know what we know. In other words, when a critical realist engages in "a philosophical argument about the ontology of reality; it is not just another epistemological prescription" (Wai-Chung Yeung, 1997, p. 54). The need for explanation and critique can bring the researcher closer to an understanding of the "objective" truth within the structures or institutions that are studied. A more detailed description of the critical realist concept of "explanatory critique" will be dealt with later in this chapter on methods.

The historical aspect contributes to discussion of how structures are argued and understood in realism. Guba & Lincoln (1994) further distinguish between the ontology of critical realism and historical realism according to postpositivist or critical theory frameworks. Within the ontology of critical realism under a *postpositivist paradigm* reality can be "apprehended only imperfectly and probabilistically" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Yet arguably, under a *critical theory paradigm* of historical realism, reality is "apprehendable" within historically situated structures that are shaped by "social, political, cultural and gender factors" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110 [emphasis added). As Morrow and Brown (1994) suggest, "the basic idea underlying what we refer to as historicist argumentation is that knowledge of the context and conditions, in which particular research findings are produced can be relevant to their evaluation and ultimate validation" (p. 236). The ontological "reality" of a particular setting can be observed over time, as is demonstrated by looking at the institutions in this study over the last decade. Furthermore, historical realism, situates the institutions within their unique political and cultural contexts over time, yet recognizes the inherent "imperfections" of any ideological or rhetorical analysis in claiming absolute explanations of phenomenon.

The struggle to better apprehend "reality," however elusive, was the goal in this study that borrowed from a critical theory framework. The concepts of "insight" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994), the dialectical or critical consciousness (Freire, 1972) and self-reflection (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994) are essential to tenants of

critical theory that aspire to emancipatory purposes. To illustrate, critical researchers "attempt to restructure social relations of domination (they) search for insights into an ever-evolving notion of social theory and the understanding it brings to their struggle for self-location in the net of overlapping social, cultural and economic contexts" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 147). While this "insight" does not guarantee a claim to truth nor ensure "emancipation," critical research does attempt to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and call power relationships into question that may have been previously accepted. A brief detour that details the origins of critical theory reaffirms the relationship between the methodology of critical realism and the approaches developed under "critical social science."

Critical Social Science

Giroux (1983) provides an historical background to critical theory through a discussion of the Frankfurt school, where critical theorists such as Adorno, Marcuse, and Horkheimer stressed, "the importance of critical thinking by arguing that it is a constitutive feature of the struggle for self- emancipation and social change" (p. 8). He further sketches out some core beliefs of early critical educators,

> The Frankfurt school took as one of its central values a commitment to penetrate the world of objective appearances to expose the underlying social relationships they often conceal. In other words, penetrating such appearances meant exposing through critical analysis social relationships that took on the status of things or objects. For instance, by examining notions such as money, consumption, distribution, and production, it becomes clear that none of these represents an objective thing or fact, but rather all are historically contingent contexts mediated by relationships of domination and subordination (Giroux, 1983, p. 9).

For this study, it is the colleges in their historic context which require an analysis to expose the relationship between institution and community in light of equitable (or inequitable) educational "distribution."

For the purposes of looking at educational institutions and the language of mission statements and policies, this study borrows from critical theory and in doing so,

distances itself from "positivistic" forms of inquiry. Positivist rationality is described as "functioning within an operational context free from ethical commitments"[emphasis in original] (Giroux, 1983, p. 15). An institution must maintain ethical commitments to the community in which it exists and consequently demands a form of inquiry that questions those ethics. Critical theory is distinctively post-positivistic because of the belief that separating facts from values and restructuring the position of "objectivity" is the basis for critique (Giroux, 1983). Therefore, critical theorists have argued that "it was in the contradiction of society that one could begin to develop forms of social inquiry that analyzed the distinction between *what is* and *what ought* to be" (Giroux, 1983, p. 9 [emphasis in original]). The policy analysis in chapter six looks empirically and normatively at such contradictions.

Normative statements that would address such contradictions need not be dismissed as irrational. This is because "we continually uphold normative or value propositions that are entirely unproblematic and without a doubt rational in every sense" (Morrow, 1994, p. 239). By questioning the possibility of emotionally distorted "evidence" in science, Morrow & Brown (1994) privilege the "(potential) practical rationality of normative reasoning and related social practices" for social research (p. 239). Critical theory, therefore, should include a normative aspect in its analysis as well as an historical understanding of conditions that shape the educational contexts. Giroux (1983) reminds us that critical theory must

> acknowledge the value-laden interests it represents and be able to reflect critically on both the historical development or genesis of such interests and the limitations they may present within certain historical and social contexts (p. 17).

These two considerations factored into the decision to use a critical and a historical lens to examine two Canadian institutions, GMC and UCCB.

Critical theory combines normative and empirical analysis to explore the complexity of ideological assumptions. This study looks at institutions as sites of ideological struggle not readily apparent. Morrow & Brown, (1994) believe that ideologies are more than "belief systems characteristic of modern politics" (p. 51). They are also defined as

> cultural mechanisms involved in the creation and potential distortions of consciousness and communication in everyday life...ideological practices are a pervasive feature of the practices that make up institutions even where this is not overtly associated with ideologies as organized belief systems (Morrow & Brown, 1994, p. 52).

The process of internationalization in post-secondary institutions is an example of such a process informed by ideological practices.

Critical theory methodology provides ways to link institutions and community, and considers issues of inclusion and exclusion, based on ethnicity, class, and gender. Unlike purely Marxian forms of critical research, critical theory includes the analysis of ethnicity and gender. As Kincheloe & McLaren (1994) point out, Christine Griffith and others at the gender study group at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) have "moved critical research in a multicultural direction" (p. 145). I argued in chapter two that the concept of multiculturalism, albeit contested and scrutinized in Canada, maintains an ideal of unity in diversity that appears to conform to a "critical notion of democracy in terms of the concepts of multiplicity and difference" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 145). However, critical theory provides a framework that has evolved to incorporate multiple perspectives without conflating or privileging one over the others and provides a critical edge to the concept of critical multiculturalism, a term I also elaborated on in chapter two. For example, the sites of study may show increased post-secondary enrolment for women, but those women may fall into the category of "traditional students" and are therefore less likely to be excluded by the academic community. Critical researchers "maintain that the meaning of an experience of observation is not self-evident" (Kincheloe &, 1994, p. 144). In this study, the use of the term internationalization in post-secondary institutions was therefore examined through critical multicultural perspectives within a critical framework.

This study also explores the notion of "marginality" by questioning who has access to post-secondary education that is being "internationalized" in GMC and UCCB. Critical multiculturalism, thus, is one stream of critical theory that has been used to critique privileged access to knowledge in post-secondary institutions. Under the critical

multiculturalism framework, Rhoads & Valadez (1996) critique the forms of knowledge expected in mainstream education as "nothing more than an assimilationist strategy used to silence cultural difference and stifle democracy. The canon promotes a unitary and simplistic view of culture and strives to produce a homogeneous society" (p. 15). This mainstream strategy in education is blind to issues raised in "emancipatory education" and usually specifies a generic social interest (e.g. Canadian) rather than asking about specific interests. In other words, critical multiculturalism questions "emancipatory knowledge for whom, for what and in whose interests?" (Usher, Bryant and Johnson, 1997, p. 195). Moreover, Rhoads and Valadez 's (1996) define border knowledge to explain the gap between the mainstream and the margin of "knowledge":

> border knowledge...knowledge that resides outside the canon, outsider of the cultural mainstream...a form of cultural capital unworthy of exchange... is embraced by those situated on society's margins. And because race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and age all contribute to marginality, it is hardly surprising that members of diverse culture groups face the most serious challenges in negotiating college and university settings (p. 7).

This view correlates well with Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, which I discuss in more detail later, and further locates the issues on marginalization in the cultural structures of the post-secondary context in Canada, in addition to the United States.

Finally, the use of critical theory in qualitative research design also discerns what strand of theory is valued by the researcher. Unlike positivistic approaches, critical theory recognizes research not as value-neutral with an outside interest-but value committed with an inside interest. This interest sides with the emancipation of the exploited, oppressed, marginalized, and excluded. Freire's work is positioned to develop "conscientization," (1972) the ability to name and struggle against forces of oppression. Critical theory as research and pedagogy can be the conduit for linking education to broader movements of social action.

A significant debate exists on the rationale for applying Freirian principles to a Canadian post-secondary context because arguably the contexts may be too divergent for meaningful application or implementation (Findlay, 1994). Freire has also been

criticized for an insensitivity to issues of gender, privilege and internal conflicts inherent in the conscientization discussions (Weiler, 1994). Nonetheless, for many, Freire's contribution to the field of critical pedagogy remains essential and informs some of my thinking (Findlay, 1994; Puiggros, 1994).

While some critical theorists find limitations in Freire, others find fault in the narrow focus of some feminist methodologies. For example, Wendy Ball (1992) praises the valuable contributions that feminist methodologies have made to critical social research, yet simultaneously Ball laments the occasional failure of feminists to acknowledge the specific struggles of racial origin and of social class. With these concerns as caveats, the critical research methods that inform the analysis is less interested in the epistemological debates of "identity politics" pervasive in postmodern discourse and more interested in the exploration of the concept and reality (ontology) of "marginality," in post-secondary education.

Neuman (1999) also provides useful differentiations between positivist, interpretive, and critical social science that further justify the critical approach used in this study. Critical social science and interpretive social science share similar criticisms of positivistic approaches, for example, because positivism "ignores the social context and is anti-humanist" (p. 76). Moreover, critical theorists believe that positivist social science "defend(s) the status quo because it assumes an unchanging social order instead of seeing current society as a particular stage in an ongoing process" (p. 76). However, an important distinction that illustrates where interpretivism differs from critical social science lies in their ontological orientation. An interpretive approach believes social reality is subjective, fluid and made meaningful by peoples' perceptions while a critical approach believes that social reality exists, "independent of human consciousness" and sometimes shifting according to "social, political, and cultural influences" (Neuman, 1999, p. 76). Thus, my belief that social reality exists within distinct contexts of post-secondary institutions (e.g. neo-liberal trends, programming choices) regardless of the meaning that I, as a researcher bring to the process, justifies the choice to forego interpretive research in lieu of critical. Furthermore, as Sayer (1998) argues, postmodern tendencies that often guide interpretative approaches are characterized by

> (an) exaggerated suspicion of distinctions between appearance and substance, words and deeds, the apparent and the actual, and of treating the first term in each pair as less important for the second for fear of epistemological dogmatism or illegitimate "normativety."

The process of providing explanations for these distinctions (as Fairclough [1998] would identify as "explanatory critique")[3] offers the possibility to voice legitimate, normative claims necessary for institutional transformation.

Internationalization is a concept and a real societal process that is having an effect on post-secondary institutions at a particular moment in time. Kincheloe & McLaren's (1994) description of "workers as critical researchers"[4] captures the possibilities of changing the perceptions of the world in which we live through active participatory critical research. This example also demonstrates the need for an approach that examines policies in institutions as a historical process, not as an immutable consequence. Critical research, here, thus acknowledges the real power and the dominance of the market on education and its dynamics of internationalization while promoting an alternative critique that the market dynamics could and should be challenged.

Research Design

As mentioned above, this study uses a research design that is qualitative in nature. Denzin & Lincoln (1994) reinforce the diverse nature of qualitative research because it "privileges no single methodology over any other" and "has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own" (p. 3). However, this does not mean that qualitative research is shapeless or aimless. On the contrary, a qualitative research design has "an ongoing critique of the politics and methods of positivism" and also commits to "an intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being studied, and the situational restraints that shape inquiry...the value-laden nature of inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 4). The last point is of particular interest because, as illustrated earlier, a critical methodology emphasizes the need to probe "value-laden interests" (Giroux, 1983).

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[3] See Norman Fairclough (1998) for more on the concept of " explanatory critique."
[4] For more detail on workers as critical researcher see J. L. Kincheloe & McLaren, P. L. (1994).

As demonstrated in the first part of this chapter, qualitative research design considers the importance of ontology, epistemology and methodology. As Denzin & Lincoln (1994) explain, the "gendered, multiculturally situated researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that are examined (methodology, analysis)" (p. 11). A qualitative research design that uses a critical theory framework involves interpreting theory beyond classifying objective data. Instead, it involves an interpretive understanding of how a text, for instance, is read with a particular understanding "in terms of its location within a particular moment marked by a particular gender, race or class ideology" (Denzin & Lincoln, p. 3). In the above section I have linked the methodology of critical realism with the paradigm of critical theory under a qualitative research design. I now report on some of the choices made "in the field" both before and during the data collection.

Initial Field Research: Testing the Waters

The process of field research typically involves a combination of participant observation and ethnographic interviewing of participants in their natural settings (Neuman, 1999). A key feature of field research is the direct interaction with human participants in order to understand a person, group of people or community. In this study, however, the primary focus was on the institutional processes, as expressed through various policies. Therefore, the "participant" interaction during the exploratory phase of my research did not hold much promise for revealing the underlying realities of institutional direction. I elaborate later on some of the limitations I encountered during the period when I initially considered borrowing "ethnographic" tools, such as the ethnographic interview, to provide explanations for internationalization processes in both institutions.

As Marshall & Rossman (1995) explain, in qualitative inquiry "initial questions for research often come from real world observations, dilemmas, and questions and have emerged from the interplay of the researcher's direct experience, tacit theories and growing scholarly interest" (p. 16). As mentioned in chapter one, my initial interest came from observing the subtle stratifications in the context of institutions and organizations that deal with English as a Second Language students, some of whom were Canadian

citizens or landed immigrants and some of whom were international students. For example, I wondered why a Phillipino woman with excellent verbal and written skills was being encouraged by student counselors to take para-professional courses instead of professional courses while the "international" students were being guided (albeit slowly through a series of preparatory courses) into university transfer courses. At that point, I reflected on the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic status among my family, friends, former students and finally myself and the multiple functions of colleges to respond to the needs of such diverse groups geographically bound by a community.

Secondly, with an interest in how institutions function in relation to the labour market and private sector interests in North and South countries, I saw colleges and university colleges as unique, and metamorphous sites of study. Consequently, before deciding on this study, some preliminary research interests included a paper that examined business discourse in college mission statements and later an exploratory paper of internationalization policy with a focus on differential fees for international students. During the data collection for those papers, I attempted to gauge how I might proceed in conducting interviews for this study keeping in mind that field research for my study would require access to specific historical information. I found that some of the college members that I preliminarily identified as future participants had already left the college by the time I began writing my proposal for this study. Moreover, initial questions about the links between internationalization and multiculturalism invoked puzzling or ambiguous responses. These two indicators alerted me to the possibility that interviews might not capture the historical changes in language and the shifts in ideological approaches. Instead, these shifts could be better explained through an analysis of textual accounts of internationalization and multicultural policies. The following section briefly discusses my choice of institutions and some accessibility issues that arose while collecting the data.

Institution

Several considerations and assumptions affected my choice of institutions for study. As previously mentioned, regional differences in post-secondary education are provocative and, as Hurabielle (1998) noted, often under-researched. Therefore, I

originally sought to look at Grant MacEwan College (GMC) in Edmonton, Alberta, and the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC) in Halifax, Nova Scotia. My assumption was that if both colleges were (at one time) called "community colleges" then they would have much in common. However, after spending several weeks at one of the NSCC campuses, looking at documents and observing the institution, it did not seem to be as comparable to Grant MacEwan as I had hoped. The size, scope and history of the Centre for International Studies at the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB) seemed more comparable to GMC. In addition, although UCCB offers undergraduate degrees, its unusual programming that caters to liberal arts as well as "technical" or "vocational" interests resembles GMC programming more so than NSCC. The decision to look more closely at UCCB than NSCC was a difficult one considering the amount of time invested in making contacts and gathering NSCC documents. Nonetheless, based on my observations of the college I decided that in terms of "internationalization," and programming, NSCC had less in common with GMC than I had anticipated and thus, the University College of Cape Breton provided a more insightful comparison.

Accessibility

Early in the research process I had decided to complement the study with statistics. I had hoped to attain a demographic breakdown of which students were attending both institutions because then the analysis of the dominant trends could be statistically corroborated. My particular interest in using aggregate statistics was to explore if enrolment trends followed economic shifts and subsequently if these shifts had any impact on who was attending UCCB and GMC now as compared to who was attending the same institutions a decade ago. In order to access institutional documents, such as registration information, it was often necessary to contact key members of the institution and explain the purpose of my study before I requested information on student enrolment. While this process seemed to go well in the initial stages of my research, not long after I initiated the process, several stumbling blocks arose related to data collection, privacy of student information, information technology and the politics of my research topic.

Regarding the first three blocks, the first block was that institutions do not collect the same type of information that represents a student's ethnicity, gender or socio-economic status equally. For example, an institution may be able to claim that women make up over half of the student population but would not be able to say that recent immigrants or international students comprise a certain population percentage. The second block was that the application process does not encourage personal disclosure of information that might reveal, for example, if non-traditional students are freely accessing these institutions. Moreover, the Freedom of Information and Privacy policy (FOIP) limits the availability of student information deemed "personal." This protective mechanism means that most demographic information at post-secondary institutions is under lock and key and is frequently shredded when not being currently used. The third block was that the two institutions in this study differed with regards to how student information was made available. While the UCCB registrar provided a useful demographic breakdown of international students according to their country of origin, GMC claimed that specific information about international students was not accessible because of computer system constraints. Thus, my intention to use aggregate statistics in conjunction with institutional documents and related literature was thwarted because I could not collect comparable data from both institutions.

In addition to the above challenges and constraints, the underlying political culture of the institution also inhibited the collection of statistical data. To illustrate, I assumed I would get access to institutional information because I had been employed at Grant MacEwan for several years. This assumption proved both correct and incorrect. People were helpful up to a point, but as I inquired about specific statistics concerning students' gender and socio economic status, assurances that there were means to accessing that information vanished and phone calls and emails ceased to be returned. I considered several reasons for this reaction. One may be statistics simply were not available for public viewing due to increased concerns over privacy. Conversely, my requests could have been interpreted as revealing information about the trends in student body that Grant MacEwan would prefer to keep confidential. Another possibility includes the existence of unspoken internal policies that might determine the availability of the information according to the authority of the person who asks for such information.

Thus, while field research requiring interview access to key players would have been difficult, policy analysis also had its own limitations.

Certainly, policy research that is conducted "inside" the institution differs from an "outside" analysis. This last possible explanation relates to the differentiation of orientation in conducting policy analysis. Ozga (2000) discusses different research orientation, operationalized by Dale (1986) as the "social administration project," the policy analysis project, and the social science project" (p. 39). Though Ozga (2000) acknowledges the "blurring of the edges around policy analysis, in that it can encompass the academic analysis *of* policy as well as analysis *for* policy," (p. 40 [emphasis in original]). Her distinction of accountability in some cases "to the research community, rather than to the customer or sponsor," provides a relevant explanation for some of the difficulties I encountered in accessing information (Ozga, 2000, p. 40). In other words, I presented myself as an employee and a graduate student interested in conducting a critical policy analysis, which, in retrospect, was not likely seen as exclusively benefiting the institution and consequently, less legitimate.

Research Method

The following section introduces the research methods for this study. Specifically, this incorporates document analysis (critical discourse), policy analysis, and the application of secondary literature.

Document Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis

Document analysis and critical discourse analysis are closely linked but the latter frames the former in the language of critical theory. To clarify, this study analyzed documents that were written "text" as opposed to the spoken words or transcripts of participants. Jackson (1998) aptly notes that text "endures physically, so can be separated across space and time from its author, producer of user" (p. 2). This method entailed describing, identifying and analyzing the complex "contents" of the chosen "texts" or "documents." Document analysis is frequently used to triangulate with other methods in other kinds of qualitative research studies. However, given the decision to use documents exclusively, this study requires a specific type of document analysis that

incorporates a critical framework. Therefore, "critical discourse analysis" which operates under a critical theory framework and a critical realist methodology, guided this study. As Jackson (1998) states, critical discourse analysis "attempts to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse of communicative events in the (re) production of dominance and inequality" (p. 3). In the following section, I defend the decision to use a critical discourse analysis [used interchangeably with " text" analysis) based on institutional documentation as my primary data source. This decision was based on observations, assumptions, and opinions from secondary literature on the reliability of choosing a suitable method upon which I now expand (Tierney, 1991; Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1994; Taylor et al., 1997).

I began with the observation that post-secondary institutions, particularly colleges, are known to be highly responsive to changes in the political and economic climate. Colleges are less encumbered with the bureaucracy of university decision-making, colleges, with board cooperation. They have the capability to "dream big" and implement quickly. The dreams that are represented in college data show "visions" of an internationalized, multicultural, technological, and entrepreneurial and community oriented institution (Easton, 1999). While it is possible for an institution to be some or all of these things at different points in time, this study assumes that studying documents and related policies in an institution would reveal tendencies that are linked to the dominant ideologies or "dreams" shaping an institution over a period of time. Text analysis, thus, offers an approach that accommodates the need for situating the institutions in their historical context and provides concrete evidence to support my inferences and conclusions. Furthermore, Tierney (1991) suggests that describing an institution requires that the researcher understand the nature of what he calls an "adaptive identity... rather than describe what an institution wants to do, the adaptive approach emphasizes what an institution does" (p. 39). Documents reveal some of those contradictions between what institutional planning may "dream" in terms of internationalization and what is planned or has actually happened.

Text analysis can also describe and explain the infrastructure of an institution. Policies can offer insight into future trends based on concrete actions. These methods are

not bogged down with determining the informant's truth or what Lincoln and Guba (1994) define as "informant trustworthiness." Tierney (1991) aptly suggests that

> the participant's perception of reality does not necessarily imply organizational "truth." Simply because as a faculty member says that she perceives the mission of the college as a service to working class students does not meant that the college actually serves that clientele (pp. 9-10).

Furthermore, to emphasize a point, a standard qualitative method of interviewing participants runs the risk of accounts which "include a distorted or magnified perception of their role in relation to a particular policy" (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 42). Therefore, in order to be the most reliable, or "trustworthy," documents reveal in a more concrete way the historical developments of the internationalization process, without relying on the memory of informants to describe decisions made several years earlier. Similarly, Marshall and Rossman (1995) note that "many research studies have a historical base or context, so systematic historical analysis enhances the trustworthiness and credibility of a study" (p. 90). This study gathered substantial data from both institutions over a specific period of time in order to enhance trustworthiness and credibility.

Also, the use of language strategies and rhetoric to change discourse and justify decisions figures prominently in this study. Taylor et al. (1997) reinforce the value of discourse theory to "move to the area of language and explore further the way equity issues are framed within the document" (p. 49). The documents accurately record the language used and can be interpreted according to key words, repetition, description and omission. For example, Duke's study (1992) of a learning university delves into the wider implications of an institutional choice to adopt new vocabulary and throw away the old, thereby altering the cultural and political atmosphere of an institution. These trends need to be examined in print over time in order to explain why those changes came into being. Similarly, Usher, Bryant and Johnston (1994) refer to Duke's study and ask, "Does (that) language entail a transformation of practice?" (p. 62). They describe certain texts as especially revealing, i.e. "missions are carefully crafted projections of practice intentions, providing evidence of what and institution thinks of itself and where it is going" (Usher, Bryant and Johnston 1994, p. 63). Therefore, documents (texts)

potentially reveal intentions and open up the possibility for research to gain a deeper understanding of the causes for shifts in institutional ideology.

The process for this study involved first gathering a wide selection of documents that might reveal information about the internationalization or multicultural processes or programming (e.g. calendars, minutes, policies, course descriptions, newspapers and various reports). I then scanned all the documents for any references to international, multicultural or development education. Following that process, I summarized the relevant points from each document, focusing on the historical and current "internationalizing "directives for any activities, courses, programs. Themes that emerged from the documents included: institutional missions, institutional role, history of internationalization, model of international centre, funding, recruiting, programming, and internationalization as policy.

In addition to providing an organizational structure by which the institutions could be compared, a critical discourse analysis is concerned with unearthing the ideological underpinnings of the language emerged. Ozga (2000) believes that the language of policy texts are inherently "narrative" and therefore can "tell a story about what is possible or desirable to achieve through educational policy" (p. 95). Therefore, in the analysis, "they can be scrutinized for their portrayal of character and plot, for their use of particular forms of language in order to produce impressions, or responses, they may have an authorial "voice" or seek to convey the impression of multiple viewpoints (Ozga, 2000, p. 95). Following this argument to read texts as narratives suits the need for critical policy research to reveal ideological assumptions that come from the voices of the text.

Ethical Considerations

Before initiating this study, conversations with college personnel at another institution had alerted me to the repercussions of interviewing staff and faculty in an atmosphere of departmental cutbacks and fiscal restraint. It appears that many positions in public colleges are contract positions that are subject to change with very little notice. Staff members often do not know if their contracts will be renewed until shortly before the contract begins which creates an atmosphere of vulnerability and insecurity. Unfortunately, associations or labour unions offer only minimal protection for the new

trend of "contracted" staff, if they are present in the colleges at all. To further illustrate the precariousness of employment at public post-secondary institutions, occasionally even higher administrative positions are subject to change. Through tracing the history of one senior administrative positions in one college those who were chiefly responsible for the "internationalization process" appeared to change more frequently than expected. Therefore, if employees' jobs are tenuous at best, interviews that would reveal information about internationalization practices could be interpreted as disloyal and therefore, threaten position or privilege. This study acknowledges that differences of opinion among staff members are usually not publicly discussed. Furthermore, the limited pool of potential "interviewees" who would have first hand knowledge of the internationalization process would jeopardize their anonymity. The above reasons led me to question the validity of interviews or targeted surveys to determine organizational "truth."

Notwithstanding these possibilities, Dudley (1998) points out, it is through the "positivist construction of truth-of the form of rationality called neo-classical or neo-liberal economics-alternative ways of shaping policy, alternative assumptions regarding the meaning(s) and role(s) of education are silenced" (p. 30). Ozga (2000) demonstrates the use of textual analysis to reveal "silences" in policy documents on white papers detailing proposed reforms. She states "a further silence concerns the purposes of education, beyond the drive towards economic competitiveness. There is some discussion of agendas beyond the economic, but these appear to me to be rather muted and unspecific" (Ozga, 2000, p. 103). For this study, these concepts are perhaps clearer in text form than if they are analyzed through oral speech, particularly if a specific issue or population is mentioned in documents and then incrementally disappears.

Practical Considerations

Without time limits or anonymity concerns for this study, I would have chosen to include in-depth ethnographic interviews with key "players" in the internationalization process for these institutions as their insights would have added a descriptive dimension that unfortunately may be absent in the document analysis. Future research possibilities include options to interview a wide variety of "stakeholders," or policy actors to obtain

alternative perspectives on the economic and political impact of internationalization. A multi institutional study that used pseudonyms for "interviewees" might allow for voicing other opinions or concerns.[5]

Policy Analysis

Choosing a method for analyzing policy was complex for this study because it is narrow in its comparative focus but also needs a wider focus to understand the context of policy formation. As Clyburn (1995) notes, "policy as text is difficult to study in isolation of its context" (p. 51). The field of educational policy analysis and general concerns for analysis of educational reform are relatively new in that the flourishing of policy analysis appears to have blossomed in the 1980s and shows no signs of demise (Cibulka, 1995; Humes 1997; Troyna, 1994). The expansion of the policy field brought continual debates around all aspects of analysis including methods, models and approaches. Raab (1994) describes policy studies as having developed its own "conceptual armory as well as a literature that draws upon the broader study of politics, government and the State" (p. 19). Raab (1994) encourages intellectual debate on the sociology of education policy but also argues, "that when education is being so rapidly transformed, and when there is so much to be studied, is connoissership of models and methods, not an affordable luxury?" (p. 18). However, with regard to this study, as it is microanalysis that compares the formation of internationalization policies, it was necessary to heed some of the controversial discourses on policy analysis. This included looking at how to analyze from a macro and a micro perspective, how to use critical theory to guide the analysis and how to contextualize the study.

While it is generally recognized that the subtleties of educational policy often require more than a statistical analysis, a critique of contemporary policy analysis is that some qualitative studies were becoming too "micro" at the expense of including a perspective on the larger picture (Raab, 1994). To that end, "various instruments are being taken up to look at the 'impact,' effects of consequences of policy, to get inside its language, or 'discourse,' or to explain its provenance and processes" (Raab, 1994, p. 18).

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[5] See Levin, J. (2000) for an extensive case study of colleges in Canada and the United States.

Therefore, the document analysis required not only that the researcher "get inside" but also link the policy with the effects or impact that can be interpreted with the understanding that all analysis occurs as part of a macro process in political arenas that are continually shifting and changing. Humes (1997) defends the use of a conceptual framework to prevent an "undigested, anecdotal treatment of data" and suggests that documents undergo a "careful scrutiny, not just in terms of their surface meaning but also in terms of their underlying messages" (pp. 23-24). The critical theorist shares some views with the action researcher if the researcher supports the concept that "the human variant seeks a theory which will simultaneously *explain* the social world, *criticize* it, and *empower* its audience to overthrow it" (Fay, 1987, p. 42 [emphasis in original]). Therefore, looking at documents with a critical eye and a structural framework fit the purposes of this study.

With regard to policy formation in post-secondary education, colleges and university colleges are specific institutions that have been affected by provincial restructuring processes. To link provincial policy with program formation required that the methodology of this study was suitable to ask questions of the analyzed text while recognizing that linkages are not always straightforward. Humes (1997) also claims that although some methods (i.e. Ball's interviewing technique) can be applied to other analysis (i.e. document analysis); no one method is comprehensive. For this reason, I borrow several techniques for an emerging methodology of discourse analysis and framed my analysis with the following conceptual structure of contexts.

Policy Framework

Sandra Taylor et al. (1997) outline three frameworks to explore educational policy: the context, the text and the consequences. Attached to the first two frameworks are two underlying questions: the context (why and why now) and text (how and what). There were no specific questions attached to the third framework of "consequences;" thus, I chose to adapt the model to include the question, "what impact" to accompany that section in keeping with the overall purpose of the research to explain the impact of social practices and possible recommendations for future directions.

In the first framework, "context," Taylor et al. (1997) suggest the need to look more broadly at the "antecedents and pressures leading to the gestation of a specific policy. These include the many economic and social and political factors which lead to an issue being placed on the policy agenda" (Taylor et al., p. 45, 1997). From these guidelines, I have focused mainly on some of the key factors influencing the internationalization direction for colleges and the historical background of programming policies. A look at the "context" is also a look at the background that situates the study. In this case, I chose to describe the relationships between the colleges and the federal and provincial governments; the relationships between colleges and post-secondary education; and finally, the relationships between the colleges and the concepts of internationalization, multiculturalism, and international development. In sketching out these relationships, I scanned the literature for patterns and identified trends that surfaced as I uncovered information.

The second part of the framework involved the "texts" or in other words, the primary data. This section required that I critically examine the assumptions and ideologies behind the college directives to determine how the colleges were internationalizing. This process involved "interviewing" the texts in order to identify thematically what the documents revealed. For example, if I observed that a college increased programming in a particular area, I looked for answers as to why that decision was made by searching for similar documents that may have surfaced in that particular time frame. The text (and quite often the rhetoric) in mission statements or other documents aided in answering questions like "What is going on at this particular time?" and more importantly, "How might the college be justifying these particular shifts?" The process of identifying trends in order to then identify how social practices are sustained ideologically, as mentioned earlier, is also referred to as "explanatory critique" (Fairclough, 1998).

An important aspect of this model is the focus on discourse theory and various linguistic strategies because "what is not said is often as important as what is said. Thus, an analysis of the silences of a policy may be very telling" (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 50). For example, the absence of the word "community" in what was formerly called "Grant MacEwan Community College" is only one example that reveals a shift toward and also a

shift away from serving the needs of a specific population. More of these "absences" and contradictions (critical indicators) will be explained in chapter six.

Finally, in exploring the consequences, it was necessary to look at the effects and possibly predict how the direction may continue based on what had been implemented so far. An examination of the on-going nature of policy implementation needed to be taken into consideration throughout the comparison (Taylor et al., 1997). Cibulka (1995) describes the rhetoric of critical research or "hegemonic model" as being "capable of conceptualizing policy as an evolving phenomenon" (p. 25). Therefore, the rhetoric embedded in the data sheds light on how the institutions might justify changing policies. This model, influenced by critical research theory, explored the context, text and consequences with an *a priori* assumption that within the college context there are dominant discourses that drive policy change.

Secondary Literature and Educational Theories

A review of secondary literature figures prominently to complement my document analysis. What other researchers have written about the internationalization process in post-secondary education informed my analysis. For example, *Dimensions of the Community College: International, Intercultural and Multicultural Perspectives* offered current research, case studies and countless definitions. Specifically, the image of international education moving from "aid" to "trade" (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996) that was reinforced by other researchers provoked further questions on social practices that may or may not have been evident in GMC and UCCB. Lastly, examining theories such as critical multiculturalism, human capital, and educational reproduction theory and applying these theories to the social practices at both institutions also guided the analysis.

Historical contexts and political environments are important so my research borrows from contemporary and historical-comparative research because "intense and directed questioning, a good theory about where to look, a clear value position and a historical orientation help the critical researcher probe beneath the surface reality" (Neuman, 1999, pp. 77-78). It would appear that colleges can boast of such things as expansion, new buildings, and graduate success rates but is this in fact happening? Documents appear to show little "resistance" to or questioning of college directives.

However, beyond the surface is the possibility that the agents of internationalization direction coupled with adherents to neo-liberal agenda construct texts that do not allow the voices of alternatives to arise. This study questions *the absence of voices and searches for the connection between internationalization directives and changes to programming policy as expressed through policy discourse.* It also reveals some of the underlying assumptions inherent in internationalization discourse so evident today in the colleges and provides an opportunity for challenging these assumptions with a defensible and informed critique.

Delimitations

Several delimitations narrow the focus for this study. First, the comparison was de-limited to two colleges that had undergone considerable changes in the last seven years in their respective provinces. When asked about access to document analysis for one college, a respondent had suggested that the college only kept data on file for a few years. This speaks to the contemporary nature of this analysis. This study was primarily delimited to documents from 1992 to the present although occasionally documents from the 1980s were necessary to provide background for certain initiatives. Taylor et al.'s framework (1997) was used to examine the chosen documents, to cement the process and to narrow the focus in the examination of context, text, and consequences.

Secondly, this study only examined college documents that were related to college programming or international /multicultural initiatives. It did not delve into areas such as recruitment, credentialing, or job placement. In addition, the provincial and college documents, and media reports were those that were related to internationalization policies that informed post- secondary education, specifically colleges. Although I refer to other institutes when needed, larger study of the effect on post-secondary education that included technical institutes and universities was not feasible due to time constraints and economic resources.

Finally, while this study recognizes that ethnicity, mother tongue, socio economic status, age and gender all can contribute to defining what constitutes disadvantage or non-participation in higher education, it cannot deal with each aspect separately. Therefore, in looking at traditional and non-traditional students, some conflation of ethnicity, gender

and class was inevitable and may have produced perverse correlations. Yet given the focus of the study on internationalization and the community, I chose to draw my distinction based on who is advantaged and disadvantaged in this process and therefore, some conflation was necessary to facilitate a discussion of the community. However, this is not to say that I did not consider ethnicity, gender and class differentials as important. These variables certainly deserve individual examination and further study. I merely hoped that "advantage" and "disadvantage" would act to capture all three (and more) at once. What I lost with specificity I gained with scope.

Limitations

This study recognized the biases created through the writer's intermittent association with community colleges in Alberta as well as a distinctly socialist upbringing. However, overt biases have been monitored throughout the research process by outside readers and my commitment to telling the truth, truthfully. In addition, I attempted to read a wide variety of secondary literature in English so that my approach to the data would be more balanced. This study, as explained throughout this chapter, does not apologize for the researcher's normative beliefs or value commitment but believes they are necessary and inescapable-yet require acknowledgement and awareness. The following explains this concept in more detail.

The methodology of critical theory demands that researchers "enter into an investigation with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning the epistemological and political baggage they bring to the research site" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 140). The use of word "baggage" connotes a common concern in qualitative research, and that is the alleged need for "objectivity" to ensure the same kind of validity and reliability demanded in positivist research. However, the epistemological assumptions under critical theory are described as "transactional and subjectivist" because the "investigator and the investigated object are assumed to be interactively linked with the values of the investigator (and situated 'others') inevitably influencing the inquiry" (Lincoln & Guba, 1994, p. 110). The investigator (or in this case, researcher) is somewhat interactively linked because of my employment in post-secondary institutions. Furthermore, given the epistemological assumptions of critical theory and the values I

bring to the research process, it stands to reason that those values have filtered the interpretation of the data. However, Kincheloe & McLaren (1994) point out that "under detailed analysis these assumptions may change" (p. 140). Therefore, the researcher's subjectivity does not preclude an analysis that explores, for example, multiple causes for particular trends or the possibility of unintended consequences. The principled nature of critical theory combined with empirical and normative guidelines for policy analysis should have ensured an ethical and fair analysis.

Summary

To review, this chapter traced the research process from initial ideas on how I might conduct the study through to the manner in which I approached the discourse and policy analysis in chapters five and six respectively. I have presented the process of choosing a critical realist methodology, a qualitative design, and critical discourse analysis and theory integration for this study. These decisions involved examining both my ontological (and epistemological) beliefs as well as many practical and ethical considerations. Also, I have explained in detail why I have chosen a historical/comparative analysis to delve into issues of inclusion and participation in two internationalized colleges.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT: FEDERAL, PROVINCIAL, AND HISTORICAL SUBTLETIES

Introduction

While the previous chapter detailed the methodology for this study, this chapter explores the context in which the debate over internationalization in post-secondary institutions takes place. The phenomenon of internationalization in the colleges and its impact on communities did not appear without warning. For example, Higgins & Schugurensky (1996) lament the lack of Canadian literature on "internationalization" in Canadian colleges, yet acknowledge that Canada, like the United States, has been active in forms of international education dating back to the end of World War II. Despite the fact that the term "internationalization" is relatively new to the post-secondary field, for several decades internationalization has been active to some degree and under varying titles, such as international education, international development activity and multicultural education. In the last ten years, the federal and provincial governments' shifting relationship with higher education has influenced the ways that internationalization has come to be prioritized in these institutions.

In the 1990s, the concept of the "forces of globalization" began to permeate the language of provincial politics and trickle down to post-secondary institutions. As Pal (1997) explains globalization muddies the distinction between policy areas so that for example social policy (education, welfare, training) is part of economic policy. In the increasingly murky mix of educational policy and financial policy, public post-secondary institutions are deciding on directions that will determine which communities are welcomed into the institutions. As I explore in chapter five, the language of PSE documents is one way of tracking these shifts in provincial government and college direction.

The educational restructuring of the early 1990's launched a decade that became concerned with goals of increasing cost-efficiency, accountability, and abolishing excessive bureaucracy; thus, many provinces cut, shuffled and reorganized to that end (Flemming, 1997). These goals as they can be applied to post-secondary education

combined with increased attention to international education initiatives have resulted in significant changes in how the government deals with post-secondary systems in Alberta and Nova Scotia. Though distinctly different as provinces, they shared similarities in restructuring education in the early 1990s, for example, province-wide consultations, discussion papers and extensive reorganization of public education and moreover, they continue to share a passion for international post-secondary activity.

To identify the context for this phenomenon of internationalization in Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton, I first look at the federal government and its relationship to post-secondary education. The trends of federal governance have influenced and provoked change in post-secondary education that has facilitated a move towards internationalization. The data in chapter five further explains the significance of decreased funding (federal and provincial) for the internationalization process and institutional decisions. Second, I examine provincial linkages to post-secondary education that point out regional priorities and further influence post-secondary decisions. After briefly tracing the history of international education in Canada to show how international education has developed and adopted entrepreneurial tendencies, I introduce the provincial context for the two institutions in their respective regions. Doing so provides a glimpse into the economic as well as the post-secondary environment.

The historical development of education in the regions influences how and why the institutions began to internationalize. Questions such as "Why internationalization in this form?" and "Why now?" which could have been raised through interviews, are instead posed through the application of critical discourse analysis to specific documents. In other words, as outlined in chapter three, the analysis extracts the underlying meanings from relevant documents in order to identify "what is in the network of social practices that give rise to the problem" (Fairclough, 1998, p. 23). To clarify, the "social practices" examined here include the influences of the federal and provincial governments, the history of international education and the provincial contexts of both institutions. In exploring the various contexts, five themes emerged: *decreased funding*; *increased revenue from international students*; *elitist, narrowed programming*; *internationalization for enhancing institutional status* and *internationalization presented as the "only"*

solution for institutional success (e.g. to increase trade ties and solve funding and diversity issues). Therefore, as I delve into the contexts in which these themes appear.

Federal Relationship to Colleges

This section examines the federal government and its relationship to post-secondary institutions in the areas of funding, labour market interest, and programming. Although post-secondary education falls under provincial jurisdiction, federal government's interests and influence extend further than might be expected with regard to institutional direction to seek overseas "markets." Several examples follow to demonstrate direct and indirect linkages between the Government of Canada and post-secondary institutions. Examining this relationship between the federal government and post-secondary education makes clearer the ideological trends surrounding education particularly in the early and mid 1990s. In the next chapter, I argue that these trends, which are located in an atmosphere of entrepreneurial education, correlate with internationalization.

The Government of Canada (GOC) claims to have no formal jurisdiction over post-secondary education, yet funding decisions still carry an impact. In 1966, Prime Minister Lester Pearson qualified this claim by stating, "at the same time, it's [post-secondary education] obviously a matter of profound importance to the economic and social growth of the country as a whole" (Minister of Supply Services Canada, 1994, p. 15). One way that the GOC operates as a support mechanism is through the allocation of billions of dollars to the provinces every year for post-secondary education, health care and social assistance. Therefore, the GOC's funding decisions (or as the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) calls it "de-funding") directly affect the provincial post-secondary systems through its funding mechanisms.

A brief history of significant changes in the GOC's funding structure sets the context for current complaints about funding to post-secondary education. According to Human Resources Canada Development Canada (HRDC, 1997), in the years from 1977 to 1995/1996, the GOC presented an annual report to Parliament detailing its support to provincial governments. During these years, funds were granted to the provinces by way of the Established Programs Financing (EPF) and the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP)

(HRDC, 1997). Before 1996, the EPF formula of combined funding was divided into three sections: health and education, the Canadian assistance program and equalization funding. The latter provided assistance to the poorer Canadian regions such as certain Maritime Provinces (HRDC, 1997). It is worth noting the historical federal commitment to the equalization funding for provinces without equal fiscal capacity because although the government was generally taking a "hands-off" approach, the GOC maintained funding to "equalize" the "have-not" regions with the "have " regions. Historically, this policy follows the federalist nature of the GOC to maintain some responsibility for balancing the wealth of the country.

This concept of regional equality extends to include equality of opportunity for access to education for all Canadians. Usher (1996) points out that when Canada signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, according to Article 27, the federal government would make higher education "equally available to all, based on merit" (p. 5). In 1966, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson claimed that federal interest included "foster(ing) equality of opportunity for Canadians wherever they live" and "develop (ing) national policies and measures to ensure economic growth, full employment and prosperity for *all our citizens*" (Minister of Supply Services Canada, 1994, p. 15[emphasis added]). This would seem to indicate the GOC's historical concern for equality of opportunity and inclusivity in post-secondary education, (notwithstanding the emphasis on employment and economic growth). In 1994, this document citing Pearson claims, Pearson's definition of federal interest "remains as valid as ever" (Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994, p. 15). However, the same document foreshadows new federal policy responses to fiscal restraint. Subsequently, the GOC considered a "transition to a new arrangement involving loans and grants to replace the cash portion of EPF-PSE (Established Programs Financing)" and to maintain the EPF arrangements at a "total no higher than the 1993-94 level" (Minister of Supply Services Canada, 1994, p. 25).

Currently, this so-called "better approach" to federal support has driven many post-secondary institutions to aggressively court the private sector for funding and partnerships, to compete with neighboring institutions for "limited" provincial post-secondary dollars, and to streamline institutional priorities to primarily cost-recovery

activity. Therefore, the federal and provincial climate of fiscal restraint seems to be at odds with historical promises of equality of opportunity for all citizens. Usher (1996) points out "if state-funded education is not equally available to all Canadians, regardless of their ability to pay, then in effect the state is spending over 10 billion dollars of public money a year to reinforce the divisions in society between the rich and the poor" (p. 5). Thus, to what extent the federal government is responsible for ensuring opportunity and participation as well as access, affordability and quality in education warrants discussion.

From the early 1990s when the funding mechanisms began to shift, an on-going debate has ensued around the advantages and disadvantages of federal decisions allowing the provinces to decide on their post-secondary needs.[6] Interestingly, this change was justified by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) as furthering provincial "fiscal flexibility to meet their own priorities and to design programs for their residents that better reflect the unique circumstances and needs of different parts of Canada" (1997, p. 21). As Fairclough (1998) points out, the discourse of "flexibility" is a fine example of "neo-liberal discourse" that if analyzed would better reveal the ideologies of the federal government. However, suffice it to say that at this point is whatever the implications of this move towards giving the provinces fiscal flexibility, it was followed by an interesting change in fiscal reporting. In 1996, after the change occurred, documents entitled "Federal and Provincial Support to Post-Secondary Education in Canada: A Report to the Parliament" that had been printed and distributed every year ceased to exist in that format, leaving a peculiar gap in reporting fiscal matters. To close that information gap and to fuel the debate on the effects of decreased funding, I refer to the following literature that tracks funding decreases with interest in the crucial period of 1993 to the present.

The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) names 1993 as the year in which the transfers started to be reduced (CCPA, 1999, p. 126). The year 1993 coincides with the Alberta "White papers" and restructuring discussions that took place

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[6] After April 1,1996, the Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST) replaced the EPF and the CAP, therefore collapsing the EPF and CAP federal support for provincial health, higher education and social assistance programs (HRDC, 1997). This balancing, or rather restructuring, gave increased power for the provinces to make their own decisions about distributing funds to post-secondary which has drawn criticism from groups such as the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives.

across the country to streamline education spending across the board in order for it to become more "efficient" and "accountable" (AAECD, 1993; Quinney, 1998). The cost-cutting trend and the emerging language of neo-liberalism require closer examination with regard to promises of flexibility that allegedly improve the post-secondary education system. However, as I argue in chapter five, these trends put undue financial pressure on many institutions and forced institutions to make decisions (including the decision to "internationalize") based primarily on fiscal needs.

Some of the tensions over post-secondary funding have increased due to changes in funding structures, namely the introduction of the Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST) program in 1996 that promised to provide "flexibility" for post-secondary education. However, many feel that these changes were instead depriving the provinces, and in turn post-secondary education, of badly needed support (CCPA). CAUT claims that since the introduction of the CHST in 1996, "nearly $7 billion has been cut from health care, social assistance and post-secondary education" (CCPA, 1999, p. 125). Another graph shows a slight decline in government cuts to post-secondary education from 1993 to 1995 followed by a severe decline in cash transfers from 1996 to 1999 which brought the transfers from 18 billion to just over 12 billion dollars (CCPA, 1999, p. 127). These tensions point to the federal government for irresponsible funding decisions yet, the provinces through their system of tax credits, arguably control how the money (however much received) is spent. Nonetheless, the timing of these cuts in the early nineties proved significant considering the restructuring and federal and provincial PSE direction that preceded them.

A further point of tension is that despite its fiscal role in PSE, the federal government was not held responsible for certain regulatory practices in post-secondary education that supposedly support the values of equality and accessibility. For example, extensive lobbying for the GOC to set tuition fees has been futile, as it is the provinces that have the ultimate power to legislate fees. Quebec and British Columbia chose to freeze tuition in 1995 and Newfoundland in 1998 (CCPA, 1999, p. 129). In Nova Scotia, however, the provincial government has yet to regulate the fees, and in Alberta, tuition fees have tripled since 1994 (CCPA, 1999, p. 39). Therefore, despite the power the GOC could wield to respond to issues such as accountability and accessibility, arguments for

federal intervention on issues such as tuition appear futile. Furthermore, following the neo-liberal trend to devolve more fiscal responsibility to the provinces, the federal government can ignore discrepancies between how institutions set tuition fees in different regions (this point is of particular interest for international student differential fees). By the late 1990s tensions grew over declining post-secondary education funds and increasing tuition fees; therefore, questions on affordability and accessibility in PSE moved to the forefront of public policy concern[7] (Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission, 1997). Two possible responses to the cries for affordable (and accessible) post-secondary education were the Canadian Opportunities Strategy and the Millennium Scholarship Foundation. The GOC allegedly compensated for the mounting costs of higher education by creating strategies that "expand access for Canadians to the knowledge, skills and learning they will need for better jobs that deliver a better standard of living in the 21st century "(GOC Finance Canada, 1998). The GOC introduced this strategy in 1998 with the "intention" of increasing accessibility for targeted populations. These strategies met with some criticism.

To illustrate, some felt the Millennium Fund, for example, was merely a short-term solution implemented to divert concern over accessibility issues. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) described it as a "short -sighted, privatized mechanism to deflect growing anger over student loan debt and increasing user fees" (CCPA, 1999, p. 129). Lorna Marsden, president of York University, called the administrative procedures of the Millennium Fund "discriminatory" because of details that disqualify single parents and discourage new Canadians from applying (Schoefield, 2000). Clearly, well-publicized programs following the CHST cuts in 1996 show that the GOC has felt an obligation to calm, if not control tensions regarding access in the post-secondary community.

Another Government of Canada attempt to devolve responsibility was to give financial institutions control over Canada Student Loans. As of August 1995, federally administered student loans were "no longer guaranteed by the federal government" (HRDC, 1997, p. 22). The banks, however, recently handed the responsibility in part

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[7] See for example, Angus Reid. Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission (1997) Accessibility to post-secondary education in the Maritimes.

back to the federal government to administrate, so the GOC once again controls part of the post-secondary purse strings. The GOC, therefore, continues to manage the CHST, various strategies and scholarships and Student Loans, cementing an inter-dependent relationship with post-secondary education

An overview of federal interest in internationalization of post-secondary education in the next section indicates that the federal government is unlikely to retract its involvement with post-secondary education but is under pressure to respond to soaring tensions on decreased accessibility and a post-secondary debt crisis[8]. As discussed in chapter two, focus on internationalization of post-secondary institutions as a "solution" to funding crisis distracts attention away from key issues of accessibility and affordability. I have argued in some detail that federal funding decisions regulate aspects of post-secondary education. I now look specifically at the possible connection between the fiscal ideology of neo-liberalism that became prevalent in the early 1990s and the federal interest in internationalization, labour market readiness, and college programming. These interests have implications for the "markets," (students or "clients") which the post-secondary institutions serve.

Federal Government and Entrepreneurial Internationalization

The federal government's interest in internationalization particularly with regards to recruitment of international (sometimes called "foreign") students is well documented (AUCC, 1995b). Interested federal departments include Statistics Canada, the Canadian Bureau of International Education, (CBIE) the Secretary of State and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). Little debate has existed on the benefits of encouraging increased international student enrolment. Historically, Tillman (1990) summarizes policy intentions following a National Forum on Post -Secondary Education in 1987 that included 600 representatives from post-secondary institutions and the provincial and federal government. He describes a commitment to policies that open the doors to international students because of a "moral obligation to assist the educational and economic development of other nations and to promote international understanding"

[8] See A. D. Johnston's (2000). "Measuring Excellence: As the echo boom generation begins to head to university, the hall of higher education are bursting at the seams." Nov. 20, 2000. MacLeans .

(Tillman, 1990, p. 6). Further policy statements regarding enrolment of international students speak of the need to "develop political influence and good will abroad, to promote democratic values, and to develop markets for Canadian goods and services" (Tillman, 1990, p. 7). This view suggests that federal involvement in internationalization had multiple purposes, some ideological and others practical. Later, I will elaborate further on the diverse purposes of internationalization.

Canada, now more than ever, wants to open its door to the international student community but attention to increasing international student enrolment has taken on a distinctly competitive edge in the last few years. Statements from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) make no secret of its neo-liberal agenda to market education to international students while blaming Canada for its passive and ineffective marketing, which debatably pales in comparison to Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom (1999). In 1990, a Secretary of State document reveals "a strong conviction in some government and higher education circles that higher education institutions are a resource whose international sales potential has been insufficiently exploited" (Tillman, p. 22). Moreover, international activity is concerned with the "exporting of corporate training and educational products, and recruitment of international students to study in Canada" (DFAIT, 1999). This concern suits the aims of the entrepreneurial post-secondary institution and fits nicely within the neo-liberal restructuring in the 1990s. Notwithstanding Canada's continued role in educational exchanges and assistance to less developed countries through agencies such as Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), international education, as "internationalization," is still primarily concerned with generating economic growth and trade opportunities.

From the 1960's to present day, the GOC has justified PSE as an engine of economics (Muller, 1990a). Muller (1990a) further claims, "colleges are not independent institutions"; they are "fundamental to the everyday operations of the 'Canadian state' and to capital" (p. 15). He pursues this argument by explaining that colleges are "state-created and financed to provide the education, knowledge and skilled training of labour for industry, business and other employers" (Muller, 1990a, p. 15). His use of the title "government managers" suggests that the influence of government to rule

through "recession, rationalization, and restraint" programs further link the colleges to governmental administrators (Muller, 1990a, p. 17). Given the possibility of state influence, it is difficult to measure to what degree institutions act autonomously in "internationalizing" or "programming." Furthermore, with regard to accessibility issues, whether non-traditional PSE students fit into post-secondary systems led by labour market considerations may determine their degree of inclusion.

The federal government is duty bound to facilitate an investment in education to assure a healthy and robust economy. Therefore, it continues to justify post-secondary training as a tool to create human capital[9] (HRDC, 2000). The argument of human capital theorists, as Muller (1990a) sees it is" rather than viewing the acquisition of skills and knowledge as a form of consumption, the process should be seen as a productive investment" (p. 16). These assumptions fall in line with the neo-liberal rhetoric and are increasingly used in post-secondary education discussion to justify "user" or "employer" financing. Post-secondary institutions seize this opportunity through, for example, targeting short-term training for off-shore workers. Unfortunately, this investment often excludes or overlooks those who are disadvantaged by the rising costs of post-secondary education resulting in legitimate concerns regarding accessibility.

In 1999, The Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC), an organization that facilitates cooperation of provincial ministers on national education concerns, stated its commitment to quality, *accessibility*, mobility and portability, relevance and responsiveness, research and scholarship and accountability" (1999, [emphasis added]). Several concerns about accessibility in light of internationalization follow from their document entitled *A Report on Public Expectations Concerning Post-Secondary Education in Canada.* Under the expectation "accessibility," CMEC (1999) suggests, "institutions, individually and collectively, deploy best efforts to identify and remove barriers that inhibit recruitment and progression of under-represented groups, as learners, staff and faculty" (CMEC, 1999, Appendix p. 6). Therefore, it would appear that the government is encouraging post-secondary institutions to "invest" in groups who traditionally did not have access to post-secondary institutions. Through these efforts,

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[9] "The Government of Canada believes that there is no better investment a country can make than to invest in knowledge and skills" (Human Resources Development Canada, 2000).

given the belief that investment in education will pay off with gainful employment, the federal government should be working towards overcoming these accessibility issues.

Yet, there is an interesting juxtaposition in CMEC's 1999 document. Besides stating the need for "all citizens to be ensured the opportunity to access post-secondary education" and mention of "life-long learners" (typically referred to as "mature" students), it suggests that opportunities (should) exist "for those individuals who do not meet admission requirements and require further preparation" (CMEC, 1999, Appendix p. 5). This statement appears to address some "non-financial barriers to access and progression" such as unrecognized credentials in order assure the "under prepared (the chance) to achieve entry level qualifications" (p. 5). Directly following the provision for accessibility for under qualified applicants is the justification for inclusion of international students. It states, "international students are received by institutions in recognition of the fact that integration of international students serves both individual learners and the broader community" (CMEC, 1999, Appendix p. 5). This is a clear indication of the priority for international trade "linkages" thinly disguised as contributing to student and community interest.

The desired "fit" between post-secondary and employment plays out through an institution's choice of programming, increasingly designed to conquer the "global labour market." In the Council of Ministers of Education Canada's 2nd National Consultation on Education (1996), post-secondary programming was subject to scrutiny to ensure that "access to programs will be enhanced, duplication minimized, and learners better served" (p. ii). Perhaps the implication for programming is better expressed in how CMEC (1996) describes one trend in skills and development training, that is, through the "evaluation of current programs... to respond to a rapidly changing labour market" (p. ii). This trend linking post-secondary education to labour market training becomes even more relevant considering the labour market emphasis on "adjusting to such influences of globalization and the liberalization of trade, [and] demographic shifts" (Nova Scotia Labour Market Development Secretariat, 1999). While these influences are somewhat legitimate, they do not account for contradictions in the education job gap that cannot be

explained away or solved through the attainment of "global competencies." [10]

The influences mentioned above thus also make certain types of programming in PSE institutions vulnerable to cuts and subsequently put certain students "at -risk" who are in need of such programs. Programming is an intersection of federal involvement and post-secondary institutions that can determine, to some extent, student demographics. In particular, some programming aimed at non-traditional or disadvantaged students or the surrounding communities strongly rely on federal support. For example, many programs that receive funding from federal programs such as Canadian Heritage and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) that support cross-cultural programming or bridging programs such as English as a Second Language might be affected. In addition, CIDA funded programs have been a lifeline for University College of Cape Breton's international and multicultural programming, such as Public Awareness Programming that extended programming into the communities. If the federal interest is preoccupied with the "global" community, the "local" community may be marginalized.

The neo-liberal impetus to cut funding to public institutions has implications for the kind of programming that PSE will pursue. In a multiple case study of American and Canadian colleges, Levin (2000) sees that programming has "shifted to revenue generating content with business and computer training as ascendant" and "contract training and international education (has) expanded, becoming major units of influence" (2000, p. 27). If Levin's generalized findings were applied to UCCB and GMC, this would indicate that narrowed programming combined with influential cost-recovery initiatives determine college direction. Therefore, withdrawal of federal support for post-secondary institutions or radical shifts in institutional priorities would severely limit participation for specific student populations.

Provinces and Internationalization: Strategic Planning

This section discusses the practices of provincial governments that involve promoting programming to suit the economic goals of the institution and the province.

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[10] For more on the discrepancies on training and employment and the limitations of human capital theory see D. W. Livingstone (1999).

The degree to which an institution is independent from the provincial government also affects institutional decisions. For example, since Alberta became a province, "post-secondary education has developed under the close scrutiny of the government" (Berghofer & Vladicka, 1980, p. 7). Bischoff (1999) argues that the provincial government has a dominant role in post-secondary education in Alberta despite the "decentralized delivery of post-secondary education, the government has maintained close coordination and control of post-secondary educational activity through funding and provision of degree conferring authority" (p. 74). Similarly, the Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture announced that the two institutions had become self-governing in 1997, but maintains, "the Department is still involved in approving matters of public interest such as changes in tuition and programs" (1999). Cantor (1992) asserts that provincial governments are finding ways to control and influence college programming and activities. This section looks at provincial government priorities with a particular interest in how colleges have responded to federal and provincial cuts in programming decisions and how they have been encouraged to adopt internationalization practices.

The cost-cutting trends of the 1990s has forced post-secondary institutions into a position of seeking funding alternatives that include fundraising as well as courting the private sector and recruiting international students. Decreased provincial and federal funding forced institutions to raise their own funds and increase their entrepreneurial expertise. One response to this shift is that suddenly institutions were freed from direct governmental control and could operate more creatively and autonomously (Rhul, 1995). An opposing view is that the neo-liberal trend of less government intervention, more "market," and cutbacks to education and social programs weaken the public education systems because these systems are forced to "adopt a competitive approach suited to this new training market" (Stephen & Beaudet, 1998, p. 143). With the above in mind, the secondary literature and selected provincial documents show increasing interdependency between the provinces and colleges relationship concerning competitive internationalization and accessibility.

Provincial interest in international education is well documented and clearly communicated (ACIE, 2000). As Weber (1995) posits, "recent budget cuts and

conservative educational polices simply have been a catalyst for educators to look even further afield for partners" (p. 35). Looking further than the province's borders is considered key to institutional success in all areas of education. Thus, Canadian institutions are exploring potential partnerships that result in "trade and friendship agreements" with higher education institutions in countries all over the world (Tillman, 1990). Provincial governments have been arranging educational "exchanges" for several decades, yet one opinion states, "provincial government policies are primarily intended to influence and affect the flow of foreign students, not to help shape institutional policies and programs" (Tillman, 1990, p. 3). If this were so, then the institutional decisions would be autonomous and unaffected by provincial opinion. Yet, as Tillman (1990) astutely explains, the movement of foreign students "affects institutions directly in the nature and number of demands the students make for services and programs" (p. 3). For this reason, provincial control over international students, in the context of exchanges, short-term training, or recruitment policies in general would affect programming choices in post-secondary education.

As discussed in the previous section, college programs supported by either the federal or provincial government are key components of the internationalization process. From an economic perspective, "programs are to community colleges administrators what commodities are to capitalists" (Muller, 1990b, p. 35). An example in Alberta would be that PSE institutions usually apply for Access Funding to launch a new program or expand an existing program. One of the criteria for approval is to prove that the program will attract student, labour, and private sector interest, thereby, commodifying educational programming. The Access Fund encourages post-secondary providers to compete for the fund based on learning for the (global) labour market. Although the purpose of this fund is said to create access, the responsibility lies with the providers to compete using "cost–effective, innovative proposals that move away from traditional classroom delivery of services" (AAECD, 1994, p. 20). This criterion could mean that PSE providers that increase their distance education will be rewarded and those learners who need the traditional classrooms will be de-prioritized or more to the point, program proposals that show a potential for private sector or international investment may "win" the fund. One such example is Grant MacEwan's International Business and Logistics

Management program which not only demonstrated graduate demand but also promised to provide Alberta with professionals needed to "support Canada and Alberta's economic activities" (GMC Accessibility Plan Update, 1999). These practices reinforce the provincial interest in PSE programming that links to economic activity.

Government priorities for funding indirectly affect programming at the public post-secondary institutions. Muller's analogy of programs as commodities is based on the argument that "what linked the colleges and funding they would receive would depend on the provision of programs, their type, enrolment and duration" (1990b, p. 35). The Ontario Conservative government made clear statements on guidelines for post-secondary education programs to fit the labour market needs or be de-funded out of existence (CCPA, 1999, p. 4). In other words, whether the provincial or federal government has money set aside for specific types of programming (e.g. First Nations programming or Minority Language Teaching) might determine if the administrators are able to continue providing these programs. If the funding disappears and the program is not "cost -recovery" then that program ceases to be a commodity and instead becomes a liability. These examples speak to the pressure that institutions are under to provide accessible and efficient programming to traditional and non-traditional learners.

Another example is the Nova Scotia Council of Higher Education plan to assess the quality of existing programs both internally and system wide (1992). The criterion involved assessing which programs would "stand up to national and international standards, are forward looking and sensitive to emerging issues, real-world problems and employer expectations and demands for human resources" (NSCHE, 1992, p. 8). This is reasonable providing programs that become more "global" do not become more "exclusive" or more "expensive." This is a legitimate concern because institutions looking to cut redundant programs may eradicate programs that are viewed as "cost-recovery" in addition to amalgamating and partnering with the private sector. These decisions could limit accessibility to specific student populations in particular institutions that seek access into programs that do not carry the status that an "internationalized" program with trade potential carries. Given the large number of qualified students that are currently being turned away from post-secondary institutions (Johnston, 2000), the evaluating and cutting of programs raises accessibility issues.

The provincial governments address the issue of "accessibility" through the neo-liberal provision of "choice" (e.g. private institutions and "alternative delivery" in forms of distant education). While Muller (1990b) concedes that although alternative educational delivery has increased accessibility, this "public relations device" does not address the problems created by "administrative procedures " (such as increased tuition, grant cuts), which make accessibility "more difficult for some segments of the working class" (pp. 37-38). Furthermore, in Muller's research in British Columbia, he critiqued ministerial decisions that eliminated programs serving disadvantaged women who wanted to enter or re-enter the workforce (1990b). He argues that the programs cut differ from the programs currently in favour, such as those

> in the areas of energy, resource extraction, communication, technology, various trades, and high-paid government jobs, such as those in health. What is evident here is that many of these programs are most likely to be taken advantage of by white males (1990b, p. 38).

Therefore, inherent in some PSE institutions supplying human capital under a narrowed economic model that fuels the "global economy" is the danger of excluding students who are disadvantaged by gender, ethnicity, and/or socio-economic status. I elaborate on the narrowed economic focus in more detail in the following sections of this chapter.

Finally, with regard to a balance of accessibility between "foreign" students and Canadian Students, there appears to be little mention of striking an international/domestic balance "(Tillman, 1990, p. 22). This implies that decisions on accessibility in post-secondary education should consider why striking a balance might be important for future decisions. Andres and Krahn (1999) acknowledge the influence of family background on access and completion of PSE, and alert provincial governments to structural inequalities that should be addressed. Furthermore, they reiterate the need for each provincial post-secondary system to "watch for structural barriers to post-secondary participation (e.g. low economic status) and for changes to post-secondary access systems (such as increased tuition fees) that can limit entry to and completion of post-secondary studies" (Andres & Krahn, 1999, p. 74). Provincial and federal organizations support increased accessibility for international students to enter Canadian institutions (ACIE, 2000;

AUCC, 1995). At the same time, provincial governments should be mindful of internationalization directives that are compatible with improving access for domestic applicants, regardless of socio-economic status or other potential barriers.

"International" Education: Slippery Meanings

As discussed in chapter two, the practice of "internationalization" in PSE has the capacity to inclusively serve students in their communities, but at the same time, the processes can be constructed to serve an exclusive (or "elite") population. This next section deconstructs the term internationalization in post-secondary education from a historical perspective to see if and why it has changed. This section also unpacks the social practices of internationalization with regard to language, history and programming interests.

First, a brief example, the term "international education" is an umbrella concept for a variety of international activities, including, but not limited to, internationalization, multiculturalism, and international development. Some of the literature collapses these concepts, while other studies make both abstract and practical distinctions. The extensive rhetoric and varying definitions blur how international education is perceived. For these reasons, the divisions, tensions, and contradictions between internationalization, multiculturalism and international development warrant exploration to determine how the language impacts the internationalization process. The literature reveals that international education has shifted over the last decade, so this section looks at how the process of internationalization has developed historically. Finally, an examination of types of programming helps to illuminate the practical focus and the underlying philosophies behind activities involving internationalization.

A concern in this thesis is the implications of the use of language that reflects the "awareness " or "consciousness raising" educative aspect of international development in conjunction with the language of multicultural education and in contrast with the new emerging language that reflects the current trends of internationalization. As explored in chapter two, the term "internationalization" is sometimes used interchangeably with "globalization" (although the former seems to be created, justified and promoted to respond to the latter). In addition, "internationalization" and "multiculturalism" share

some of the same rhetoric in higher education but there is a tendency for the term "multicultural" to have been used in documents from the 1970's to the early 1990s while "internationalization" has been used more frequently in the early nineties to present day. However, neither of these terms accounts for the historical evolution of "international development" that at times seems far removed from the internationalization terminology of "competition in the global marketplace."

The intersections, as well as the gaps and spaces between all that falls under the umbrella of international education, became clearer when I examined the types of "internationalization" models used by post-secondary institutions. The choice of model often depends on the dominant ideology that drives the internationalization process. This is not always evident in the institutional literature, but as I argue in chapter five, some documents demonstrate that the choice of models has focused on the "entrepreneurial," and those tendencies progressed over a particular time period, that is the mid 1980's to the 1990s. So, "internationalization models" and the evolution of international development in post-secondary education have historic and contemporary significance.

Historically, Canadian universities, as in other OECD countries, facilitated education initiatives that supported overseas international development projects as part of the moral responsibility of a more developed country. As Tillet and Lesser (1992) recall,

> in the 1970's and early 1980's a greater emphasis was placed on the social obligations of Canadian universities to developing countries encouraged by the federal government through the Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget and other scholarship programs for Commonwealth and later on for Francophonie students. (p. 2)

However, community colleges at that time lagged behind universities in the frequency and scale of development and only began to catch up in the late 1980's when "international education acquired a new profile" (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996, p. 57). Tillet and Lesser (1992) also note,

> by the mid-1980's, as a consequence of the growth of educational opportunities in both industrialized and developing countries, the competitive approach had begun to dominate the discussion at the community colleges" (p. 2).

This description of the shift from the humanistic approach of development education to the competitive (economic, market) approach of internationalization is reinforced throughout much of the literature (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996; Story, 1996; Raby, 1996; Hurabielle, 1998).

Although the last few decades have seen distinctive changes in approaches to international education and now "internationalization," it would be premature to generalize that all institutions have foregone the humanistic rational for the economic one. As Sefa Dei (1991) proclaims,

> only a few will deny the important role that international scholarships will have played in national development. This is notwithstanding the fact that some educational grants have historically been extended in such a way to perpetuate the ties of dependency on the South on the North (p. 4).

He also alerts us to the fact that internationalization activity is subject to scrutiny due to historic examples of neo-colonial relationships between the "North" and the "South" (Sefa Dei, 1991). Nonetheless, a continuum of the idealistic and the pragmatic remains depending on the institution, the nature of its "International Centre," and its relative economic position, but that the division exists and is seen as a polarity is well documented. To illustrate, other defining aspects of the "process" of internationalization include references to the "ideology-driven" and "market driven," the "humanitarian perspective" and the "privatization perspective" (Tarrow, 1996), and international education for "aid" and "profit" (Hurabielle, 1998) or "aid" and "trade" (Higgins and Schugurensky, 1996). Despite documentation of these divisions, *internationalization is generally promoted as an uncontested process, free from tensions, upon which its success in an institution can be measured.*

The divisions between these two concepts are expressed in Tarrow's description (1996) of the dividing line between international education and multicultural education. Interestingly, although international and multicultural documents use language such as "diversity" and "visible minorities," it is surprising how little these two concepts relate when it comes to actual programming. Tarrow (1996) observes

> it frequently appears that supporters of multicultural/intercultural education line up on one side while those committed to international education line up on the other side of the college campus. Each views the other as a threat and, more important, a competitor in the struggle to corner increasingly scarce resources (1996, pp. xxiv-xxv).

This division indicates the inevitability of competition and, consequently, the difficult institutional choices about what to fund, particularly in an atmosphere of fiscal restraint. Subtler divisions might be evident in an institution in which one department takes the lead, in for example, international business whereas another area, such as humanities, focuses on cross-cultural programming.

The choice of institutional programming potentially reveals college priorities with respect to internationalization. As Smyth (1986) believes, "Canadian institutions have responded to the challenge of international education by implementing a wide variety of administrative structures and programs. The latter have been based primarily on opportunity and philosophical orientations" (p. 27). Programming, therefore, may be prioritized because of an institutional philosophy to partner with "South" institutions but whether the institution has the institutional linkages (the opportunity) is another matter. As discussed in chapter two, institutions that have an "international centre" (GMC) or a "centre for international studies " (UCCB) have historically relied on the institution for funding support. Therefore, the institutional priorities and philosophical orientation, combined with the financial stability of the institution, have in part influenced international programming.

The notion of limited resources has certainly impacted Canadian international education with regards to an institution's focus on international education (in the vein of internationalization) or on the development of multicultural/intercultural programs. Story (1996) believes that many American community colleges face a "compelling moral dilemma" in that they are being asked to "ignore the multicultural programs that address the critical needs and issues of a community's diverse population and follow the lead of the university and have an international perspective" (p. 82). Certainly, Canadian colleges and university colleges that have weathered nation-wide cutbacks in the 1990s have faced many of the same challenges and have reflected on institutional direction with

regards to programming in the shadow of larger post-secondary institutions that have demonstrated success in attaining "international competencies."

In the past ten years, post-secondary programming has operated with the assumption that students must be prepared to enter the "global marketplace." Post-secondary institutions are therefore charged with serving the institutional clientele from an "internationalized" perspective. Tarrow (1996) echoes the "recognized need for establishing an internationally, interculturally/multiculturally literate generation that can deal with the complexities of our world" (p. 3). In collapsing these three concepts, Tarrow refers to international and intercultural /multicultural educational programs (hereafter IIMEP's); however, she distinguishes between intercultural/multicultural programs that "focus on domestic pluralism" and international programs "emphasize global relationships" (p. 4). Therefore, with regards to programming, a distinction is drawn between multicultural and international or, in other words, a development focus versus an internationalization focus. But, it is evident that the latter is generally much more prevalent in both American and Canadian institutions.

As a result of the collapse of these concepts in some institutions, aspects of development education that are meant to educate local people run the risk of disappearing. Furthermore, the programming focus of international education that previously may have reached a wider audience is narrowing to suit entrepreneurial interests. As Hurabielle (1998) notes, there have been shifts in international education from a humanitarian focus to an "overriding concern for revenue generation, establishment of strong trade mechanisms, and the opening of markets to Canadian industries" (p. 8). This shift has not gone completely unquestioned; however, the need to reexamine the justification process of planning international programming in post-secondary institutions to respond to the community grows stronger.

Programming, a concrete aspect of internationalization, also highlights the differences between where international education and multicultural education are focussed geographically. To illustrate, for Dobelle and Mullen (1996),

> *International education* entails the creation of staff development opportunities overseas, the internationalization of curriculum, the recruitment of foreign students, and the development of

> international study opportunities for students. *Multicultural education*, on the other hand, involves understanding, recognizing, and promoting the ethnic diversity of the college population (p. 179 [emphasis added]).

The former has a global focus for selected staff and students who are able to take advantage of the shrinking world to work or study in other countries while the latter is localized to the institutional community, some of whom are bound to their local community.

Although institutions appear to be increasing their efforts to internationalize in order to access all areas of the college community, the percentage of the college community who can be involved in activities such as exchanges is still minimal. For example, a business department that includes an Asian practicum in its International Business Course sends students abroad for international experience. Moreover, even if the institution subsidizes the exchange, travel expenses are often still the responsibility of the student. International student exchanges, consequently, expose only a small proportion of the total student population to international experiences. Likewise, staff or faculty who are sent overseas for consulting contracts are the lucky few in most institutions at the college or university college level. Therefore, opportunities are at times limited unless the student, faculty or community member is contributing to an internationalization initiative that is entrepreneurial.

As discussed in chapter two, another limitation in internationalization has been the tendency for institutions to court wealthier countries or the "elite" in poorer countries. Sefa Dei (1991) points to the

> failure to recognize that sections of the admission policies and procedures of Canadian institutions of higher learning contain biases and systemic barriers that disadvantage international students from poor countries (e.g. application fees paid in foreign currency limit those from counties with severe foreign currency restrictions) (p. 6).

In addition, differential fees are implemented to cover what Canadian institutions call the "full cost" of international students' education. Besides, there is a common underlying assumption that these students were rich and could afford it" (Sefa Dei, 1991). These

tendencies highlight the pragmatic and mercenary nature of some internationalization activities. Sefa Dei (1991) aptly considers this a "tragedy of the poor" because only the "education of the rich and most powerful in society is still guaranteed" (p. 6). His views run counter to internationalization rhetoric that promises a "necessary, vital and deliberate transformation of how we teach and learn...[which is] essential to the future quality of higher education in Canada, indeed to the future of Canada" (AUCC, 1995, p. 2).

The justification for internationalization appears to lean too heavily on the side of economic gain for the institution. As Knowles (1995) argues,

> In some colleges, international education is a highly lucrative business. It is not uncommon for the revenue from international education activities to represent between 10 and 20 percent of the entire college budget. Revenue generated from the participation of foreign students in college programs represents the largest portion of international education activity.... they [colleges] gain from the value-added quality of their educational programs when curricula become more internationalized and, hence, more marketable (p. 196).

Knight (1994) also describes the "narrowness of the economic competitiveness agenda" (p. 5). This is a legitimate concern because of the potential for education/business partnerships to "overshadow the attention that should be given to the reality of interdependence and the need for cooperation on a global scale-for reasons such as human survival, social justice, humanitarianism, equity, all concepts far bigger than competitiveness" (Knowles, 1995, p. 5). Therefore, policy directions in post-secondary education that seem to be moving away from policies that served the "community" in its entirety and instead serve a limited populations are problematic from the standpoint of equitable and accessible institutional policy.

Presumably, issues such as student diversity and education for all (regardless of age, ethnicity, gender or wealth) continue to be a concern for those who believe in the value of accessibility within public post-secondary institutions. Yet, the phenomenon of internationalization potentially de-prioritizes certain fundamental values, such as equality and inclusion, that were formerly encouraged through multicultural and development education values. If, as Dennison (1995b) believes, "The role of social justice tends to fall, both by design and by default, upon community colleges," then how in the midst of

entrepreneurial internationalization is a value like social justice being realized?" (p. 179). This question is relevant for all post-secondary institutions and in particular for the two institutions in this study. Consequently, the processes of internationalization in post-secondary institutions, as examined through college programming set in their national and then regional contexts, reveals some of the underlying tensions between global concerns vs. local concerns, business and economic interests vs. community interests and exclusive vs. inclusive student populations.

Provincial Contexts: An Overview

This subsection locates the post-secondary institutions in their provincial contexts at the beginning of a new decade. A brief description of the prevailing political and economic climate of the provinces lays the foundation for the patterns of internationalization enacted in each institution.

Historical Provincial Differences in Popular Movements and Economic Pressures

The dominant ethnic lobby group in Alberta has historically been the Ukrainian population. Whether arguing for the inclusion of heritage languages in schools or for the inclusion of cultural celebration, the Ukrainian community has had a significant impact on the educational culture of Alberta. However, the struggle for Ukrainians in Alberta has been more concerned with preserving culture than with accessing higher levels of education. Conversely, the dominant ethnic lobby group in Nova Scotia, that is the African Nova Scotians, has publicly fought for fairer access to secondary education, especially over the last decade with groups such as BLAC (Black Learners Advisory Committee). Therefore, the plight of the "non-traditional" student has a different face and a different focus in each province.

Economic pressures over the last decade saw Nova Scotia struggling with high unemployment partially due to the downsizing of the fishing and mining industry. At the same time, government initiatives for re-training at the college level became the norm. The University College of Cape Breton is situated in the core of economic struggle and therefore offers, at least in theory, an attractive alternative to cyclical unemployment and underemployment that is endemic for much of Nova Scotia.

Alberta, on the other hand, has remained the "land of job opportunity" for many who come from poorer parts of the country. Grant MacEwan College is located in a comparatively affluent city where unemployment has been low. Therefore, although Grant MacEwan may also offer the hope for a "better future" (a belief reinforced by both human capital and educational reproduction theory), accessibility for disadvantaged students is likely not perceived to be as important an issue as it might be comparatively in Nova Scotia.

Grant MacEwan College, Edmonton, Alberta

Like all institutions, Grant MacEwan College, housed in Alberta's capital city, operates within a specific political climate, which is reflected in policy decisions. Rhul (1995) reports, "GMCC was established, developed and continues to evolve as a result of distinct local influences" (p. 1). It follows that provincial ideologies (e.g. the role of government in supporting post-secondary education) likely shapes college direction. Pannu (1996) also confirms the prevalence of neo-liberalism in Alberta as the "hegemonic ideology," restructuring policy in the public, economic and political sphere. Alberta Advanced Education (as it was called in 1990) was charged to "ensure that education programs support provincial economic goals and initiatives..." (AAE, 1989, p. 3). As a matter of public policy, public post-secondary education in Alberta has at times been considered a drain on public expenditure, which may explain unprecedented support in Alberta for private education.

In 1993 at the same time that Alberta was going through its first round of restructuring processes another curious shift in language surfaced. It seems that references to "accountability" which originally meant "to the public' changed to mean "to the tax-payer." In this context, GMC as a public institution and a former "community college" has historically relied heavily on provincial funding. Interestingly, at this time, provincial documents were suddenly reminding Albertans that the PSE system "receives in excess of one billion dollars annually from the people of Alberta" (AAECD, 1993, p. 1). A year later, the AAECD (1994) promised to "lead and work with other partners in facilitating new directions for adult learning that ensure for *learners and taxpayers* an *accessible* and *affordable* system of adult learning that is accountable for results" (1994,

p. 4 [emphasis added]). For example, Grant MacEwan, in achieving high key performance indicator (KPI) results, had secured a "net 2.26 percent increase to the college's provincial grant" (GMCC, Annual Report, 1998-1999). Results such as these safeguard against any perceived "abuse" of taxpayer's money and as I elaborate in the next chapter, keep public institutions in provincial favour.

With regard to the trend of internationalization, Bischoff (1999) further charges that post-secondary education places "an emphasis on efficiency rather than on equality of opportunity, an increased presence of market values and forces and a demand-driven organizational orientation" (p. 25). These are the trends surfacing in the internationalization literature that contradict historical provincial trends of service to the community and increased participation and access to disadvantaged learners (AAE, 1989, p. 1). Although the trends of the last decade are neither limited to Alberta, nor indicative of colleges exclusively, Grant MacEwan College is, nonetheless, situated in this climate and, therefore, mirrors the neo-liberal ideology in certain institutional behaviours. The GMC documents examined in chapter five details the use of language to reveal institutional direction but a few preliminary examples follow.

The neo-liberal "market speak" that is currently pervasive in education documents forges a link between education and international trade opportunities. In 1992, Alberta Education and Career Development (AECD) listed global competition as a key trend (1994). AECD analyzed trends in the strategic planning process of 1992 and identified the patterns: "economic restructuring, technological change, and increased global competition" (AAECD, 1994, p. 2). Alberta, for example, has won access to the "global marketplace" through the *sale* of curriculum design, petroleum industry training and industrial safety training to Middle Eastern countries (Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1991, p. 4). A push to include Alberta's trading partners for educational purposes further influences international education direction. Statements on promoting and marketing of Canadian universities abroad highlights the benefits of international students as they "form a pool of important trade contacts for Canada," therefore, provincial (and federal) governments are charged to support public policy that encourages the "valuable contribution of an internationalized higher education system" (AUCC, 1995).

The provincial government has recently boasted, "Alberta's educational institutions are in a good position to penetrate the international teaching environment" (Alberta Human Resources and Employment, 2000, p. 28). For example, in Alberta Learning's "International School Partnership," schools partner with sister provinces to "promote good will and friendship between people" (AB Learning, 1997). In the same sentence, the policy states, "the development of these international networks provides a framework for future trade and economic cooperation" (AB Learning, 1997). Alberta's post-secondary education institutions also choose their sister provinces, or in other words, "strategic partners" because they share language, culture or educational philosophies as well as assist in Alberta's trade and investment objectives. Partnerships, whether created through immigration patterns, trade missions or historical alliances would, to some degree, determine Alberta's post-secondary institutions' business relationships. In any case, the province has shown that the educational global marketplace has been and continues to be open for business.

To sum up, the language of entrepreneurial freedom in the college echoes a larger discourse of "market" influenced language. McKendry (1996) lists certain terms such as "competitive, economically motivated, and corporate" as "emerging trends" that came out of the restructuring period. Similarly, the economic rationale behind "globalism" is meant to encourage economic competitiveness that will "sweep away inefficient industries and free up resources for high-quality, high value added enterprises that are competitive on a world level" (Doern, Pal & Tomlinson, 1996, p. 36). These images of a new economic policy are reflected in the new face of Grant MacEwan College.

University College of Cape Breton, Sydney, Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's educational history is in some ways the most traditional of all the provinces and seemingly the least likely to leap onto the new international education bandwagon. To illustrate, Nova Scotia houses some of Canada's oldest post-secondary institutions (i.e. University of King's College, 1789 and eight others founded prior to 1900 (Murray, 1993). In 1993, there were thirteen autonomous degree-granting institutions for less than a million people (Murray, 1993). Two advisory bodies, the Nova Scotia Council of Higher Education and the Maritime Provinces Higher Education

Commission plus the Ministry of Education have been responsible for the bulk of higher education decision making in Nova Scotia (Murray, 1993, p. 2). The sheer volume of established higher education institutions that are managed by several advisory bodies should indicate a commitment to traditional forms of higher learning and the bureaucracies that accompany such systems.

Yet the Nova Scotia department of Education, like Alberta Learning, has also undergone considerable restructuring in the post-secondary education sector, in part, following the trend of streamlined administration. In 1999, the department assured that it would "continue to develop and market educational products and services in co-operation with our education partners and the private sector" (Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture, 1999, p. 7). Thus, the department recognized the potential for institutions to "export expertise at a profit through recruiting international students and exporting services, training, and research expertise to international markets" (Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture 1999, p. 8). This entrepreneurial tone, along with several examples to follow, contradicts the historical conservative nature of post-secondary education in Nova Scotia. Instead it speaks of a significant shift in institutional (and provincial) direction that is hoping to benefit from international practices that promote profit.

In addition, Cameron (1997) argues that the post-secondary system has been plagued by higher tuition costs, increased debt and threats to access and mobility. Nova Scotia, although rich in the number of post-secondary institutions, is relatively poor in resources and employment compared to resource rich provinces like Alberta. Therefore, the numbers of Nova Scotians who experience financial barriers to post-secondary opportunities complicates the unquestioned push towards internationalization activity. Therefore, the province needs to carefully consider the complexities of this context when planning internationalization initiatives. The following provides a brief description of a unique context in which forms of international activity have occurred since the late 1970's.

The University College of Cape Breton is situated in Cape Breton, a region which has "long suffered from economic underdevelopment" (UCCB Strategic Plan, 1993). Other descriptions of Cape Breton speak of a "society which is disadvantaged

economically, which has a long and justified history of feeling exploited by external and economic forces" yet the people of Cape Breton are said to "pursue education with a vengeance" (Tennyson, 1983, p. 154). The president of UCCB proclaims that UCCB has

> already suffered more from chronic under funding of our operations than other Nova Scotia universities, yet funding pressures will likely intensify...if we wish to maintain quality, while remaining accessible to students with varying abilities to pay, it will require that we find new ways to do what we do with fewer resources" (UCCB Strategic Plan, 1993, p. 4).

In this atmosphere of fiscal restraint and a realistic picture of the future, UCCB, like other institutions, is poised to make crucial decisions on how to compete for survival while remaining accessible to the community. Therefore, as explored in the next chapter, internationalization is often presented as the ideal solution for fiscal restraint, geographical inequity, and cultural diversity. In other words, *internationalization is the pragmatic solution to deal with decreased funding and increased cultural demands for service provisions*. But there are implications requiring further exploration in more detail, which are taken up in later chapters.

Drapeau (1993) highlights the increasingly profit-driven nature of Maritime institutions. She states that "since the release of the Smith Commission Report, there have been 20-30% increases in Nova Scotia universities tuition fees, with operating grants from the province remaining static" (Drapeau, 1993, p. 12). In Nova Scotia, where so few can afford to continue on to higher education Drapeau (1993) further challenges the provincial commitment to "broad accessibility" that is supposed to increase participation in the "global economy" (p. 13). She echoes Muller's observations and argues that,

> limitations on enrolment are indeed a factor which prevent the attainment of a goal, which would see the students enrolled in our post-secondary institutions as a microcosm of our population, culturally, racially, geographically, and financially. It is an unfortunate indictment of our system that the best and brightest also happen to be a largely homogenous group of white, middle and higher income students (Drapeau, 1993, p. 16).

If this is still the case, then the provincial governments are ignoring the need to create concrete policy that addresses these inequities.

One possibility is that the provincial government has been preoccupied with launching Nova Scotia into the "internationalization and trade arena" to keep up with or possibly move past other provinces in Canada. On December 4, 1997 then Premier MacLellan outlined an education and trade plan that promises to "put Nova Scotia firmly on the map" (Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture, 1997). This clearly articulated agenda follows a nation-wide trend to capture some of the international education market, which allegedly is worth millions of dollars. McLellan's plan further reveals the plan involving,

> collaborative international student recruitment and trade missions; an incentives fund to encourage partnerships among institutions and with the private sector to commercialize existing services, technology and training expertise for export; a "learning leisure" (learning vacations) program linking government, education and tourism opportunities; a resource directory (print and Internet) cataloguing Nova Scotia's academic, training and research expertise and promotional materials (Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture, 1997).

Although perhaps one of the biggest initiatives for Nova Scotia post-secondary education, it certainly is not the only example of attempts to capitalize on education as a commodifiable product.

The public voice of post-secondary education does not draw attention to the difficulties that international students paying differential fees nor the local struggles to access the desired system. In 1997, after securing three international educational agreements, Premier Russell MacLellan boasted, "our universities and colleges are second to none. That's what Nova Scotia is saying and more and more, that's what the world is saying" (N.S. Department of Education and Culture, 1997). However, only months before the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission (1997) predicted a crisis of access where "education become(s) a privilege of an elite" based on trends of increased tuition, less federal support and high student debt (MPHEC, 1997). Since 1993, the Student's Union of Nova Scotia (SUNS) had challenged MPHEC to consider

long-term PSE goals based on "values, beliefs, and assumptions about the role of post-secondary education in society" (SUNS, 1993, p. 3).

Yet, differential fees continue to set the conditions for international student participation because students who are not funded by partnerships between institutions and Non Governmental Organizations may not be able to afford the higher differential tuition. Furthermore, cuts to transfer payments and tuition hikes frighten off Canadian student participation. Other groups such as the CCPA question assertions of educational excellence by charging that " institutions are unable to provide the same quality of programs as they could several years ago: class sizes have increased at many of Nova Scotia's universities and in the Community College (CCPA, 1999, p. 23). Interestingly, though, marketing materials for Nova Scotia boast "low student-teacher ratios" (N.S. Department of Education and Culture, 1998, p. 2). The point is not whether quality has indeed decreased in Nova Scotia's system. Rather, a concern is that "internationalized" coalitions such as the provincial government, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, and the Economic Development and Tourism can quickly focus attention on new targets such as international marketing opportunities, collaborative student recruitment and projected job creation (N.S. Department of Education and Culture, 1997). These well-publicized initiatives work well to distract from local inquiries on quality, accessibility and equality.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERNATIONALIZATION AT GMC AND UCCB

Introduction

This chapter examines a series of documents from Grant MacEwan College (GMC) and the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB) in order to identify the different ways that each institution has historically "internationalized." The primary data provided five themes that I identified in the previous chapter: decreased funding, increased recruitment of international students, narrowed programming focus, uncontested internationalization and internationalization as panacea for institutional difficulties. As outlined in the chapter on methodology, the initial criterion for choosing the documents was to scan them for any mention of internationalization, multiculturalism and related programming. Due to research constraints I mainly limited the study to documents from 1992 to 2000. However, in order to look at the development of international centres at both institutions, I also reviewed some documents from the middle to late 1980's to create a historical frame for the emergence of internationalization policies.

Looking for "policy," as it is sometimes understood in terms of formal written papers, proved to be limiting, however. As Ozga (2000) reminds researchers, "we should not restrict our understanding of texts to those that come with "policy text" stamped all over them" (p. 95). Thus, I sought to include documents (texts, formal and informal) that would reveal the *intent* of the planning around internationalizing and programming for the institutions. Here, these texts are analyzed for "discourse structure" that reveal certain ideological orientations. My critical discourse analysis directs attention to how *internationalization policy (as revealed in the texts) work ideologically to explain policy directions* in Grant MacEwan College and University College of Cape Breton, respectively.

Grant MacEwan (Community) College

In this subsection, I explore documents from Grant MacEwan College (GMC) that describe the creation and subsequent activities of the International Education Centre (IEC) as well as documents from the college that relate to college planning that have had a multicultural or international focus. I review these documents with an eye to how and why the college was "internationalizing" and possible tensions and contradictions within that process.

Two main themes emerge from the data. First, the historical change in the rationale for internationalization at the college was from a development education perspective (often referred to as multicultural) to an internationalization perspective. As discussed in the previous chapter, the early 1990s saw cuts to post-secondary education that forced institutions to adopt alternative strategies, including but not limited to international student recruitment and partnering with the private sector for trade exchanges (CCPA, 1999). The international education centres responded with new strategies to preserve and maintain international activity within institutions. The second significant change involved shifts in college programming that focussed on "advantaged" student populations locally and internationally, in other words, programming that targeted the "elite" in the global community at the expense of the "disadvantaged" or "non-traditional" learner in the local community. For Grant MacEwan College, an increase in international business programming and a decrease in multicultural community programming revealed some aspects of the internationalization direction. The following section elaborates on these findings.

Funding

A key change in the rationale for promoting international education came in the mid 1990s. Several internal documents from the International Education Centre such as "IEC's Background-Past Activities" (G25) and "IEC New initiatives in Support of Externally funded projects" (G28) reveal a distinctive shift in direction motivated at least partly by changes in funding structures. Since 1987, the International Education Centre had operated with a yearly budget from Grant MacEwan, but suddenly the announcement came that the "reserve as of July 1994 will have no funds remaining" (G25). On the heels of that statement, the IEC stated, "International education both inside and outside GMCC,

however, is undergoing tremendous change. The crisis facing the IEC is both philosophical and financial" (G25, p. 1). Although this tension between an idealistic focus and a pragmatic focus had been understood throughout the internationalization process at GMCC, these documents announce a change in the IEC mandate, which stated

> the ultimate goal (is) to meet the international education need of GMCC students, staff, and community. However, the mandate of IEC needs to better reflect the current expectations of an entrepreneurial model" (G25, p. 1).

The use of "however" signifies the shift from what was previously been expected of the IEC (service to students, staff, and the community) to the IEC's new role ("full cost-recovery international activity", recruiting, and customized projects). Another document stated that "each cost centre at GMCC should be self-funding in its international work" (G28). To that end, the college began forming alliances and consortia, identifying business projects joining organizations to heighten GMCC visibility and promoting GMCC marketing materials to potential *clients* worldwide (G28)[emphasis added]. Consequently, by the mid 1990s, the language of the entrepreneurial institution began to take center stage with the IEC poised to actively participate.

The financial crisis was laid out as a policy problem to be addressed not only by the IEC, but also for the college as a whole to find appropriate solutions. An IEC background document lists various internationalization activities, i.e. promoting staff development, internationalizing the curriculum, marketing programs and processes abroad, strengthening student services, and liasing with community groups (G25, p. 1). However, interestingly, the document points out that "only one of these areas, *marketing programs and processes abroad*, has potential for surplus revenue generation" (G25, p. 1[emphasis added]). Thus, the college proposed that "initially the focus will be on activities that lead directly to surplus revenue generation" (G25, p. 1).

Besides the emphasis on the phrase "revenue generation," the documents also refer to "outreach activities" which instead of meaning "community outreach" means "self-funded outreach programming" (G24, p. 9) or outreach activities as it relates to "career studies and most importantly university studies" (university transfer) (G16, p. 1). In addition, discussion centers less on activities in developing countries and more on

activities in developed countries in Europe and the Pacific Rim. Finally, external funding was targeted as an imperative (G25, p. 2). These changes were meant to alleviate any financial burden that the IEC had placed on the college and to propel the IEC into meeting its entrepreneurial goals. That GMC was encouraging the international centre to take on cost-recovery activities is consistent with in this new entrepreneurial atmosphere. Interestingly, with regard to the role of the International Centre, Rhul (1995) emphasized its importance for the college because it "provided a global perspective for its educational mission" but at the same time "cost-recovery funding put additional pressure on this area" (G23 p. 136). Therefore, it seems that the IEC was well positioned to contribute to the college's creative fund-raising and entrepreneurial activity.

Recruitment and Building "Community"

With reference to international student participation in the college, a 1999 newsletter (G6) states,

> fees paid by international students will be an important source of revenue for the college, as a portion of the $10, 000 tuition fee will go toward the provision of college programs and services for Albertans (p. 3)

Therefore, the fee structure of international students justifies recruiting efforts to find international students, who will in effect, supplement local students. Another memo justified higher tuition fees for international students in order to "open up additional spaces for Albertans" (G10, p. 1). Statements that focus on international students in the metaphorical sense as revenue also respond to the sporadically voiced worry expressed through GMC internal communication memos that,

> currently there are pockets of very committed individuals within the GMCC college community who are very committed to developing GMCC as a global college. However, many college faculty and students feel that by developing a global college, we will be taking away opportunities for Edmontonians and Albertans (G10, p. 1).

The emphasis on the word "committed" suggests that even if sections of the college community are reticent about the imperative for Grant MacEwan to internationalize, the college community is expected to "commit" to this new direction. Furthermore, although these sentiments were rarely expressed openly, the focus groups, brown bag lunches and IEC reporting around this time indicates a desire for internationalization to be accepted by the college and reporting on international students as revenue for the college is one effective measure.

Two different drafts of IEC policy reveal the IEC's unique financial position within the college. A memo to the board of directors circulated on March 2, 1992, (hereafter called G38) under section 2.8 of the IEC regulations stated,

> all international education activities shall be cost-recovery in nature, contribute financially to the operation of the International Education Centre and subject to all institutional administrative levies (G38, p. 3).

Another policy draft, however, omits the lines about activities contributing to the IEC and being subject to administrative levies. The document entitled "IEC policy" (hereafter G29) states under point 2.8 that " all international activities shall be cost-recovery for the activity, for the division administering the activity, for the International Education Centre, and for the Colleges and shall contribute to the College general revenues (G29, p. 4). This policy indicates that the IEC was not only to be self-funding but also perhaps to contribute to the college revenue. Therefore, this period of the early 1990s reflected changing priorities for both the IEC and the college based on the stated financial challenges.

In 1992, several years before this so-called fiscal "crisis," former president Gerald Kelly made reference to decreased government funding and to access limitations that justified a new direction for Grant MacEwan. Rhul chronicles the many changes within the college in a book entitled *Grant MacEwan Community College: the first two decades* (hereafter called G23) and records Kelly's vision of the college in the early nineties. Kelly's strategy (1992) believed that,

> while maintaining its educational vision, Grant MacEwan itself must become increasingly cost-effective and entrepreneurial. We

> need to seek new avenues to generate revenue which will allow student access and create job stability... sharing of funding cost between colleges, their clients, government and industry (G23, p. 134).

This "user-pay" tone is a far cry from the descriptions of Grant MacEwan in its earliest days when open-door policies assured that "no student should be prevented from attending due to lack of funds" (G23, p. 20). This also signifies a shift in college direction for an increased fund-raising and an entrepreneurial focus; a client (formerly student) based approach, and an eye to new kinds of corporate partnerships.

The new direction of the IEC and the college were allegedly supported by at least part of the college community. Rhul (1995) cheerily notes that despite the challenges

> on the brighter side, college administrators have begun to view self-funded or entrepreneurial activity and to a lesser degree fund raising, as a way to ensure continued creativity and lessen dependence on outside forces in directing their institution's destiny (G23, p. 135.)

Looking at the "silver lining" is an admirable attitude for the college to embrace. However, the assumption that the lessened dependence will unleash creativity in fund raising misses the inherent risks of an institution forced to concentrate on entrepreneurial activity perhaps at the expense of community-focused programming without financial support.

Until 1995, the phrase "responsiveness to the community" remained in the forefront of the GMCC college literature. Rhul (1995) held tightly the belief that commitment to the community would prevail. He believes that

> It is safe to assume that the egalitarian belief in educational diverse needs and abilities is found in no greater measure among post-secondary institutions than in the community college. The future of Grant MacEwan Community College, therefore, will no doubt reflect the future of the community in which it is located (G23, p. 142).

Community colleges were created to serve the community and Rhul (1995) repeatedly described college programming that demonstrated the "diversity" and "inclusive" aspect of its original mission. However, diverse needs are not necessarily served through

targeted cost-recovery programming. Day (1993) predicted "more funding from the user, whether student, faculty, or staff, will be required" (G23 p.144). Considering the 1994 announcement that the IEC needed to be completely cost-recovery and the increase in profit driven training contracts, Day's prediction reflects a more accurate picture of college programming today.

Programming

New programming emerged in the mid 1990s that fit into the entrepreneurial model of internationalization. For example, an IEP update in 1994 (G26) unveiled a new Institute of Asia Pacific Studies (IAPS). This programming choice fit perfectly with the college's objective to recruit and partner with the increasingly wealthy Pacific Rim countries. In addition, the Foundation of International Trade Training (FITT) in partnership with Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the private sector developed eight courses "to standardize professional training in international business skills" (G26, p. 2). Under the guidance of the provincial government the college decided on a course of programming to facilitate the skills necessary to produce "internationalized" graduates and at the same time, because of the partnerships with financial institutions and the private sector, funding and possibly trading opportunities expand.

Shifts in programming toward the imperative for entrepreneurial and international skill during the mid 1990s are also recorded in documents such as "The Curriculum for the Future Task Force Report 1995" (hereafter referred to as G2). Task forces, much like community consultations or Program Advisory Committees, allegedly guide programming according to student need. The implications of extensive task reports are programming decisions that potentially impact college direction. For example, in this report a reference to an earlier discussion paper discusses,

> increased Provincial and Federal Government participation in determining labour strategies, global shrinking and global competition, the reemergence of the emphasis on generic learning, and greater private sector involvement in the curriculum debates and the government funding of public institutions (G2, p. 2).

The references to increased decision-making power going to the private sector reiterates the entrepreneurial direction. In the final recommendations of the Task Force, the second one states "it is mandatory that programs include computer literacy, entrepreneurial skills, and international skills appropriate to the major area of study" (G2, p. 1). This recommendation also gives some indication of the desire to incorporate international skills selectively according to the department. An example of possible privileging certain departments is a joint GMC and University of Alberta study on the "feasibility of internationalization of curriculum" because the departments chosen for the study were Computer Literacy Outreach Program, Asia Pacific Management, English as a Second Language, Visual Communication and Accounting.

Interestingly, although the student survey in the Task Force strongly cited international skills as important, the background, implications and action plan neglected to mention anything on international skills and instead focused on labour friendly generic skills (G14). This example from the GMC documents alludes to the gap between internationalizing intentions and actions. Furthermore, the omission of international skills in the action plan begs the question that AUCC asked in the title of the 1996 conference, "Internationalization: rhetoric or reality?"

Multiculturalism: The "Old" Solution

However, the history of programming tells a different story and uses a different language than that of entrepreneurial internationalization. Historically, college programming was committed to multicultural activity. In the 1980's, a key document, "Multicultural and Native Programming at GMCC 1987" (hereafter called G13), describes the context that made multicultural programming possible. The timing of the GMCC Policy Task Force on Multicultural Needs and Services (1986), which compelled the creation of an Office for Multicultural and Native Programming (OMNP), coincides with an atmosphere that supported multiculturalism in Alberta. The task force could demonstrate a need through "business, community and government requests; student counseling needs; the results of various need assessment surveys; and college instructors, particularly those working with Native culture, seeking a policy direction" (G13, p. 2).

At the same time, besides language and cultural interest in the College and "fifteen self-financing native and multicultural projects," there was government legislation and some funding (G13, p. 2). For example, the Cultural Heritage Act passed in November 1984 renewed the existence of Cabinet Committee on Cultural Heritage that had previously been established in 1972, (which coincided with introduction of the Canadian Multicultural Policy). In addition, then Premier Don Getty "introduced Bill 1 expanding the department of Culture to read "Alberta Culture and *Multiculturalism*" (G13, p. 3 [emphasis added]). These examples demonstrate the rationale for increased attention to multiculturalism, which continued "to be popularized, horizontally and vertically across government departments (e.g. those providing financial support for post-secondary education)" (G13, p. 3). With this atmosphere of responsiveness for multiculturalism, the college was well positioned to seek funding and support from both provincial and federal governments.

For the college to encourage multicultural programming meant an ethic of program accessibility to as much of the community as possible. The Task Force reminds the college of its role as a "community" college and an institution that prides itself on being flexible and accessible" (G13, p. 10). It refers to the GMCC Board of Governors policy Manual Vol. 1 Section A 1020 which states, "the College should be accessible to as broad a range of people as possible with commitment to provide education for minority and disadvantaged groups" (G13, p. 6). Finally, the notion that college students and staff reflect the cultural diversity in Edmonton speaks to a desire for increased accessibility (G13, p. 3).

This document, "Multicultural and Native Programming at GMCC," clearly revealed two expressed needs that ask to what extent the college is committed to serving an inclusive community (G13). The GMC Policy Task Force on Multicultural Needs and Services stressed the "need for intra-college applied research to determine if cultural barriers are preventing any categories of student being screened out of specific programs. (GMCC graduate ESL and foreign students entering other college programs)" (G13, p. 12). For the Task Force to suggest that research was needed to discern if any kind discrimination was affecting program access alerted the college of potential equity and accessibility issues. Secondly, the Task Force recognized a "need for the College

(through exchanges and other programs) to sensitize the general student population to the multicultural nature of Alberta and Canada and the role Canadian society plays internationally" (G13, p. 12). To what extent these activities were followed up by the college is not as relevant as the fact that a Task Force could identify multicultural concerns in the community to which the college was compelled to respond.

These two needs express the humanistic and political concerns that may be rooted in underlying tensions. The first alludes to a "screening" or "cooling-out " process for marginalized groups such as ESL students, who may be excluded from full participation in regular college programs (beyond language proficiency classes). For example, a concern might be that when the college accepts ESL and/or International students, then the college is responsible for ensuring those students equitable access to programs. The second need presents the possibility that there have been cases of "insensitivity" among the college population and therefore exchanges or other multicultural programs could provide those involved with an expanded outlook. Another proposal for a college policy on Canadian Cultures, was suggested "to counteract individual cases of stereotyping of students by staff" (G13, p. 14). Therefore, a multicultural and Native programming office could in theory, increase accessibility, eliminate inequity and further community participation while advancing Article 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights for "the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (cited in G13, p. 40).

Despite the support for multicultural education, an idea in "good currency," (Schon, 1971, cited in Pal, 1997) the Office for Multicultural and Native Programming struggled with the discrepancy between what they hoped to accomplish in serving the community, what the budget would allow and what the college would support. In other words, they considered the feasibility of bringing the college to the community and the community to the college. In the document entitled "Serving the needs of a changing community: survey report on multiracial and multiculturalism in Canada's community colleges and technical institutes ACCC, 1990," Petryshyn (1990) indicated the OMNP needed to "undertake projects that cost little or no money or those that could be done on a cost-recovery basis" (G14, p. 8). Therefore, the need for the college to partner with

ethnocultural groups to provide educational services and programs became imperative. Based on the assumption of successful partnerships, the document states,

> Such programs and services should create equal access to colleges' educational opportunities for their multicultural and Native populations and should provide them with both the opportunity and mandate to function within the dominant society within a cultural framework that is relevant and intrinsic to their needs" (G14, p. 29).

Furthermore, the document poses a key concern regarding the legitimacy of the college and that is, "if colleges do not start to work towards that goal, their overall relevancy to their communities may be seriously questioned by the year 2000. The time to move is now" (G14, p. 29). These statements show a historical commitment to increased accessibility that is no longer prevalent in the college discourse.

A common theme that emerged from the ACCC conference and subsequent report (G14) was the need for both programming and policy to be articulated to circumvent mistrustful attitudes from the community. For example, conference presenters, Day and Gallagher from Vancouver Community College mentioned the need for an

> assessment of policy questions relating to the degree to which community colleges are expected to work toward an affirmative action type of policy that would encourage under-represented groups to participate in tertiary education (G14, p. 14).

The link between accessible programming and affirmative action is logical despite the view that for many the concept of affirmative action is a contested and problematic solution to under-representation. Notwithstanding, as most institutions employ a watered down policy of affirmative action (more commonly called "employment equity" in Canada), the use of quotas to ensure increased access for under-represented groups or non-traditional students warrants consideration. However, these concerns hinge on whether an institution is mainly concerned with serving the community. Naturally, an institution serving other interests (i.e. private sector) would have fewer concerns about community opinion or accountability.

The ACCC report noted the limited number of articulated policies, which implicates an ambiguity of commitment to multicultural issues of accessibility and equality. According to the respondents for the conference "very few colleges actually had specific Multicultural/Race relations policies. Several other colleges were debating whether to do so was philosophically valid" (G14, p. 23). GMCC's "Policy on Multicultural and Native Programming," among the few, pledged a commitment to "provide to all cultures of Canada equality of access and opportunity of development in a climate of cultural freedom, housed in a positive learning environment" (G14, p. 27). Despite reports of several colleges' commitment, ACCC raised doubts as to the seriousness of the multicultural commitment. ACCC's doubts foreshadow the AUCC conference mentioned earlier as a tendency for institutional *policy* to commit while institutional *action* lags behind.

Sliding into Internationalization

A brief reference to comments by Gerald Kelly, in the Report of the ACCC Multicultural Study Regional Workshop for the Alberta and North West Territories Region, succinctly alludes to the overlap, or perhaps the "switch" from multicultural to international activities (G14). Kelly responded to questions on possible strategies for "international/multicultural programming" by suggesting the "colleges have a community development role to play at many levels" (G14, p. 6 Appendix IV). More importantly, Kelly linked international and multicultural by stating, "Multiculturalism parallels international development" (G14, p. 6). According to the use of the term international development, which Kelly linked with projects overseas, this reveals that at one time, GMC connected the humanitarian focus of multiculturalism with international development work. These discussions, however, took place in the context that at least for a short period of time, supported the concept of multiculturalism. The language of "internationalization" was only beginning to be used and was yet to dominate the policy discussions.

Regarding the language used to discuss institutional direction, documents show the presence or absence of the word "community" in mission statements, reports, policies on multicultural and international activity reveals to what extent including the community

is part of the process. The 1989-1990 Annual Report (hereafter called G17) gives an indication of the prevalent philosophy regarding community at that time. The presidential report announced,

> as GMC enters the 1990s, it is important that college organization and practice reflect the human development emphasis of a community college....priorities (that)continue to be characteristic of a community college (are)-responsiveness to community educational needs, efficient use of resources, and provision of leadership in addressing key social issues" (G17, p. 3).

This announcement was followed by a specific reference to accessibility, that, "the college provides educational opportunities for every member of the community-senior citizens, mature adults, high school graduates, natives and children" (G17, p. 5). Although multiculturalism and internationalization were not mentioned by definition, the notion of accessibility to community was present as well as mention of increased ESL programming, English immersion programming for international students and Heritage Language instructor training, the latter being the only community based program in Canada.

An indicator of a shift in discourse is a reference to educating the local community. The summary of IEC achievements in 1987-1988 showed that IEC hosted a development education lecture series for community and college constituents (G37). An IEC memo at the end of the 1980's emphasizes Grant MacEwan's commitment to internationalizing community programs and activities "through involvement in NGO's in Alberta and sponsoring community focused development education lecture series" (G30). In 1995, an IEC presentation document (G11) reviewed the conditions for implementing internationalization. These conditions stated that besides the need for institutional policy, government recognition, self-funding and partnership, there was a need for "intercultural education (for members of *our own community*)" (G11, p. 4 [emphasis added]). In addition, one of the benefits listed for international student recruitment was,

> increased understanding, tolerance, and respect for peoples of other cultures that will lead to better relationships within our

> multicultural community and contribute to the development of a more just, peaceful and prosperous world (G11, p. 6).

These benefits sound promising for including the community in the internationalization goals but unfortunately these references are minimal compared to the more economically focused rationale prevalent in the college documents after 1994.

The Philosophical Struggle of "Responsiveness"

Throughout the history of multicultural and international education in Grant MacEwan, the references to economic rationale appear to increase. For the IEC, the mid 1990s turning point meant that

> entrepreneurial activities will be the priority, which will affect the supply side of the "soft" services (hosting delegations, technical assistance, educational study tours, provincial representation, etc.). If these soft services are still required, a way of receiving financial support must be found (G25, p. 2).

The document specifies that although external funding is imperative at this time due to cancellation of college support, "funding agencies, such as CIDA, WUSC and various foundation do not allow for sufficient overhead and administrative costs to meet the needs of an entrepreneurial model. Therefore, activities in these areas will have to be considered carefully" (G25, p.2). What the college calls "technical assistance projects," (international development in poorer countries) will be limited to one or two a year (G25, p. 3). This statement certainly differs from an IEC summary of achievements in 1987-1988 (G37) in which GMC could boast of "expansion of project base i.e. Philippines, China, Ecuador, Uganda, Malawi, Malaysia, Zambia" (G37). In general, this shift of priorities seems to indicate development activities are no longer deemed as important and presents a fiscal and an ideological challenge for international development work to continue.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Smyth's "Report on International Education: Challenges and Responses" (hereafter referred to as document G12) is a key document from the late 1980's. It outlines the history and development of international education at Grant MacEwan and explores the divided ideologies within Canadian PSE

institutions. For GMC, this report frames the historical development of the international education center (IEC) and provides insight into the rationale for the college to commit to international education. Written in 1986, the document also foreshadows later descriptions on two separate ideologies that influence the process of internationalization, that is, the "idealistic" and the "pragmatic."

The imperative for implementing a college-wide plan for international education include the usual arguments: employability of graduates in the new economic order, professional development, an increased international student base, and increased revenue and employment for staff. One benefit, however, makes direct references to the responsibility within the internationalization process to adhere to Grant MacEwan's philosophy by stating that international education "provides an opportunity to more fully realize our mission "lifelong learning, responsive to the community" (G12, p. 2). In other words, GMC espouses a philosophy of being "responsive" and the internationalization direction is supposed to reflect the college mission. The interdependent relationship of an international centre with its host institution and the intention for the internationalization process to remain true to the institution's mission statement is significant. As the IEC developed and revised its policies, it is likely that the Centre reflected the philosophy and interests of the institution. So, it logically follows that if the institutional philosophy changes, so too does the philosophy of the Centre.

Smyth (1986) furthers the argument for internal philosophical consistency between a centre and the college with a reminder of UNESCO's historical rationale for international education (G12). She cites GMCC's mission statement, "lifelong learning, responsive to the community" as a reminder that the statement "appears to espouse UNESCO's recommendation on education for international understanding" (G12, 6.2 p. 19). UNESCO (1974) clearly stated that "post-secondary establishments should carry out international education as part of their broadened function in life-long education" (G12, 6.2, p. 19). Smyth's perspectives draw on extensive references, many of which refer to "development education," "global development," and "international development." Therefore, her vision of internationalization in higher education includes a development focus, that is, a strong emphasis toward the "idealistic" strand of international education.

There is an underlying normative suggestion that this focus *should* complement the overall goals of the institution.

Smyth (1986) criticizes the demise of the idealistic strand of international education in the late 1980s and acknowledges the subsequent increase in the pragmatic strand. However, Smyth insists that GMCC "can and/or must become more systematically involved in both the idealistic and pragmatic strands of international education" (G12, 1.0, p.3). She refers to "current federal and provincial policies (that) strongly endorse international education program development" (G12, 7.4, p. 27). With this in mind, this document mentions the Alberta government's White Paper: "Proposals for an Industrial and Science Strategy for Albertans 1985-1990" in which "international trade is defined as a key ingredient to a successful future." Smyth (1986) argues that these proposals have influenced educational policies on international marketing, foreign language study, and Pacific Rim exchanges (G12, 3.0, p. 8). With the changing economic environment, the college is inevitably open to shifts towards the market. Clearly, these policies indicate that the college would be wise to follow the provincial government's lead in the pragmatic pursuit of international education because the changing economic environment leaves the college vulnerable to cuts and downsizing.

Simultaneously, Smyth refers to the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) role in encouraging social justice through education. She believes GMCC must contribute to development assistance projects (G12, 3.0, p. 9). Thus, Smyth speaks to the role of post-secondary institutions like GMC to link sectors provincially and federally (as in trade, or as CIDA delicately refers to it, "commercial exchanges" (CIDA 1985, p. 9). There appears to be an overlap between what is considered effective and profitable humanitarian international education during this time period.

Other federal incentives from CIDA provided some opportunities for GMC to become involved in development education that would program for the local community. For example, Smyth (1986) noted CIDA "Public Participation Program" (PPP) "to develop educational programs that will assist Canadians to become informed about international development and social justice issues" (G12, 4.0, p. 12). It appears Smyth is considering the possibility of untapped resources that would follow the "idealistic" strand and would balance the idealistic with the pragmatic. Within the findings of Smyth's

survey, she suggests that CIDA prioritized public education about international development issues and therefore, "GMCC as a community college may be in a position to provide such programming. Grants may be available to those institutions willing to provide development education for community members" (G12 7.0, p. 26). Whether the college was able to successfully access the grants or whether they tried is beyond the scope of this study. The data from the mid 1990s to the present, however, seem to indicate that the college focused its energy on efforts towards international student recruitment and international contracts, for example, far more than community development programs.

University College of Cape Breton

This subsection explores University College of Cape Breton (UCCB) documents that describe the internationalization process as reflected in the reports of the Centre of International Studies (CIS) as well as from the point of view of the institution. It examines annual reports from the institution and the CIS as well as other institutional documents and media snippets related to the internationalization process. As in the previous section on Grant MacEwan, UCCB shares a common narrative of the "decreasing funding" but a somewhat different orientation to internationalization initiatives in that the language of multiculturalism and development education (also called Public Awareness Programming) co-exists with the language of internationalization. I explore how these potential differences translate into the social practices of the institution recruiting, marketing, programming.

Funding

As mentioned in the previous chapter, UCCB is well known for its international education activities that raise awareness of global and developmental issues within the Cape Breton community. The Centre for International Studies is responsible for reporting these activities via annual reports, newsletters and other reports available for public viewing. Besides the federal and provincial cuts to post-secondary education in general, in the 1990s the CIS monitored and reported the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)'s fluctuating funding with considerable detail. Its

motivation for such monitoring could be attributed to CIDA's importance in funding various CIS projects including development assistance projects overseas and local educative activities that were meant to increase global awareness throughout the Cape Breton community.

While CIDA funding seemed secure through the 1980's, the commitment to "public awareness programming" appeared to be waning perhaps in conjunction with general PSE funding reductions that forced institutions to consider entrepreneurial options. For example, in 1993 the CIS Annual Report of 1993 shows that CIDA cut 10% in the "Public Awareness Project" for 1993-1994 (U4, p. 13). These funding cuts meant the loss of the fall school's tour, the newsletter and fewer international speakers (U4). In addition, the 1995 CIS Annual Report noted severe federal funding cuts affecting the Centre, and other development programming across Canada and reported that

> the development education program was cut 100% in last March's budget, along with similar cuts to more than eighty development centres as well as to all decentralized funds (set up to encourage regional organizations), International Development Week, and the Global Education projects" (U6, p. 2).

These severe cuts were significant because of the potential effect on UCCB, thus, CIS predicted that "what little development education remains will be attached to the project work of large non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and institutions, based in major centres" (U6, p. 2). The CIS was clearly making a statement about its own alienation as a result of these cuts. Cape Breton is not a major centre and the cuts would further remove it from development education work. Naturally, these cuts, in light of UCCB's peripheral location, potentially threaten the connections that have been forged with the rest of the Maritimes, Canada, and the world.

Thus, UCCB quickly began to explore alternative partnerships that would allow the work to continue. As Ruth Schneider, from the CIS stated,

> new sources of funding are being sought and discussions are being held with new and old partnerships about the potential for CIS to operate on a cost-recovery or profit basis. Fortunately, this is the Atlantic Region; when the resources disappear, the work continues, it just takes another shape (U6, p. 2).

Such a response to decreased funding is rich in meaning. Some UCCB documents indicate overwhelming community response in the form of complaint letters to the GOC urging them to restore funding for public awareness programming activity (U22, 1995). The statement is also a not so subtle reminder to the GOC that committed educators forgoing a salary would continue the work even if on a volunteer basis. Lastly, Schneider's hope that the work could "take another shape" was realized through consortiums with the private sector (e.g. Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation). Therefore, the message concerning how UCCB was going to respond to cuts seems indicative of the character of the CIS and played into the broader aims of the government. In other words, the government (federal or provincial) may choose to ignore letters justifying PAP and be quite content to encourage more volunteerism as it fits the neo-liberal trend of devolving of social responsibilities to families, church groups and community activists. However, when the CIS chooses to follow a third option, that of creating institutional partnerships with the private sector that could boost the local economy, then the government is more likely to take notice and reward these initiatives.

In 1994, with the expectation of another 10% cut from CIDA, CIS reassured the public that "a closer working relationship has developed with Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation (ECBC) during the past year and this has provided additional revenues" (U5, 1994, p. 13). The CIS annual report detailed ECBC funding: $ 1,670 for Public Awareness Programming, $20,230 for an international student project and approximately $36,000 for two projects with the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. The international student project was primarily focused on international student recruitment as well as service provision for successfully recruited students. The recruiting was framed in the discourse as part of larger "collaborations" between UCCB and other agencies and colleges overseas. Under the title "Internationalizing the Cape Breton Community," the CIS reported that ECBC, notwithstanding its contributions to Public Awareness Programming (PAP) and the International Student Project, also requested that UCCB survey 350 companies and hold three focus groups to elicit information on export possibilities. These announcements appear under the section "internationalizing the community," yet the activity is quite narrowly focused on the *business* community. Almost in the same breath, however, the

CIS also reported on a teacher's conference incorporated into the ECBC project in an "effort to review the role that education plays in developing a sense of global awareness among our young people" (U5, p. 9). Thus, projects that appear to be serving narrow economic interests, in fact, include a public awareness/ international development education element. Such annual reports were quite clear about the causal relationship between anticipating CIDA funding cuts and the need for increased partnerships with the provincial sector while simultaneously promoting internationalization that extends into the community.

Still, ECBC is only one consortium that links education, training, and international sales. In 1990, a memorandum of understanding was signed, "strengthening the linkages between government, university and the business community with a focus on technology development. Since it was signed over 70 projects have been undertaken" (U5). UCCB also engages in international training as part of a consortium, known as the Cape Breton International Training Associates (CBITA) with the Canadian Coast Guard College, the Cape Breton Coal Research Laboratory, and ADI Nolan Davis & Associates. This consortium "seeks to market Cape Breton's extensive expertise in coal mining, especially regarding occupational health and safety, mine rescue and environmental issues" (U5, pp. 9-10). The CIS noted that the "consortium brought together government, academic and private interests in an effort to establish a presence in South East Asia (or as Grant MacEwan College calls it the 'Pacific Rim') in the field of environmental regulations and occupational health and safety related to mining" (U5). Each international linkage presents a possibility for the commodification and the sale of knowledge. Therefore, the University College, if it is properly marketing itself abroad, is an essential conduit through which business deals can be made. International training associates benefit from educational marketing missions to, for example, Malaysia, when their federal department sends officials for training. The CIS clearly states that the CBITA hopes to negotiate direct contracts with governments in South East Asia through CIDA (U5). These alliances are thought to be an education/private sector win/win situation as a result of successful knowledge sales overseas.

International Student Recruitment

UCCB has managed to increase its international student population and could boast of enrolment successes especially considering the comparatively small size of the institution and its late entrance (1995) into the "field of international recruitment"(U3, p. 12). Two examples follow. The CIS claimed that in 1995, International student recruitment (ISR) had declined across Canada while at UCCB it was slowly increasing or maintaining its level (U6, p. 14). In addition, international student enrolment rose by 90% in 1998 (U3, p. 12). As of 1995, the CIS annual reports show the figures for the tuition, differential fees, as well as estimates on how much international students spent in the community (U6.). The CIS 1994 Annual Report estimated that $500,000 had been "injected into the local economy by international students" (U5, p. 1). The documents indicate that institutional commitment to recruiting international students increased once ECBC became involved. Furthermore, through reporting the advantages to the community, it appears that the CIS was justifying internationalization activity to maintain community support.

Despite the optimistic tone of the 1995 International Student Recruitment (ISR) project, the CIS warned that the $1,700 differential fee (which the governments retain) was to be increased and therefore would threaten the potential international student enrolment. Interestingly, although UCCB had been charging differential fees for international students since at least 1992, it was only in 1995 that the CIS Annual Report began to include a table that presented a breakdown of specific revenue from international students attending UCCB, according to tuition, differential fees, and community spending. Reports such as these are no doubt meant to satisfy those requesting "accountability" for any "investment" in ISR. Moreover, at this time, the provincial governments were proposing that the universities begin to receive a "small portion of the revenue" from differential fees that UCCB hoped would go towards international programming. However, the CIS called that small proportion "pathetically inadequate" and predicted that the increase would "almost certainly reduce the number of international students coming to Nova Scotia because one of our few advantages over other provinces (and other countries) is our lower costs" (U6, p. 15). These statements

appear to caution against the greed prevalent in the whole "international student recruitment" field.

While the CIS explicitly states that UCCB, provincial governments and the community benefits financially as a result of ISR, conflicting messages emerge regarding the motivation behind increasing differential fees. The 1995 CIS Annual Report stated that the Board's decision to introduce differential fees in May

> while highly regrettable from the point of view of encouraging international education, was a welcome and necessary response to submissions made by the Centre over the past three years which will assist with the costs of both recruiting and providing services to international students (U6, p. 8)

This statement implies that the implementation of differential fees is a kind of necessary evil because the Centre does not want to exclude students who cannot afford a higher tuition fee yet, due to lack of provincial and institutional support, the CIS needs the funding for international programming. The CIS firmly supports both international student recruitment and exchanges that "enrich our institution culturally and educationally and achieve our goal of preparing Cape Breton students to participate in the global economy" (U6, p. 8). These statements echo statements made by the IEC in Grant MacEwan College and reflect the struggle between the "philosophical" and the "financial" evident in institutional language and practice.

The language of recruitment is tied into the language of "partnerships" because the 1990s has seen UCCB forge "linkages" and sign articulation agreements with other institutions. The Presidential Report of 1996-1997 stated "partnerships in learning are more symbiotic and given UCCB's community and educational mandate, that makes a great deal of sense. Applied research, co-operative education, transfer agreements and the joint delivery of programs combine to keep the UC relevant and visionary" (U13, p. 11). In addition, UCCB signed articulation agreements in Sweden, Malaysia, and Florida and more recently, Dundee in Scotland with the idea to "broaden their personal and community horizons globally" (U13, p. 13). Although implicit in the documents, the by-product of these linkages is often increased international student enrolment to raise significant revenue for UCCB, the province, and the local community. Yet, the

articulation agreements also act as avenues for exchange for local UCCB students to begin or finish their degrees in other locations.

One interesting point about the exchanges is that UCCB subsidizes the student exchanges so the only additional expense incurred is travel. The CIS recognizes that because," most UCCB students are only able to attend university with the assistance of government loans and grants, we have tried to negotiate agreements that offer practical, realistic opportunities" (U21, p. 1). These policies point to a sincere concern for affordable, accessible opportunities for local students. UCCB justifies the need for exchanges because the "accelerating trend toward globalization in recent years has made it clear the importance, indeed necessity of introducing UCCB's students to different cultures, races and religions, as well as different systems and ways of doing business" (U21, p. 1). This statement frames the dual purpose of internationalization activity, as cultural and economic. Framed in this way, UCCB presents a *balanced motivation* for educational exchanges. Other documents, however, seem to indicate that the balance is tipping toward the economic with a specific focus on trade.

The term "market" is used frequently, particularly in reference to South East Asian countries that have been seen as the ISR market to capture. In 1995, CIS lamented that British, American, and Australian universities have national organizations marketing them collectively and energetically in places like Hong Kong and Malaysia, no one is doing this for Canadian institutions" (U6, p. 14). In the same report, CIS speculated that then Nova Scotia minister of Education, John McEachern, had an "interest in increasing Nova Scotia markets in Asia" and "seems determined to increase the province's presence in the international *market*" (U6, p. 15[emphasis added]). According to occasional media reports, this interest has been echoed by other provincial education ministers through the years, therefore UCCB, as an institution that has generally received less provincial support than some of the "central" institutions, would naturally seek to capture provincial attention through the forging of new international links.

The provincial government's interest in international recruitment and programming is barely disguised as a launching off point for trade interests. As discussed in the previous chapter, Nova Scotia's economic planning includes marketing Nova Scotia universities and colleges internationally, meaning "collaborative international

student recruitment and trade missions; an incentives fund to encourage partnerships among institutions, and with the private sector to commercialize existing services" (Nova Scotia Department of Economic Development, 1997). The CIS suggests that despite increased provincial initiatives, the Centre's involvement has been marginal. CIS explains that the province contributes 80% and the institutions must come up with 20% but this is problematic because UCCB "budgets nothing for international recruitment and the Registrar's office is hard pressed to meet its domestic obligations" (U7, p. 8). Public complaints combined with the knowledge that the province would support ISR/ trade activity may explain why UCCB decided in the late 1990s to allocate funds for international recruitment. After the battle for internal funding for recruitment was won, the CIS reports refocused on other internationalized considerations such as programming.

Programming

Programming, as an important institutional commodity, is unique in the internationalized UCCB context. Mission statements, supported by presidential messages repeatedly mention the accountability to the "people, cultures and communities of Cape Breton Island and also recognize the importance of its cultural and educational linkages with the global community" (U13, p.2). In this context, key statements in the concluding section of the CIS's document "Confronting the Millennium: Internationalizing at the University College of Cape Breton" (U3, 1999) identify key events over Centre's twenty year history, that include an institutional survey on attitudes towards internationalization. It cautioned that "internationalization should not be embraced so enthusiastically that unrealistic expectations are raised or that established programs and priorities are perceived to be threatened" (U3, p. 30). What programming shifts have taken place in an "internationalizing" institution possibly reveal the direction for inclusive or exclusive practices.

Scott, in the president's message of 1997-1998 mentions UCCB "as a model for community outreach and partnership" and "quality programs, adequate funding, and new partnerships and services to our students and to the communities we serve" (U14, p. 1). To that end, UCCB's programming spans from "trades and technology" to "undergraduate academic" and includes one Masters in Business Administration in Community

Economic Development. Unlike Grant MacEwan's Asia Pacific Management Institute, a clear indicator of increased internationalization focus (the internationalization of programming at UCCB) is not always visible "international." However, the documents imply what new kinds of programming have crystallized along with increased international (short-term, customized) projects.

Many of the programs earmarked as having international content are equally intercultural. In other words, where there is a global perspective it is balanced with a local one. One notable program coordinated through the Centre for International Studies is the Bachelor of Arts Community Studies introduced in 1992. Although in 1997 the CIS alluded to the uncertain future of this program based on enrolment and interest, there was a push to revive this exciting program. It is considered "international" because participants study the theory and practice of "development both locally and internationally" and some students went overseas for their international work placements (U1, p. 16). The MBA in Community Economic Development also represents "international" programming but also appears to have a strong intercultural (First Nation's focus). Other programs that specifically mention "cultural programming" and multiculturalism are the Certificate in Heritage Studies and the Comparative Development Studies (U1, p. 113). With regard to programming, UCCB appears to be firmly committed to "link(ing) internationalization with the interests and concerns of the local community, as well as a concern to recognize multiculturalism and include minority or marginal groups in society to increase diversity on campus" (U3, p. 29).

Consider the usual "exclusivity" around MBA programs that are proportionately more expensive than other programs and require applicants to compete for top GMAT scores in order to enter. Interestingly, the MBA (CED) at the University College of Cape Breton, is inexpensive and has made provisions for admission requirements for Non-traditional students (U1, p. 35). Flexible policies that encourage the inclusion of non-traditional students are also reflected in several new bridging programs such as Elmitek (Mi'kmaq Access Program) and Mi'kmaq Science Advantage Program. Moreover, the province has been involved in initiatives encouraging new UCCB programs so that more Black and Mi'kmaq students study science at the post-secondary level" (U16). In the President's Report entitled "Breaking the Seal on Post-secondary Education, 1998-1999,"

Scott speaks passionately about UCCB's commitment to accessibility (U15). She describes a 100-year-old debate on institutional accessibility. The "heat" of the current discussion on accessibility makes it a relevant theme for UCCB" (U15). She states "exclusivity does not equal excellence" therefore UCCB

> not only subscribes to this belief, but we exist, in part, because of the belief of Cape Bretoners that they too, should have accessible entry to advanced learning. We welcome students who graduated at the top of their secondary school classes, those returning to learn new skill mid-career, and those who are looking for a 'second chance' at education now that they are adults (U15 President's Report).

While language that combines the values of accessibility with "life-long learning" is common in PSE mission statements and President's reports, the Strategic Planning Process 2000 at least partially explains the motivation for the kind of programming trends at UCCB. The scan summation describes increased

> Out-migration, global focus, distance delivery, focus on entrepreneurship, multiculturalism, student poverty & debt load, Mi'kmaq programming and self-governance, enabling technologies and competition. (U2, p. 2)

Therefore, UCCB's programming has at least in part reflected some of these trends and the international direction as a vital component of the institution responding appropriately in order to survive.

Internationalization: Essential and under the Microscope

UCCB presents internationalization as an institutional imperative for the students and for the surrounding community. A close look at mission statements, mandates and presidential reports reveals the ideologies behind internationalization. The alumni president of 1999, Craig MacMullen claims,

> Politicians often tout UCCB as the engine for the new Cape Breton economy...[it] is asked to shoulder a substantial part of the burden of economic development, for community leadership and for technological development. In short it is asked to do

> more than any other post-secondary institution in Nova Scotia, or possibly Canada. And yet, somehow UCCB is still, under-funded (U17, p. 1).

With a tuition increase of 62.5% in just six years (from $1, 975 in 91-92 to $3, 210 in 96-97), UCCB asserts," the devolution of support by government, for students at UCCB has resulted in greater reliance on those revenues a greater debt burden on individual students" (U13, p. 15). Consequently, Scott pledged to "continue to advocate for equitable regional funding solutions" (U13, p. 16). UCCB, as a chronically under-funded institution is under considerable pressure to compete with older and more prestigious institutions. It is therefore, no surprise that UCCB documents report an abundance of new programs, many of which involve partnerships with the technology and petroleum sector in an effort to "project industry needs before they arise and respond with timely, relevant programs and services" (Scott, U17, p. 2).

With regards to internationalization initiatives, Jacqueline Thayer Scott, like Paul Byrne in GMC, has been actively pursuing partnerships overseas and pledged to "continue and increase this aspect of our international mandate because we believe it is essential for both the university college and the Cape Breton community that we participate fully on the global scene" (CCID, International News, Spring, 1995). While there is no denying building relationships with such agencies as CIDA, ECBC, ACOA has enhanced UCCB's ability to internationalize, it is difficult to discern to what extent these partnerships are aiding the financial situation of the college (or the community) in general. Some links, such as those between the Nova Scotia Department of Education and the Economic Renewal Agency that have assisted universities in marketing have assisted with student recruitment, but if or how that has helped UCCB is difficult to discern. Scott is increasingly recognized as an international education "player" because UCCB has been "opening up" new markets such as Iceland. With Nova Scotia pursuing trade with Iceland (new daily flights between Halifax and Iceland) and other untapped coastal communities, this might explain UCCB's reputation for finding successful education and trade niches.

The 1998-1999 Annual Report entitled "Breaking the Seal" also offers some insights into the complex nature of a university college that on the one hand appears to be

marginalized and on the other is networking the global "scene" with some degree of success. The concept of "opening" runs through this report, that is opening cultures, minds, lifestyles, communities, books, doors, borders, networks and boundaries. Under the section "Opening Boundaries," Scott asserts,

> we must face the new global reality: concepts like "a job for life" or an orderly climb up the organizational ladder have become relics of the past"... therefore, [education] is "forced to change, shift, react and respond to global circumstances and economic demands" (U15, p. 15).

The "flexibility" narrative so common in the globalization rhetoric across Canada continues and UCCB positions itself as the "pace-setter in determining the most cost-effective, learner-centered and outcome-specific approaches to this global challenge" (U15). The tone is consistent with neo-liberal influenced international education but stops short of the usual zealousness for educational strategies that are meant to outwit or at least outrun the challenges of global competition as is the case in Alberta. UCCB is tempered with a mandate that while committed to internationalization, also demands a stronger emphasis on service to the community. The following examples give an indication of UCCB's process, of "weaving community and economic priorities" (U15).

Dr. Tennyson, of the CIS, speaks of the importance of active international involvement and sustainable communities with members of the local economic development network (U6). The by-laws of the CIS clearly indicate the importance of offering "non-formal educational programming in the Cape Breton community, relating to development, environment, human rights, and intercultural understanding, both globally and locally, and consulting services to the business community and government" (U7, Appendix B, p. 22). The media likens international activity at UCCB to the kitchen party consultations that built the Antigonish movement with globalization "strengthening local communities, competing globally and building a fairer economy" (U10). There is strong evidence of citizen participation within the internationalization process implemented through UCCB. In CIDA's formal evaluation of public awareness programming (PAP), Pierre Tanguay states that PAP brings an international dimension to the ongoing discussions of local community issues (U25). This link is achieved by

"placing local concerns in an international context, school and community, groups are encouraged to analyze the nature of underdevelopment and to critique the structures which link them to communities in the South" (U25). These kinds of discussions on communities that are under-developed concretely link UCCB and Cape Breton with other regions of the world that are also using the internationalizing of education as one means for opening up discussion and positioning educational programming to facilitate community needs.

At the juncture of economic and community priorities, internationalization must also include aspects of multiculturalism. Therefore, as argued in the last chapter, the semantics of "internationalization" and "multiculturalism" are significant because these words cannot be used interchangeably because one without the other means a different set of institutional practices. UCCB's literature expresses a "desire to link internationalization with the interests and concerns of the local community, as well as a concern to recognize multiculturalism and include minority or marginal groups in society to increase diversity on campus" (U3, p. 29). Tennyson and Stinson (CIS) (1998) boldly state,

> the inclusion of the multicultural dimension in our approach is both deliberate and important, for the Cape Breton community, like Canada generally, is composed of many races, cultures and religious traditions; and understanding of that reality is essential to function effectively within Cape Breton and Canada. At the same time, multicultural awareness addresses a critically important aspect of internationalization (U3, p. 4).

Looking at how to include a multicultural dimension into internationalization activity focuses the activity outward to the "global market" as well as "inward" to the community that the institution is responsible for serving. In the same report, Tennyson and Stinson cite Dr. Ian McAllister whose thoughtful critique on how universities have approached international development institutionalization asks "if development, development for whom?" (U3, p. 8). McAllister believes for universities to develop long term credibility internationally means "strengthening the development of its own region" and "teamwork, linking teaching and research, and community service regionally and internationally" (U3 p. 9). In the spirit of this critique, Tennyson and Stinson question accepting the concepts

of internationalization (in response to "globalization") without debate (U3). Therefore, they say "we believe it is critically important that Cape Bretoners not accept globalization passively but attempt to understand the process and both its positive and negative impacts, and explore ways in which we may to some extent shape its influence on our community" (U3 p. 2). The use of the term "Cape Bretoners" clearly expands the dialogue from within the boundaries of the institution to the surrounding community. The possibility for educational internationalization that includes community, increases accessibility, invites critique, and provides economic and educational sustainability is a viable alternative.

Conclusion: Summary and Comparison

In conclusion, these institutions share several similarities with regard to the centres that were responsible for building international activity within the institutions. Both the International Education Centre (IEC) and the Centre for International Studies (CIS) hold the bulk of responsibility to ensure that internationalization is prioritized in the institution. Although the Centres do not always make the final decisions regarding projects, the institutions look to the Centres to initiate, support, and maintain internationalization activities within the institutions. For example, both institutions have taken on the challenge of "internationalizing the curriculum" and have also taken inventory of which courses have an "international" component.

As described in the last chapter, both institutions operate on a limited budget yet both are expected to operate on a cost-recovery basis. Funding cuts have legitimated the need for a continuum between cost-recovery and revenue-generating activity. GMC cut funding to the IEC in 1996 and CIDA cut funding by 100% to the CIS in 1994, therefore, both experienced the panic of "decreased funding" in addition to the federal change to the CHST which is often blamed for the fiscal crunch on universities in the mid 1990s. Both institutions chose to partner with private sector and other institutions, domestic *and* international, as two key strategies for generating funding. Provincially, for example, GMC works with Campus Alberta and the Alberta Centre for International Education and UCCB works with Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation and Atlantic Canada

Opportunities Agency. In addition, UCCB continues to mobilize the volunteer and community sector to supplement federal support for development education activity.

Both institutions were historically responsible for liasing with community groups and offering international development education to the community. As well, both institutions have had a reputation for participating in development education activity overseas. Moreover, UCCB is widely recognized for such activities as "Public Awareness Programming" that brings global awareness and issues of development to the Cape Breton community.

Both institutions offer programming for the aboriginal population in their communities, for example GMC's "Native Communication" program and UCCB's "Mi'kmaq Studies." However, Grant MacEwan has cut bridging or "access" programs like the "Aboriginal Women's Employment Preparation." At the same time, UCCB has been expanding bridging programs such as the "Mi'kmaq Science Advantage" (a bridge from secondary to college). While GMC used to have an office that supported both multicultural and native programming (Office for Multicultural and Native Programming), it withered away in the middle of the 1990s and the portion that remained became the Ukrainian Development Resource Centre. Furthermore, the IEC is adamant that its office has nothing to do with "multicultural" education. Conversely, the CIS asserts that the multicultural element of internationalization is essential. In addition, the CIS participates in intercultural programming. One such example points to CIS facilitating the "Five Dialogues/Walking Together Project." This multiple phase project supported by Heritage Canada consists of a unique dialogue between native and non-native educators and advisors. Thus, UCCB seems able to provide more of a balance between international and local activity.

Other general programming differences demonstrate varying degrees of commitment to the principle of accessibility. Both institutions have used bridging programs in order to help non-traditional or at-risk students access college programs through "supports" within regular programming or separate courses. For example, "GMC's Accessibility Plan 2000" on the proposed Bachelor of Education states "our object will be not to offer special programming for Aboriginals, but to put in place supports to allow Aboriginals to succeed in the Education programming we offer" (G24,

p. 3). GMC's plan also indicates a "reduction in preparatory studies activity, from 10% of College Enrolment in 1999/2000 to 2% by 2004/2005" (G24, p. 9). On the other hand, UCCB boasts that the "Science and Technology Bridging Program" represents the "epitome of programs that meet the community's expectations of the University Colleges" (U13, p. 5). Scott sees bridging programs as essential for non-traditional student population (U9). While both variations of bridging or support have their strengths and weaknesses, a commitment to bridging as one way of ensuring accessibility is necessary to ensure that non-traditional learners have access to all college programs.

A more obvious difference exists between the expansion of programming. GMC created a new "General Studies for International Students" (GSIS) billed as an "essential part of globalization of the college" (G5, p. 52). This program bridges international students who are often non-native English speakers into core college courses. However, this program, which effectively provides an alternative to writing the dreaded TOEFL exam, is not available to non-international students. In other words, this program excludes non-native English speakers that pay only domestic tuition. This expansion seems to run counter to the goal described in the same document for internationalization to "provide Canadian students with the opportunity to interact with students from countries to become more aware of other cultures and international issues" (G5, p. 52).

Both institutions espouse the benefits of bringing an international dimension to the institution. For example, GMC believes that international education activities will "prepare students, faculty, and staff effective participation in the international economic system and for life in an increasingly interdependent world" (G5, p. 54). Similarly, UCCB has acknowledged the "accelerating trend toward globalization in recent years has made clear the importance, indeed necessity of introducing UCCB students to different cultures, races and religions, as well as different systems and ways of doing business" (U21, p. 1). Thus, both imply that the so-called "new economic order" in the "international marketplace" requires the academic community to familiarize themselves with international paradigms.

However, the difference lies in who will be exposed to these international competencies. The CIS asserts that "its mandate is to internationalize both the institution and the community" (U9, p. 2). Scott's statements on internationalization and the

educational mandate of UCCB also include the Cape Breton community (U6). Up until 1996-1997 GMC was still talking about "developing global citizens able to cooperate with people in other cultures and nations" but that language was soon to die out. By 1998, there was not longer any mention of "responsiveness to the community" and by 1999, GMC had removed the word "community" from the college name. This name change was justified by the board to more accurately reflect the new direction in programming and would help "position the college within the local, national and international marketplace" (G6, p. 3). Therefore, unlike UCCB, GMC was in effect, slowly severing the international/community connection.

Table 5. 1. A Table of Two Institutions

	GRANT MACEWAN COLLEGE, EDMONTON, ALBERTA	UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE BRETON, SYDNEY, NOVA SCOTIA
Institutional Mission	"inspires and enables individuals to succeed in life through career and university studies" (G1, p.3).	"to provide leadership and employ partnerships that assist learners and their communities to meet their educational, cultural, and economic needs" (NS30, p. 3).
Institutional Role	Cost-effective and entrepreneurial	A model for community outreach and partnership
History of Internationalization	International Development No longer includes "Multicultural"	International Development Continues to include "Multicultural"
Internationalization Model	Combination of Liberal Model and Market (Entrepreneurial) Model	Combination of Liberal Model and Social Transformative Model
Funding	Federal Decrease 1996 Fund-raising Emphasis on "user-funding"	Federal Decrease 1996 Fund-raising Advocate for regional funding solutions
Recruiting	Traditional Students: high school Target market of elite in South Cone, Pacific Rim and Eastern Europe	Non-traditional: mature, aboriginal Some recruiting Malaysia and Hong Kong. Emphasis on national and international exchanges (subsidized)
Programming	Increased Business and University Transfer courses Decrease in career and community studies Preparatory studies (i.e. ABE, Native Women's Career Preparation) transferred to another institution	Increase in community studies within BA (Comparative Development)and MBA (Community Economic Development) Increase Aboriginal Programming and bridging (Access) programs
Internationalization As Policy	Position institution and students to compete in the global market place Internationalization uncontested Seen as imperative for institutional success	Equip students with global understanding and educate community to transform under development and increase exchange capacity (both enrolment and trade) Enhance international reputation Internationalization promoted but kept in check through CIS initiated public discussion

CHAPTER SIX
POLICY ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the ways that Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton internationalized through a critical discourse analysis of relevant policy texts. It also laid the foundation for a historical comparison of the internationalization process. This chapter critiques some of the inconsistencies between the stated goals and actual practices of the internationalization process and then applies critical multiculturalism theory, human capital theory, and educational reproduction theory to the institutional findings. This application provides explanations for the international orientation of both institutions. I draw from historical/comparative research to explain each institution's divergent and unique directions. Finally, this analysis of institutional policy explores the changing functions of the institutions with regard to the student population and the surrounding community.

Sayer's (2000) discussion on realism and empirical research methods describes the objects of research as social systems that are "always open and usually complex and messy" (p. 19). Policy, be it governmental or institutional, is also inherently complex, messy, and open to change. The research design for this study, as discussed in chapter three, examines social practices of two specific institutions *intensively* as opposed to *extensively*. In other words, this critique is not concerned with finding patterns or regularities across a large population (extensive); it is concerned with *offering causal explanations for the social practices of internationalization policy in two post-secondary institutions* (intensive) (Sayer, 2000). As Sayer (2000) suggests, "explanation depends instead on identifying causal mechanisms and how they work, and discovering if they have been activated and under what conditions" (p. 14). Thus, I refer to the socio-historic contexts previously discussed in chapter four and the institutional practices that I identified in chapter five in order to interpret and explain why institutions are using internationalization activities as policy instruments to respond to institutional (and provincial) concerns.

Explanations involve probing beyond the surface reality in order to critique ideological underpinnings of institutional direction. With regard to interpretation in critical realist research, Sayer (2000) believes that "much of what happens does not depend on or correspond to actor's understandings; there are unintended consequences and unacknowledged conditions and things can happen to people regardless of their understandings" (p. 20). Therefore, the institutional policies that concern internationalization may impact the student and regional communities in unexpected ways and some of the policy actors involved may not fully comprehend how decisions will be implemented. I present some policy scenarios in the following chapters that offer alternate possibilities. In the interim, this chapter briefly reviews of the policy relevant information from the previous chapters and provides the background for the policy problem.

Policy Relevant Information

In the early 1990s both Nova Scotia and Alberta post-secondary institutions acknowledged several simultaneous new challenges that justified shifts in institutional priorities. The first of these challenges was federal and provincial funding cuts, which not only affected the institutions in general, but also affected the already established "centres" of internationalization. Internationalization in education, as an increasing phenomenon, has tended to follow the neo-liberal pursuit of economic autonomy through private partnerships and other entrepreneurial means. Over the last two decades, literature on the "impact that economic forces have on education has become strongly emphasized" (Berkhout & Wielemans, 1999, p. 8).

Besides an intensified debate on the politics of education, a further observation is that "the rationale for education reform is increasingly couched in terms of economic needs, in regard to economic competitiveness" (Levin & Young, 1999, p. 91). The public mood surrounding post-secondary education supported fiscal restraint and entrepreneurial institutions that could rationalize programs and emphasize efficiency, which fully complies with neo-liberal ideology. The literature that supports further internationalization of post-secondary education generally explains the world as a globally competitive marketplace, i.e. " industries, markets and information networks are

becoming increasing global, and competition is becoming more intense" (International Education, 1991, p. 3). Obviously, many institutions have been propelled into new decision-making strategies given the policy environment and competition has become the means in which an institution flourishes or fails.

The second challenge was the claim that "globalization" had created the need for students to obtain skills for a global "knowledge economy." Many post-secondary institutions seized the opportunity to demonstrate that providing an "internationalized" education would bridge the education-work gap. Post-secondary institutions, seen as "ladders" to a career, supposedly function to prepare students to compete in this marketplace. Therefore, internationalization is deemed necessary to make the institutions and its "consumers" or "clients" (formerly referred to as students) competitive. This challenge exceeds most reasonable expectations of what any given student can learn to get an "edge" over other students in the same institution, nationally, or internationally. However, institutions that promise an "edge," or even better a "placement," through unique internationalized programming that takes the form of cooperative education is one way of enhancing institutional status. This form of partnership further justifies an alliance with the private sector to supply entry level labour that costs the private sector less money. This relationship appears to be mutually beneficial but should also call into question the underlying themes that drive how an institution functions differently under an internationalization framework.

Several common themes run through the documents. For example, policy statements and media reports often brag that international students "enrich" our campuses. Student and teacher exchanges promote Canadian "ideas" around the world but the literature is unlikely to mention that besides an exchange of ideas, exchanges can increase trade linkages. An underlying premise is that once students develop global competencies, they will lead the way in bettering themselves, their province, and their country. Lastly, there is an assumption that if higher education is assumed to be the solution to poverty, unemployment, and underemployment then it should follow that higher education which is "internationalized" doubles the chances for improving life chances on the global playing field. As a result of examining the language of internationalization in both institutions, I propose analyzing how the policy of

internationalization is structured and who among the policy actors is involved in creating an internationalized institution.

Outline of Policy Structure

Institutions and governments have articulated that the "*problem*" or "challenge" within post-secondary education is that students need to be "globally prepared" for the new "knowledge economy" to compete in the "global marketplace" or else they will be "left behind." Therefore, a policy "*solution*" is based on the belief that institutions can solve the problem through the process of internationalization. The *mechanism* (Sayer, 2000), or as Pal (1997) says "policy instrument," to achieve the solution is the development of internationalization activity (programs) in post-secondary institutions to acquire these skills.

As explained in earlier chapters, a policy process is influenced by its historical, cultural, and political context or "conditions." In the case of GMC and UCCB, the political environment is one that supports a neo-liberal ideology and all its corresponding activity (educational entrepreneurialism, partnering with private enterprise, increased "user-pay," "customized" short term courses). At the same time, remnants of political environments with communitarian leanings co-exist with the neo-liberal paradigm, albeit the neo-liberal dominates. Herein lies the difference between Grant MacEwan College, unadulterated market internationalization for profit (neo-liberal) and University College of Cape Breton, market internationalization tempered with humanitarian and development education values (neo-liberal/socialist). A policy *effect* or event: concerns how a goal is accomplished. In this study, this would mean that an institution could claim that its internationalized activity is fulfilling education and employment goals.

By the 1990s, both institutions were already active with international activity, including "international development," "technical assistance," and student and staff exchanges. However, there were also strong "multicultural" or "intercultural" ties with the community, as in the Office of Native and Multicultural Programming (OMNP) at GMC and Public Awareness Programs that integrated the Cape Breton community with UCCB. Despite the existence of both "internationalization" for idealistic and pragmatic purposes, the latter form has been embraced by the institutional administration as the

answer to the problem. Before delving into the causal explanations for the decisions to internationalize in these ways, I identify some possible policy actors that share in these policy debates at the macro, meso and micro level.

Policy Actors

On the "*macro*" level, as detailed in chapter four, the federal government has taken an interest in the internationalization of post-secondary education, especially departments such as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. O' Sullivan (2000) points to the "1987 Radwanski Report" in Ottawa as the first major policy document that convinced Ontarians of the need for a "paradigm of global economic competitiveness for education" (p. 314). Following that policy document, nation-wide educational reforms that began in the early 1990s reinforced federal interest to "mobilize public-sector and private-sector activities in support of a learning culture" and to adopt a "national approach to dealing with globalization of the economy" (O' Sullivan, 2000, pp. 317-318). Therefore, "stakeholders" at the federal level decide how and why institutions engage in internationalization directives. At this level, it appears that the policy actors are dealing with two approaches to international education that O'Sullivan (2000) describes as "*education for global economic competitiveness*" and "*education for global interdependence*. The following quotation further illustrates the competing ideological approaches to internationalization echoing the discussion in chapter four,

> Groups advocating a paradigm for education for global economic competitiveness included the former Economic Council of Canada, the Business Council on National Issues, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Conference Board of Canada, the Prosperity Secretariat of the Federal Government, and the Premier's Council of the Government of Ontario. They called for substantial business involvement in educational reform. On the other hand, groups that advocated the opposing paradigm, global interdependence, included the Canadian International Development Agency, and the Roundtables on the Environment and the Economy (O'Sullivan, 2000, pp. 316-317).

O' Sullivan's description highlights the power imbalance tilted in favour of the education for the global economic competitiveness model.

More policy actors from the "*macro*" context include the Alberta and Nova Scotia provincial governments. Their interest in the internationalization of their respective post-secondary institutions is related to furthering economic initiatives through educational trade activity, recruitment of international students who pay differential fees as well as ensuring that the bulk of programming is both cost-recovery and marketable. At the same time, some of Nova Scotia government's interest appears to come from a commitment to community (economic) development at least in part, with UCCB attempting to extend internationalization activity into the community, albeit somewhat narrowly focused on the business community.

From the "*meso*" (in between macro and micro) context, the policy actors are those connected to the two institutions. This includes the Board of Governors, the President, support administration, faculty, and staff as well as other post-secondary institutions, community groups and the local private sector. To determine the balance of power at the "meso" level is difficult but the documents that I examined strongly indicate that the Presidents' and Deans' voices were dominant in shaping institutional direction on internationalization. These dominant voices could be considered the "comprador elite" ", in other words, administration who act as agents of foreign powers. Occasionally, the documents alluded to internal power struggles at the meso level with regards to which department managed international student recruiting (UCCB) and who was "leading" international activity (GMC).

The "*micro*" context includes the "centres," that is the centres' staff, support staff, and volunteers that manage the daily activities and meet with the members of the academic and business community. With both institutions, the voices of the "centres" came through in internal reports and external reports (i.e. annual reports, newsletters) that describe their missions, goals, activities, and programs. In both centres, staff, as well as faculty have published materials which recognize that there can be two distinct models of internationalization, i.e. Higgins and Schugurensky (1996) wrote about "aid" vs. "trade" and Tennyson and Stinson (1998 [G3]) wrote about the need to include multicultural concerns within internationalization activity. Some of this published material directly or

indirectly criticizes the hegemonic direction that privileges internationalization for economic gain, especially in the UCCB. However, for the most part, internationalization in its present form operates with little interference

Only in the last few years has Grant MacEwan had a Global College Council, in other words, "teams" of deans and faculty from across other college disciplines that meet every few months to discuss internationalizing direction. The IEC is clearly responsible for leading the group and maintaining a profile within GMC. The University College of Cape Breton's "centre" (CIS) was founded by a group of faculty in 1978 and although much international activity seems to operate separately from the college administration, the documents indicate that as of 1998, the college is claiming that international activity is a priority. Both institutions have a responsibility for spreading the word of internationalization across the academic community and to some extent across the local community.

One System, Two Institutions

With regard to the policy actors, they (as a group) are as open to change as the policies themselves. Explanations for how certain internationalization policies gained popularity are different at each level. Each provincial government treats its post-secondary institutions differently. GMC as a public institution in the capital city is located centrally and, as mentioned in previous chapters serves a particular purpose within a sea of public and private institutions. The Alberta government allowed (or arguably encouraged) other private institutions to set up a natural competitive playing field for each institution to find their "niche" or "market" or perish. GMC appears to have chosen the "higher ground" of becoming a feeder institution to the University of Alberta rather than fight for ground among other institutions programming for technology and trades.

In Nova Scotia, UCCB is located far from the educational "centre" and therefore, like other post-secondary institutions around the province (Acadia University, St. Francis Xavier University) must compete for the attention of the province to gain funding and support. The amalgamations of universities in the middle of the 1990s did not seem to affect UCCB to the same degree as the "centre" institutions as UCCB continued to offer

the unique blend of university courses and trades/technology and did not "lose" established departments, such as Dalhousie University's education department. Thus, while competition seems to have justified GMC narrowing their focus on university transfer students, UCCB set about expanding their focus to add an MBA to their undergraduate programming. Both have turned their gaze outward to international markets but in addition, GMC set its sights on the university transfer student ("echo boom"/traditional) while UCCB tried to recruit and retain non-traditional students.

When post-secondary funding began to decrease, the "meso" policy actors saw the "centres" as a drain on institutional resources because they required funding from the institution. For example, GMC was simultaneously supporting the Office of Multicultural and Native Programming (OMNP) and the International Education Centre (IEC), both of whom served different needs in the community. Although I was unable to pinpoint exactly how the OMNP "disappeared," the focus in that Centre switched from programming for new immigrant and First Nations' communities to building relationships with the Ukraine in what later became the Ukrainian Resource Development Centre (URDC), a profitable "business."

Critical Indicators

The directive for the IEC to become "cost-recovery" oriented was more easily tracked through the documents. This decision is what is referred to in historical comparative research as a "*critical indicator*," that is, "unambiguous evidence, which is usually sufficient for inferring a specific theoretical relationship" because it indicated a theoretical shift to educational entrepreneurialism (Neuman, 2000, p. 395).

For UCCB, a critical indication of a change from a development education model to an internationalization model were the activities pursued after a series of CIDA cutbacks in 1994 and 1995, namely partnering with corporations such as the Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation (ECBC). These kinds of new partnerships had been developing since at least 1990 but the *funding cuts seemed to hasten and broaden the process*. Therefore, although the path to internationalization in both institutions was already paved, the changing financial "conditions" were the contingencies upon which many decisions regarding the international direction were made.

Obviously, these partnering and programming shifts were not exclusively driven by an entrepreneurial or "market driven" ideology. As discussed in the previous chapter, UCCB was the first institution to resume programming after CIDA's major cutbacks. The decision to proceed with public education programming with or without any foreseeable source of funding indicates a commitment to following the education for global interdependence model. These decisions were contingent upon policy actors at the micro level that follow a particular ideology of education that draws from a long regional history of cooperative economic movements and a combination of formal and informal education for the community.

For Grant MacEwan College and the new Ukrainian Resource Development Centre, the direction that the programming took was also likely because of the expertise and interest of the staff in addition to direction from the administration to operate on a cost-recovery basis. The legacy of heritage language schools and Ukrainian Cultural activities in Edmonton demonstrate that the Ukrainian community remains a powerful and an important part of Grant MacEwan activity. Ukrainian independence also opened the doors for GMC to build a closer relationship with Ukrainian institutions and businesses despite other opportunities to partner with "richer" countries. While the URDC remains committed to resource development for community needs and international projects in the areas of business, health, agriculture, culture, and ESL; nonetheless, it does point to a narrower focus than that of the OMNP. The switch points to a shift from serving domestic students from a wide variety of ethnic groups to Ukrainian domestic and international clients. Consequently, the best laid plans to operate other centres for groups such as the Phillipino or Chinese population were shelved and continue to gather dust without institution or regional support to fulfill those initiatives.

Similarly with UCCB, the process of educational partnering with private enterprise reflects the neo-liberal ideology to lessen reliance on governmental support and led instead to attempts to generate "business." At the same time, as mentioned in the previous chapter, these choices for UCCB to partner with Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation could also be seen as the businesses sharing opportunities with both the institution and the surrounding community because ECBC funds discussion on international development issues. In any case, educational/private sector consortia could

be explained as "fronts" for negotiating contracts. In other words, the educational institution opens the door and then the private sector capitalizes on the new relationship. Therefore, post-secondary institutions have the capacity to function in a multiple capacity depending on institutional ethics and priorities.

Perhaps the most significant critical indicator that showed an institution narrowing its functions was the name change from Grant MacEwan Community College to Grant MacEwan College. Dropping the word "community" from its name in effect absolved the college of community accountability. Therefore, as Pal (1997) explains, this could be seen as a policy instrument where partnerships (formerly between institution and community) are devolved to non-governmental organizations or other community organizations. Although the media virtually ignored this announcement, the name change represented a profound shift in the function of the institution, that is, a shift away from servicing its community of traditional *and* non-traditional learners and toward a narrower vision of servicing students entering university and/or upgrading corporate skills. This shift complemented the vision of a "global college" because international students or clients needing customized training fit into the new model. Finally, once Grant MacEwan College removed community from its name, it could justify decreasing community education programming and could devolve the responsibility of being "responsive to the community" (G12, p. 2). Thus, the programming was to become consistent with the new name, direction and function of the college. With no organized "resistance" from the community to criticize the decision and a political culture that reinforces the belief that equal access to education is dependent on individual determination Grant MacEwan re-designed its corporate and globalized image.

Policy Inconsistencies

Within the internationalization policies of both institutions, inconsistencies appear both internally and externally. Pal (1997) claims that internal inconsistency is when there is a mismatch between the definitions, goals and instruments whereas an external inconsistency is when the programs do not match the definitions, goals and instruments. External inconsistencies would be, for example, defined goals that use the language of education for global interdependence and that reflect education for global economic

competitiveness. Recruiting, as a policy instrument for internationalizing a college, also is questioned for internal consistency with the stated goals of the institutions.

As identified in previous chapters, much of the internationalization rhetoric borrows from the multicultural/intercultural rhetoric expressing a need for post-secondary students to learn about the world through contact with other global citizens. However, several factors work against the fulfillment of policy goals for increased international/local student interaction. For example, the literature indicates that international students stream themselves into particular professions, i.e. computer science, and international business management (Sefa Dei, 1991). Clearly the intended goals of increased contact are not fulfilled simply by virtue of international students studying at an institution if they rarely meet each other or work together. Segregation not only respects established patterns, it is also part of the reconstruction of the institutions along segregationist lines.

Another inconsistency regarding where international students and local students are located in programs is the creation of programs tailored to international students exclusively. GMC, for example, recently developed a course entitled "University Studies International " that effectively segregates the international students into an "elite" group. Moreover, domestic students who would benefit from this customized course that circumvents the TOEFL exam are not permitted to enroll in this course. Given that one of the GMC International student policy goals is to "provide Canadian students with the opportunity to interact with students from (other) countries to become more aware of cultures and international issues" the decision to offer this course seems inconsistent with the professed goals (G5, p. 52). Sadly, the "mixing" of domestic and international students is sometimes more rhetoric than reality and the opportunity for increased awareness of international issues is ad hoc at best unless institutions formally establish channels of communication. Thus, "globalizing" schools do not just reproduce different patterns; they actively produce new ones.

While neither institution makes any secret of the dollar value that international students paying differential fees would contribute to the colleges, a questionable internal consistency is how international student recruiting has been justified. The 1990s saw institutions adopt fairly aggressive policies for the recruitment of international students.

GMC used to be able to say that they recruited students from "all corners of the world" and this was the case when more international development activity was receiving funding. But the end of the 1990s saw a narrowed recruiting emphasis to specific countries with an elite who can afford to pay $10,000 dollars a year to study at GMC. This emphasis certainly limits participation from many countries therefore limiting the range of cultural diversity that was historically valued as documented in policy manuals that pledged accessibility for providing education for minority and disadvantaged groups (G13, p. 6). Without scholarships and financial support, many students from poorer countries are unable to participate. [11] So combined with increased differentiation is the linkage to increased socio-economic inequality related to access.

Another questionable assertion is that institutions recruit students who come from countries that are somehow "linked" to the home institution. The institutions may claim that the targeted areas for recruiting have to do with geographic links, for example, Alberta being closer to the "Pacific Rim" countries. While that may be true an alternative explanation is that educational relationships are built according to provincial and/or government trade interests. GMC's increased interest in the "Southern Cone" countries such as Columbia, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil is just as likely to have generated from increased trade resulting from the North American Free Trade Agreement and Alberta Government and business initiatives to penetrate the Latin America markets.

In comparison, UCCB, like other universities in Nova Scotia, has had educational relationships with African countries. These links could be partially explained by Nova Scotia's historic ties with Africa and a significant African Canadian population base. However, the recruiting that has been taking place since the 1990s has focused on Malaysia and Hong Kong, two wealthy countries that are not "culturally" linked with Nova Scotia's history and people and a long way from the Atlantic region of Canada. However, as noted in previous chapters, the pressure from both federal and provincial governments to compete for students in wealthier countries such as Hong Kong, Korea, Japan and Taiwan explains in part the recruitment direction and the sale of educational courses and materials that further commodifies education. So, neo-liberal globalization

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[11] Sefa Dei (1991) The National Report on International students in Canada 1990-1991. CBIE: Ottawa. Canadian Bureau of International Education.

in this sense means shifting benefits not only to richer students but also toward richer countries.

In order to attract international students, unique institutions like GMC and UCCB must be able to provide an alternative to a traditional university education. The "elite" in overseas countries that can afford to send their sons and daughters abroad to study have traditionally ended up at universities with international reputations so that the diploma or degree would open doors if and when students returned to their home countries. UCCB is like many Canadian institutions, grossly under-funded in the area of international student recruitment compared to other countries. Consequently, institutions like GMC and UCCB are compelled to raise their international profiles in order to compete with prestigious universities or create a niche that will attract a certain student population. For example, GMC presents itself as a viable alternative to struggling for acceptance into the University of Alberta with a bridging program that accepts students with lower TOEFL scores, thus creating a little niche for university transfer students. UCCB presents itself as a warmer, caring alternative to prestigious universities with unique community programming.

For both institutions, the documents understate the calculated nature of planning institutional partnerships. The "actors" in the institutional documents recount stories of accidental alliances being formed through travel or word of mouth. While those explanations are plausible, equally plausible is the fact that participation in the internationalization process is a proven means to generate revenue. Institutions must also strategically plan which countries or institutions therein make better partners according to agreeable and profitable markets. Hong Kong, for instance, was generally a target market for many Canadian institutions through the 1990s. The Peoples' Republic of China (historically, the "mainland") however, carries a bad reputation for visa delays so is often not first choice for ISR or exchanges. The newly industrialized countries (NICs), especially Korea and Taiwan have proven to be valuable (profitable) partners for Canadian institutions but when those countries experienced the Asian economic crisis, institutions looked south to wealthier "clients" in Central and South America. If institutional internationalization has retained any features of international development

education then the blatant display of following the "money trail" would be balanced with historical, cultural, and educational alliances.

The documents also allude to the advantages of increasing the population of differential fee-paying international students so that spaces may be "opened up" for local students. Therefore, reports *intentionally circumvent* any potential backlash against anyone in the academic or local community who may feel too many resources or "seats" are reserved for international students. Although institutional enrolments have increased for UCCB and GMC at different points over the last decade, there does not appear to be any causal effect on increasing "availability" for domestic students. On the contrary, Johnson's report (2000) describes governmental pressure to respond to decreased accessibility and a debt crisis in post-secondary institutions. Although both institutions are attempting to increase capacity through renovations and building expansion, internationalization discussions seemingly omit issues of accessibility and affordability.

Perhaps the rhetoric that sets up the presence of international students as a conduit for becoming globally "savvy" has been more convincing than the "accessibility" argument meant to placate any critical whispers. International students are symbols of successful global trade where dominant countries try to double their profits at the expense of less powerful countries. Therefore, the micro context of international students and domestic students in two institutions mirrors a much larger context. Yet, proximity of international students and domestic students offers the possibility of increased understanding and perhaps the exchange of "global competencies"; however, that would involve either structuring activities to bring students together and the colleges in this study differ in degrees of successful cultural integration.

Another inconsistency between internationalization as a solution for supplying global skills to post-secondary students is that although these skills are supposed to be implemented across the curriculum, some departments are more exposed to these "extras" than others. In GMC, for example, departments such as Asia Pacific Management, International Business and Supply Chain Management, and Forum for International Trade Training provide exposure to the concepts and practices of global business. Therefore, a limited number of students have access to the kind of global skills considered important to globally compete. While I am not advocating that all students in

post-secondary institutions are in desperate need to access these skills, the fact that institutions claim that these skills are important for "all" as justification for international activity when only a "few" are receiving them raises the issue of equitable distribution.

Similarly, institutions in richer countries like Canada have historically engaged in student exchanges in the spirit of international development and knowledge sharing. The principle of "exchange" somehow diffuses colonial traditions of bringing "superior" knowledge to poorer countries because the exchange provides an opportunity for a sharing of ideas. For GMC, the concept of student and cultural "exchange" appears to have switched in some cases to Canadian students finding "work placements" in multinational companies to hone their newly acquired international skills. The college does not feel responsible for financing such placements perhaps because provincial politics supports a user-pay system where a student invests in his/her education. Therefore, the trend of the one-way exchange that holds the promise of young apprentices securing a place in the heart of the global marketplace (e.g. South East Asia) continues.

That UCCB goes about exchanges differently is difficult to explain. Perhaps they too aspire to send elite groups of students overseas to gain first hand knowledge of the global marketplace. However, as it stands, the UCCB international exchanges are financially supplemented by the CIS through, for example, scholarships inspired by human rights activist Marion Matheson. Moreover, the structure of students moving in two directions (as opposed to inviting customized businesses in for training) follows the traditional model of exchange so that students from Nova Scotia or other parts of the world are beginning degrees in one country or other parts of Canada) and finishing somewhere else. The exchanges also appear to be accessible across many academic disciplines. A table follows that summarizes the above inconsistencies.

Table 6.1 Summary of Inconsistencies of Internalization Policies

CLAIMS	PRACTICES
rhetoric that promotes multicultural and intercultural direction, thereby inviting access and inclusion	structures (or lack of) function narrowly, therefore promoting "international elite" which increases exclusion
policies that appear to encourage interaction	programming reproduces segregation
the appearance of choosing educational partners or potential international students based on cultural or geographical links	the actual process chooses according to cost-recovery planning
the justification of inviting international students to increase accessibility for local students	limited accessibility for many locals (particularly disadvantaged students) persists
the promise that global competencies will permeate the institution and community	the reality that these competencies are still limited to specific departments
the illusion of the educational exchange	the actual activity is often uni-dimensional

In the examples I provided it is sometimes difficulty to determine from the findings which policy actors were involved in creating policy and activities and at which level (macro, meso, and micro). Theories such as critical multiculturalism, human capital and educational reproduction aid in gaining a pragmatic understanding of the policy directives as well as the policy silences.

Critical Multiculturalism

As described in my review of literature, critical multiculturalism theory is one way of approaching the process of internationalization at GMC and UCCB. Critical multiculturalism, here, bridges the historical traditions of international development that has much in common with critical multiculturalism with the homogenizing effects of market model internationalization. In other words, if institutions design policies to encourage internationalization without structuring an arena for the voices of those on the margins of society to be heard, then effectively they are encouraging mainstream internationalization that privileges economic opportunity over critical participatory education. This trend offers internationalization for the *few* as opposed to the *many*. Several examples follow.

Rhoads and Valadez (1996) believe that because "race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and age all contribute to marginality, it is hardly surprising that members of diverse cultural groups face the most serious challenges in negotiating university and college settings" (p. 7). This view might explain why in the late 1980's and early 1990s documents in both institutions refer to extensive multicultural activity in post-secondary institutions like community colleges and university-colleges because they were mandated differently than traditional "elitist" universities. Historically, colleges in Canada had gained a reputation for a commitment to accessibility and democracy (Dennison & Levin, 1989; Gallagher, 1990). Therefore, internationalization policy that claims to "contribute to international understanding and cooperation through formal and informal channels" and " to contribute to international development" (G5, p. 4) should by definition mean activity that extends beyond the classroom into the local community, much like critical multicultural activity. Moreover, international understanding could be better achieved through critical multiculturalism practices which "transform educational institutions from

monolithic centres of power to democratic constellations in which organizational structures reflect diverse cultures and perspectives" (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996, p. 9). For example, understanding how international companies consolidate power through mergers and trade agreements might be more relevant to local communities seeking self-sustainability. Linking local community issues with larger global concerns suit the mandate of UCCB's Centre for International Studies, where Public Awareness Programming creates forums where globalization (among other topics) is debated.

A word of caution though on simply adding multiculturalism to internationalization in the vein of simply collapsing the concepts and calling one thing another. The notion of "international understanding" should mean far more than the kind of symbolic multiculturalism that celebrates diversity through food and music displays. As Marshall (1999) points out, "feminists' critical policy analyses see through symbolic inaction and are suspicious of policy actors' rhetoric and policies with no enforcement. Symbolic policy can be harmful, like the placebo that only gives the pretense of treatment" (p. 62). For that reason, this study sought to logically and normatively question the relationship between what the respective institutional policies stated as their goals, and the kinds of programming decisions that potentially impact the student and regional community according to the commitment to deeper international understanding. Clearly, "international weeks" or "multicultural days" only scratch the surface of possibilities that exist for actualizing an institution that "lives" critical multiculturalism.

Looking at internationalization through critical multicultural principles could affect how institutions choose to expand programming. When an institution or a community raises issues of accessibility then expansion must consider which programs are accountable to the community and inclusive to both traditional and non-traditional learners in the community. In other words, a college that internationalizes but at the same time considers those marginalized (non-traditional students) will expand according to what the college and the community deem important through engaging in critical discussion. For Cape Breton and specifically the Centre for International Studies at UCCB, this means for example that "the multicultural program [that had] begun to work with Mi'kmaq faculty and students has expanded into the Black community with a focus on science education" (U11, p. 1). This science education program in addition to Emitek

that teaches indigenous science in the Mi'kmaq tradition are examples of valuing what Rhoads and Valadez (1996) call "border knowledge-knowledge that resides outside of the canon, outside of the cultural mainstream" (p. 7). Incorporating border knowledge and expanding programming to include those on the margins is only possible in an institution that weaves critical multicultural principles into the internationalization process. Conversely, when institutions "drag their feet" on responding to these kinds of cultural imperatives, Rhoads & Valadez (1996) believe it is because "responding to cultural diversity through the implementation of multicultural curriculum and organization threaten the canonical knowledge upon which dominant forces in higher education are positioned" (p. 6).

Besides issues of what knowledge dominates, a key policy concern in how institutions internationalize should be the extent of community consultation and participation. Pal (1997) explains, "global economic forces that are driving our perceptions of policy problems are also at the root of new more intense demands for local and community action" (p. 96). He also suggests that governments should take a more "defensive role" (Pal, 1997). This cautionary statement should also extend to institutions engaging in internationalization activity. For example, the macro policy actors pressure institutions to bring in more international students in order to increase revenue; however domestic responsibilities (such as equitable accessibility) must not be overshadowed by setting their sights on profitable overseas "markets."

In order to determine to what extent critical multiculturalism has influenced either GMC or UCCB would require further observations and individual interviews. However, the written reports on public awareness programming seem to reflect components of critical multiculturalism theory in its investigation of economic inequities, cultural dominance, and critical reflection and discussion. While there is no shortage of literature on how an institution can become more entrepreneurial, Canadian institutions should also consider past policies that supported international education directives that were humanistic. Furthermore, they should also seek out literature and models of institutions that bring the education for global competitiveness and intercultural understanding into balance.

Educational "Crisis" or Labour Market "Crisis"

The narrative of "crisis" has fuelled internationalization directives and consequently has influenced policy decisions in post-secondary education. For example, educational reform (in Ontario and across Canada) in late 1980's and early 1990s was "part of a larger global trend in industrial nations, that of asserting that globalization had brought about a crisis in education" (O' Sullivan, 2000, p. 315). Moreover, layoffs at Canada's major employers placed new "educational demands of the workforce" (O'Sullivan, 2000, p. 315). Post-secondary education was suddenly heralded as a solution to bridging education and jobs in the new "global economy."

However, this so-called "crisis" is not new. As O'Sullivan (2000) points out, "powerful economic groups argue that the crisis before us is about success in the global economy, but this has been a clarion call from government and business since the start of the 20th century (p. 322). Mazurek (1999) also explains the cyclical nature of perceived educational crisis that often is signaled by American studies such as "Nation At-Risk" but "globalization" as an explanation for an educational crisis does not account for many other factors. Perhaps it is the economy that is in crisis due to unregulated globalization and free trade agreements that move labour to poorer countries. Or that governments' focus on education as a deliberate measure to distract public attention away from unemployment, underemployment, and other social ills.

Pannu, Plumb and Schugurensky (1994) described the labour market dichotomy between highly paid "knowledge" workers and the new majority of poorly paid low-skilled labour. Labour market reports in Nova Scotia confirm this dichotomy. Given the shortage of actual jobs that would fit the category of "highly paid knowledge worker," policies that encourage internationalization as a means of competing in the new economy are at best unrealistic and at worst misleading. Much like the saturation of the market with computer education graduates, the "market" is unlikely to balance and accommodate and put those with an elite combination of computer and "global" skills to work because the number of highly paid knowledge workers needed is finite.

The new image of the corporate institution supposedly creates a demand for institutions to groom a new kind of graduate to be freshly supplied to the cost-efficient private sector. Livingstone (1999) explains,

> private, profit-driven firms do little to discourage an over-supply of their most valuable resource, intelligent labour power, as long as they don't have to worry about the costs of the surplus supply beyond their needs; this surplus supply also tends to mute internal demand for workplace reforms (p. 8).

Livingstone's (1999) in-depth study of the education-work gap therefore highlights the mismatch between expectations corporation have for schools to produce "trained labour" and indirectly makes institutions accountable for providing direct training. Instead, institutions like Grant MacEwan create programs such as the Bachelors of Applied International Business and Supply Chain Management to supply labour to corporations at minimum cost to the employer and considerable cost to the student. However, as long as human capital theory dominates the consciousness of policy actors at the macro and meso levels, any people at the micro level who question the correspondence between levels of economics and educational development will remain effectively silenced.

Human Capital Theory

Livingstone's (1999) critique of human capital theory offers several interesting possibilities for explaining the enthusiasm for internationalization under the "trade" model. He describes a tendency for people to seek more education throughout their lives ("life-long learning") in the hopes of acquiring skills valued by employers. Livingstone (1999) names the "presumed high skill needs of a global, 'post-industrial' or 'knowledge economy,'" as justification for educational reforms (p. 3). Within the post-secondary arena, part of the reforms has involved promoting and marketing internationalization in education. Those creating policy on international activity in post-secondary institutions should be aware of the discrepancies between a population that is highly educated but unable to find meaningful paid employment that matches the "investment" students make in order to better compete for work.

Evidently, the policy planners are trying to find solutions for bridging that education-work gap through environmental scans and graduate follow-up surveys but besides acknowledging the difficult conditions that graduates face, larger forces at the macro level of policy making may be dominating. For example, encouraging internationalization in post-secondary education could be a means of "cooling-out"

students until either the economy regains strength, or in the neo-liberal view, the market will balance itself out. In other words, students studying abroad or engaging in work placements overseas are not unemployed graduates and therefore reflect institutional status and success. Federal strategies such as Katimivik have been resuscitated which means that the federal government is once again interested in sending groups of young adults around the country volunteering in communal groups. In some ways, Katimivik is the national equivalent of the international "backpacker" but the federal government might see these programs as a way of attending to students' need for work thereby channeling multicultural values into productive non-formal education. Unintended consequences for students in Katimivik or similar overseas programs might be strengthening of humanistic values as opposed to the trend for institutions to push an entrepreneurial or corporate ethic.

Within GMC and UCCB, an "internationalized graduate" has diverse meanings. Naturally both institutions are interested in preparing students for the labour market and the dominant human capital message to "invest in your future" is well supported by the institutions and the media. One underlying assumption is that Canada's economy will be strengthened by a nation of skilled knowledge workers. The rhetoric frequently echoes the credit given to countries such as Japan or Korea as models of successful human capital "investment." However, if an institution like UCCB encourages education for global understanding and through that process is deconstructing power relationships, then an unintended consequence might be that students will question the legitimacy of human capital theory and possibly look to other explanations or other solutions. Thus, international education that incorporates critical multiculturalism and other forms of critical theory creates the potential for Freirian "conscientization" or "critical consciousness." If and when this should occur, students will likely question the theories upon which their education system has been built and require new and critical explanations for how the world works as it does.

Educational Reproduction Theory

In order to look at how policies of internationalization might be including or excluding populations, I briefly examine the general trends of participation in post-secondary education. Livingstone (1999) finds that

> The cumulative empirical research strongly confirms that selection for higher levels of schooling continues to favour students from higher class social origins whose parents have both more schooling themselves and higher paying occupations. This may well be the most consistently and strongly documented relationship yet studied by social scientists. Female students and students of colour also experience persistent forms of discrimination against participation at higher levels (p. 57).

Other aggregate studies Canadians can boast that some "visible minorities" are accessing higher education because of stringent immigration criteria and higher socio-economic status (Driedger, 1996). In addition, it is generally recognized that more women are participating in higher education. Nonetheless, the overall picture still shows persistent inequality for much of the population not "advantaged" by the right combination of class, ethnicity and gender (Livingstone, 1999). Therefore, Bourdieu's observation that "educational institutions, rather than being socially neutral, are part of a larger universe of symbolic institutions that reproduce power relationships" is key when considering the role of post-secondary education in producing/ reproducing "globally" skilled graduates (Bellamy, 1994, p. 122).

Although I agree with Livingstone (1999) that Bourdieu's analysis de-emphasizes the ability for those marginalized in the community to alter the structural pattern of education, Bellamy's analysis (1994) of forms of exclusion based on Bourdieu's theories help provide explanations as to why policy actors appear to be unable or unwilling to restructure a post-secondary system that is more inclusive. She explains that as a result of "habitus" and cultural, social and economic capital, potential higher education students are streamed into those who gain access to elite educational systems and those who are not (1994). Bellamy (1994) also explains that self-elimination, overselection, relegation,

and occasionally direct exclusion function to reproduce the social stratification that persists in society.[12]

If there are tendencies for students lacking cultural or social capital to miss out on the information or "connections" that are proven to facilitate inclusion then these tendencies are further exacerbated when an institution ignores (and in effect devalues) cultural perspectives that fall outside the dominant culture. Moreover, the combination of overselection and economic capital are also relevant with regard to the trend for not only increased tuition fees across Canada, but the support for extreme differential fees for international students. These trends highlight the practical reality that even if potential community members could shake off the "cultural deficit" that is imposed or self-imposed, elite institutions cost even more money. Therefore, if internationalization is serving to make institutions more elite and more expensive, then the policy actors should be aware of any unintended consequences or inequitable effects.

Conclusion

In this chapter I provided explanations for an increase in internationalization discussion that influences the functioning of both Grant MacEwan College and University College of Cape Breton. My purpose was not to evaluate the impact of the policies but rather to explore how approaches to internationalization have specific ideological influences and how those influences might determine institutional direction. In comparing GMC and UCCB's approaches in the last chapter, I considered the influence of the historical context of both institutions and how distinctly different their educational traditions have developed. At the micro level of the institution, I tried to link larger issues of global interdependency, myths of the labour market and the reproduction of the educational elite. In the next chapter I explore how GMC and UCCB might incorporate these issues into the micro planning of future internationalization directives.

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[12] See Bellamy, L.A. (1994) Capital, habitus, field, and fractice: An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In (Eds.). L. Erwin & D. MacLennan. Sociology of Education in Canada: Critical Perspectives on Theory Research, and Practice. Copp Clark Longman: Mississauga.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter summarizes the dominant themes in this study. It traces the process of the initial questions that peaked my interest through an exploration of books, articles and documents on internationalization and multiculturalism in post-secondary institutions. This conclusion also explains how the research methods that I chose fit into the analysis. The previous chapter attempted to provide explanations for what I found in deconstructing the textual discourse of two distinctly different and dynamic institutions, Grant MacEwan College (GMC) and the University College of Cape Breton (UCCB). In this chapter, I ask not only what I might do differently to try and capture and explain the complex processes involved in internationalizing an institution, I also ask the institutional actors to reflect on the values expressed in their philosophies, language, and practices. In doing so, I make recommendations for future policies in the area of international education.

Summary of the Chapters

The study began with preliminary questions on where internationalization and multiculturalism takes place in post-secondary institutions. With a background in teaching English as a Second Language, I observed slight divisions between international students and Canadian students in the college and university classrooms. I realized that the English language classroom represented only a tiny portion of internationalization activity that institutions were providing. In that realization I wondered if students who were not "advantaged" by the right form of "social capital" would have access to the same international opportunities that were often presented in the documents on international direction.

Beyond these departments were "Centres" that embraced internationalization as part of the institutional mission. However, internationalization policy at the PSE level is not an independent entity. Federal and provincial governments influence college policies. Therefore the history and context of the institutions within a much larger setting are interdependent. Thus, this study began with a narrow view of internationalization

within the institutions then expanded to include questions on what provincial and federal forces were at work. Upon reflection of the complicated relationship between institutional internationalization and the omnipresent "global marketplace," I analyzed the findings empirically, normatively and logically. This analysis led me to apply several theories to the findings to try and gain a greater understanding of why internationalization differs in two institutions and what the future holds for international education practices.

The first chapter also raised questions about internationalization as an ideology that is in line with values of competitiveness, individualism and entrepreneurialism. It looked at colleges, as sites of internationalization. In other words, federal organizations such as DFAIT, ACCC, and the AUCC all prioritized internationalization in colleges as part of a mission to support labour market needs and to prepare students for the new "economic order." Despite a healthy legacy of international development and multiculturalism, the shifts in language reveal a distinct neo-liberal tone, which mirrored the provincial shifts in post-secondary governance since the early 1990s when budget restraints and institutional restructuring took place across Canada. Little had been written about this phenomenon with regard to international education activity. Thus, this study took a historical perspective and chose to compare two post-secondary institutions in opposite ends of the country to look at regional and ideological differences and shifting patterns of priorities with regard to how institutions serve student populations.

Chapter two explored related literature on internationalization and simultaneously raised questions about the dominance of particular terminology and the subsequent disappearance of other terms. For example, one key concern in this study was the disappearance of the term "multiculturalism" in the realm of the internationalization literature. As indicated in the findings, Grant MacEwan College had a thriving multicultural office until the college placed internationalization and other entrepreneurial activities into the forefront. The international vision of the future seemed to forget that multiculturalism previously existed or that it had any impact on post-secondary programming, access, or community outreach. Therefore, my literature review sought to explore the concepts of internationalization and multiculturalism, in addition to operationalizing the concepts of community and "college." A brief summary of key points follow.

Much of the literature indicated that internationalization could be manipulated as an institutional "status symbol." Thus, international student recruitment with a tendency toward competing for "elite" students from wealthier countries dominated internationalization activity in general. Besides this trend, many global directives in institutions shared similarities with an entrepreneurial, New Public Management style of offering services for the "client." Partnerships popped up between institutions and the private sector furthering the economic internationalization agenda. Despite some rumblings of critique on internationalization, the notions of multiculturalism and community as I defined them in chapter two remained conspicuously absent in the literature.

This absence initially alerted me to the possibility that multiculturalism had been subsumed under internationalization and the fact that it had happened gradually in a sea of educational reform had meant that nobody paid much attention. Not until I discovered literature that discussed critical multiculturalism did I see a language that could take multiculturalism principles and expand the critique to question institutions for their commitment to diversity, equality, and democracy. Critical multiculturalism, much like public awareness programming on globalization, offered an alternative discourse to the dominant globalization discourse that reinforces the primacy of economic globalization with few considerations for the disadvantaged in the educational community.

With regard to issues of under representation of disadvantaged groups, internationalization held the promise of alleviating stratification and increasing cultural diversity but the extent to which the promises held up proved debatable. The literature pointed to internationalization policies that potentially widen the gap because of the tendency for internationalization to further credential escalation, that is, certification without placement. An exploration of the multiple functions of post-secondary institutions like Grant MacEwan College (formerly community college) and the University College of Cape Breton (a college-university hybrid) showed that institutions are also bound by provincial and federal labour market interests. In addition, the literature reinforces the dominance of human capital ideology that justifies federal, provincial, and institutional rhetoric. This rhetoric supports a "user-pay" mentality and

consequently supports a larger gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged in post-secondary education.

The need to examine underlying assumptions, social reproduction, and power imbalances demanded a qualitative methodology that could push past the public face of institutions to excavate the power dynamics and subtle realities inherent in internationalization policies. So, as detailed in chapter three on methodology, I chose to conduct a critical policy analysis based on a critical historical realist perspective. In doing so, I sought to uncover "reality," with regards to internationalization policy albeit, a slippery, fallible and sometimes contradictory reality. Yet, employing explanatory critique to document analysis permitted a way of identifying the "social practices" of both institutions before critiquing the ways in which these practices may sustain both systems (Fairclough, 1998). Moreover, these techniques rooted in critical historical realism guided the textual analysis because the techniques acknowledged the structural and historical influences on both institutions.

Chapter three also explained the methods chosen to look at the social practices of an institution as represented through its policies. This study sought to examine specific institutional policies as well as some provincial and federal policies related to internationalization and post-secondary education. A policy framework that looked at contextual influences, textual messages and possible consequences laid the groundwork for a historical comparative analysis of two distinct institutions. Secondary literature informed the explanations provided after I textually analyzed the documents for their intentions, programming, past, and present directions.

The methodology chapter also discussed why and how I made decisions on designing this study, including the initial field research, accessibility concerns and ethical issues present in conducting a critical policy analysis. The process took several unexpected plot twists, including a decision to switch the choice of institution in Nova Scotia from NSC to UCCB. Yet, these considerations combined with my ontological beliefs guided my choices and decisions in a consistent direction toward exploring the context in chapter four and analyzing the findings in chapter five.

Chapter four was concerned with providing insights into the federal, provincial and local contexts of both institutions. In other words, it looked more closely at the social

practices from a historical standpoint and was therefore able to identify trends in internationalization direction. Some of these trends included provincial and institutional reaction to funding changes, international student recruitment, programming priorities and support for internationalization activity. These trends were further clarified through a systematic exploration of contextual relationships, that of the federal and provincial governments to colleges as well as colleges to their respective regions.

Within these relationships, issues arose on how governments seem to devolve responsibility while at the same time wield decision-making power. Fiscally speaking, the Government of Canada (GOC) handed over power to the provinces, yet with regards to international activity in the post-secondary arena, the GOC could still direct international trade initiatives backed by DFAIT and generally control the purse strings for international development activity. A removed stance on complaints about rising student debt crisis and exorbitant post-secondary tuition partially explained federal interest in international activity as a diversionary tactic. Sentiments of frustration and anxiety with the federal government's direction were, nonetheless, prevalent in some of the secondary literature, such as the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Therefore, issues of participation and inclusion in post-secondary education were unlikely to be entirely subsumed by internationalization rhetoric at either the federal or provincial level if critique continues to be leveled that demands a response to issues of accessibility and student debt.

In keeping with the GOC 's vested interest in building a strong supply of "human capital," the federal government justified internationalization in PSE with similar neo-liberal rhetoric used at the provincial level. Therefore, the federal government influences college programming in order to support the interests of the "state," for example, short-term customized offshore courses that are meant to represent internationalization activity. Internationalization has provided a means for certain populations to "invest" in their education but much of PSE's narrow international direction focused on adjusting to globalization and the liberalization of trade contradicts the broader historical purposes of education. Lost in the neo-liberal rhetoric is discussion that would indicate authentic federal commitment to education values such as equality of opportunity and participation.

Trade inspires provincial interest in international activity that increases the interdependent nature of province and institution and the link between post-secondary education and international trade. These alliances, which became even more prevalent at the end of the 1990s, set up an environment of competitiveness. For example, Access Funds in Alberta whereby institutions compete for programming dollars has been using a criterion based on the strength of the links between the program and economic activity. Definitive shifts to cost-recovery programming virtually eradicated previous multicultural programming activity that did not fit the new entrepreneurial post-secondary goals.

Perhaps the most significant discussion in this chapter is on the discovery that although some issues of accessibility[13] and the ethics of international student recruitment[14] are being raised, the secondary literature indicated little contest to the trend of "internationalization for global competitiveness"[15] as an institutional measure of success. In other words, the secondary literature presented dual paradigms, that is, internationalization for "aid" or "trade," development education vs. international education (Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996) or "international" vs. "multicultural" (Dobelle & Mullen, 1996). Clearly the paradigms that furthered institutional economic successes have become prioritized and therefore have been indirectly sheltered from direct critique.

Lastly, chapter four chronicled the divisions and occasional connections between humanistic international education and a new form of neo-liberal internationalization. Raby (1996), for example, presented examples of institutions that have made concerted efforts to combine international education and multicultural education practices. Thus, colleges operate on a continuum between the two paradigms. However, the secondary literature also clearly indicated that in the United States, at least, there is a moral dilemma between responding to a community's diverse population or following the paths taken by many universities to internationalize (Story, 1996). I contended that this argument

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[13] Andres, L. & Krahn, H. (1999). Youth pathways in articulated post-secondary systems: Enrollment and completion patterns of urban young women and men. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education (pp. 47-82.).Vol. XXIX, No. 1

[14] Doherty-Delorme, D. & Shaker, E. (1999). Missing Pieces: An alternative guide to post-secondary education in Canada. Ottawa: CCPA.

[15] O'Sullivan, B. (1999). Global change and educational reform in Ontario and Canada. Canadian Journal of Educational Research. Vol. 24 (3).

became diffused in Canada through language slippage (diverse terms used that are assumed to hold the same meanings) of the internationalization terminology, which borrows from multicultural/development education/ intercultural understanding language. Therefore, the former appears to contain the latter, but often misses the rich humanistic values characteristic of multicultural education, especially critical multicultural or global awareness programs.

Chapter five used a critical lens to examine policies embedded in the textual data (discourse) of Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton. By comparing the policies and documenting the internationalization process in GMC and UCCB, I uncovered institutional perspectives on what internationalization meant in the past and what it means for communities today.

As in the previous chapter, chapter five traced several significant historical themes for each institution. Of particular interest was examining how each institution responded to changes in funding, international student enrolment, and programming. In many ways the institutions shared similar responses. For example, the push for internationalization to further "cost-recovery" objectives meant that both institutions partnered strategically with the private sector to generate economic activity. This strategy included policies encouraging the recruitment of international students and an interest in the internationalization of the curriculum.

Yet for all of these similarities, a deeper analysis of the documents revealed key differences in ideological approaches. Both acknowledged that the process of internationalization (in the vein of economic globalization of education) presents profound philosophical and ethical divisions. However, the institutional directions showed that GMC was focused on the university transfer (academic) "market," wealthier international students, and customized training programs with several exceptions including some of the Ukrainian Resource Development Centre work. On the continuum of idealistic to pragmatic (Smyth, 1986), GMC was definitely moving toward the pragmatic and dangerously close to losing its historical humanistic values. On the other hand, the UCCB has also been reaching into the international "market" for student exchanges and recruitment but appears committed to retaining the humanistic in the form of public awareness programming for the community as well as bridging and other

programs for non-traditional students. Therefore, as stated in Table 5.1, Grant MacEwan College appears to follow an internationalization model that is focused outward on the global marketplace while the University College of Cape Breton acknowledges the global marketplace but sought community and academic partnerships that value community sustainability.

Chapter six, a policy analysis, sought explanations for the different orientations of both institutions. It reviewed the themes of internationalization in PSE and how they have been justified as a necessary path for institutions to follow into the future. This required a closer look at the policy actors and their shifting roles in creating education for "global economic competitiveness" or "education for global interdependence" (O'Sullivan, 2000). These terms echoed earlier language that described internationalization as idealistic/pragmatic, aid vs. trade and aid vs. profit (Smyth, 1986; Higgins & Schugurensky, 1996; Hurabielle, 1998). Critical indicators and policy inconsistencies raised issues about access and equitable participation within the internationalization process depending on the extent to which an institution internationalized to generate trade and revenue.

The latter part of chapter six explored the application of three theories, critical multiculturalism, human capital, and educational reproduction, to the findings to provide further explanation and understanding of internationalization in GMC and UCCB. Revisiting these three theories that I had initially explored in the review of literature enabled me to look at the findings in a new light. Critical multiculturalism, as a theory, challenges the tendency for institutions of higher education to maintain elitist practices through the silencing or exclusion of those marginalized in the community (Rhoads & Valadez, 1996: Shaw, Valadez & Rhoads, 1999). The "conscientization" aspect of critical multiculturalism might have explained why some institutions choose a safer path of focusing on either profit driven "internationalization" or "symbolic multiculturalism."

Employment, or lack thereof, was the driving narrative in justifying human capital theory within internationalization policies. Within the movement for educational reforms that have been pushing for smoother "school to work" transition, student investment to become an "internationalized" graduate further reiterates both the human capital and the internationalization rhetoric. Human capital critics, such as Livingstone (1999), have

much to offer in explaining the realities of the education-work gap. I contend that some institutions are marketing "global" skills that financially enhance the institution but are likely to do little for the average student seeking placements upon graduation. Unless, of course, the labour market undergoes massive restructuring and values learned through internationalization become *valued* by employers.

Members of the local communities frightened by the increasingly evident education-jobs gap continue to believe that higher education will bridge that gap. However, any tendencies for institutions to use internationalization as justification for creating more expensive and elite programming further excludes a population without the social or economic capital to enter into the echelons that will, in fact, produce graduates that land plum positions. Thus, the theory of educational reproduction holds true for many institutional practices; *particularly those institutions which offer internationalization primarily to those who can afford it.*

Policy Recommendations

This section discusses the policy process concerning the internationalization direction I observed in Grant MacEwan College and the University College of Cape Breton. Both institutions created formalized policies for their respective centres to guide their activities. At the same time, budget restraints within the college and from provincial governments shaped the internationalization direction at the International Education Centre (GMC) and the Centre for International Studies (UCCB).

Specific inconsistencies that could be redressed include bringing practices in line with stated policy goals. For example, as pointed out in the last chapter, one of GMC's goals on International Students is to "provide Canadian students with the opportunity to interact with students from (other) countries to become more aware of cultures and international issues" (G5, p. 52). However, GMC continues to offer "customized" programs for international students, such as "University Studies International" that in effect exclude Canadian students, therefore, segregating domestic and international students. Thus, the practice is inconsistent. The stated purpose should be brought in line with program changes.

Grant MacEwan's Policy Task Force on Multicultural Needs and Services had previously recognized a need for the college to "sensitize the general student population to the multicultural nature of Alberta and Canada and the role Canadian society plays internationally" (G13, p. 12). If indeed the college can confidently say that the student population is not in need of such services then perhaps there is no need for a multicultural framework; however, the use of the term "intercultural competency" suggests that the need remains. Moreover, if as former GMC president Kelly once stated "Multiculturalism parallels international development" (G14, p. 6) then needs expressed under a multiculturalism framework can and should be addressed under an internationalization framework. Again the institution should be reformed to bring practices in line with the stated needs and values.

Another area in which Grant MacEwan might revisit historical policies is regarding pledged college accessibility for minority and disadvantaged students. Federal policies such as the Millennium Scholarships do not adequately compensate for higher tuitions, nor do provincially inspired schemes that promise better access to student loan assistance for several reasons. Two obvious ones are students who legitimately fear an increasing debt load that is often further exacerbated by credentials without placements in addition to fear of accessing an institution that increasingly resembles a university, which for community members without the "capital" or "connections" appears out of reach. Therefore, Grant MacEwan should ensure that within its vision of a global college there is space for those who have not yet captured the "global" advantage but deserve equal opportunities to gain access to those advantages.

International students "enrich" our campuses should mean as "an exchange of ideas" not enrich "financially." GMC could revisit the plans to open up other centres such as URDC that provide services and exchanges to less wealthy countries so that students who are interested in agriculture or community development may have the college's support. If GMC is striving to grow as a liberal arts institution and compete with other universities for students, it must allow internationalization activity that follows a liberal arts tradition of critical dialogue.

Lastly, Grant MacEwan needs to continue its commitment to offer "global skills" across the curriculum. The documents revealed that internationalizing the curriculum has

been a priority for the college and research and reports written with University of Alberta students and the Curriculum for the Future Task Force are certainly two strong indications of a clear direction. However, while certain departments such as Asia Pacific Management and International Business and Supply Chain Management offer international practicum experiences, so should other departments so that all students have access to international experience should they so choose. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the concept of cultural exchange should mean more than "work placements." Besides, studying overseas is only one way of learning about other cultures. The college could also commit to hosting more forums where global issues are discussed, both within and outside of an "internationalized curriculum."

Finally, the international education centre (IEC) mandate still states that the "ultimate goal (is) to meet the international education need of GMCC students, staff, and community" (G25, p. 1). Another IEC document stated the need for "intercultural education for members of our own community" (G11, p. 4). Despite the inclusion of the concept of community in the IEC, the word "community" was deleted from the name of the college and the Community Education Department has been sharply "downsized." As discussed in chapter six, these are critical indicators of policy shifts for the college that might make it more difficult for the IEC to fulfill its mission and in turn support the vision of the Global College Council. Therefore, the commitment to meet the needs of "community" within the international education arena is also at risk of disappearing unless conscious policies are created that involve community members in co-creating a new global college.

For the University College of Cape Breton, the inconsistencies that would warrant examinations of policy are less pronounced than in Grant MacEwan College. The Centre for International Studies (CIS) remains committed to including multiculturalism within its internationalization direction and the recruitment and programming appears to match the Centre's goals because UCCB maintains a keen interest in domestic (and often marginalized) students. While president Scott promises to push for "equitable regional funding solutions," alternative planning is very much at work with partnerships with the private sector. Thus, the language from the Presidential reports, for example, is using more neo-liberal terminology ("market Cape Breton's expertise," "cost-effective, learner-

centered and outcome-specific approaches to this global challenge"). Moreover, Scott believes that UCCB must participate on the "global scene." Despite indications of slight ideological shifts hinted at through the language, policies that assure the inclusion of multiculturalism and the Cape Breton community has for now remained virtually intact.

General Recommendations

With the above specific recommendations in mind, I propose that institutions working on internationalization policy carefully consider the following issues: access (international and domestic), critical dialogue, narrowed programming, and community involvement. First, when institutional policy makers plan to recruit international students that every effort is made to recruit widely from all areas of the world, both rich and poor. An examination of procedures for scholarships and exchanges should include ample consideration for students who are marginalized by class, gender or ethnicity and so on to participate in international education opportunities. Similarly, institutions must continue to ensure that recruiting efforts extend into their own communities so locals may rightfully gain equitable access to post-secondary institutions. Where bridging programs are necessary, they should be carefully developed to ensure a greater chance for equality of opportunity. Of equal importance is financial support, in the form of scholarships and grants, that bridge inequities in social economic status and equality of condition. These forms of funding should be increased at the institutional, provincial and federal level. Any scholarship scheme that appears to support the disadvantaged but in reality further marginalizes the non-traditional student should be restructured or discarded as soon as possible.

Critical multiculturalism, as a practice, has been popularized among some American institutions; however, its absence in Canada demands further explanation regarding how institutions consolidate power. Canadian institutions have a history of multicultural education practices at the level of higher education and should look to programs such as UCCB's "Emitek" to incorporate "border knowledge" and at the same time increase participation for non-traditional students.

Second, internationalization, as a process, should be opened up to debate and critique with regard to whose interests it is serving and how in some cases it serves to

blatantly commodify education for the benefit of wealthy consumers. For example, the practice of further increasing differential fees for international students should be halted immediately. If institutions sincerely wish to open up their institutions to wider cultural influences, then regular forums for dialogue on global issues should take place in the college classrooms, both as part of formalized curriculum and as part of non-formal educative practices. This recommendation challenges a system that too often only pays lip service to critical debate. Furthermore, faculty, staff, students, and community members should be encouraged to speak openly about any concerns on internationalization practices without fear of reprisal.

A third suggestion is that institutions consider the impact of narrowing "international" programming to business and technology departments. While those international trade and training linkages are important for institutional expansion, so too are cultural and political linkages. One example that comes to mind is the UCCB's programming that links issues of regional sustainability from the Yucatan Penninsula to Cape Breton Island.[16] Dialogue on how some internationalization practices may disadvantage certain cultural groups through loss of land, capital, culture or language should co-exist with discussions on how to build relationships with multinational companies in South East Asia.

Lastly, institutions encouraging internationalization need to involve their communities beyond a call to house international students in home-stay situations. The community, as I have defined it, can be asked to "partner" with local institutions. Better yet, post-secondary institutions could give the community equal attention to that given the international or domestic private sector. For example, institutions should consider hosting conferences that invite members of the community to share their international perspectives. Institutions should make the language and educational needs of non-Native English speaking community members a priority by re-visiting accessibility issues inherent in entrance requirements. Entrance tests that are bound by culture or class and consequently exclude community members from other countries or from non-traditional backgrounds should be eradicated. Moreover, boards of colleges should purposefully be

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[16] For more on Father MacLeod see: MacLeod, G. (1999). From Mondragon to America: Experiments in community economic development. Sydney, NS: UCCB Press.

recruited to include a diverse section of their local community so that diverse interests can be better represented.

As I have observed, internationalization, like most aspects of education is plagued with the trend of attempting to invent a new success story. This involves a search to the "other" for ways to successfully internationalize while ignoring valuable lessons learned through an institution's history. The term "multiculturalism," like feminism, devolved into an unflattering concept over years of misuse and confusion. But like feminism, once deconstructed in concert with similar terms to uncover the richness and validity of its meaning, multiculturalism could be re-examined in a new and perhaps clearer light.

Future Research

Possibilities for future research include expanding the study to include other colleges in other regions in Canada. It would be interesting to research other institutions such as Seneca College that also have a long history of internationalization. This research could add to an understanding of the historical process of internationalization in post-secondary institutions. By the same token, further study could examine institutions in the United States or other countries to broaden the comparative aspect of the research. The two institutions that I looked at exist in a fairly stable political environment, which may partially explain the orientations of internationalization. Therefore, to compare Canadian institutions with similar institutions that exist in a more politically charged context, such as Mexico or South Africa might shed some light on why internationalization here is often bereft of political consciousness and is less likely to challenge government authority.

Although I did not include internationalization in public and private universities or technical institutes in this study, a comparison between specific internationalization directives might reveal consequences of the blurring boundaries of such institutions. Detailed empirical analysis of funding formulas, international partnerships, and provincial and federal support could provide an interesting angle as to why institutions choose to internationalize in particular ways.

The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives is one voice that challenges the blatantly neo-liberal manner in which institutions are ranked. A qualitative study using

interviews and participant observation that ranked internationalization policies using criteria based on, critical multiculturalism theory for example, might provide an interesting comparison with other evaluative studies on what makes an institution a success in internationalization. Such a study would complement other studies that have looked at international student satisfaction as in AUCC's report[17] to perhaps ask if domestic students feel "welcomed" in an internationalized institution.

Another possibility that would be useful in a larger sample of institutions would be the use of in-depth interviews with policy actors familiar with the internationalization process over a historical period. I would choose to include people within the institution as well as community members involved in international activity to gain greater understanding of the internationalization process from personal perspectives. Similarly, interviews with disadvantaged members of the community could be interviewed to offer their perspectives on inclusion and participation as institutions pursue internationalization activity. In institutional environmental scans, an institution attempts to find ways to target their "market," so interviews with community members that are students or potential students would provide evaluative feedback for institutions concerning how they are serving their community.

Another way to broaden the perspective of this study would be to conduct interviews with personnel from provincial education departments and federal organizations such as ACCC, AUCC, CMEC, CBIE, and DFAIT to solicit their views on the internationalization of education. This approach would complement studies by researchers such as Knight (1994, 1996) and Hurabielle (1998) who have conducted surveys on internationalization. The mission statements and policy guidelines for national organizations may reveal further information on prevailing ideologies of internationalization.

Conclusion

To reflect on my own research process, I clearly remember the underlying questions that inspired this study. I asked "What happened to multiculturalism at the

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[17] AUCC (1998). "A Warm Welcome?" Recruitment and Admission of International Students to Canadian Universities: Policies, Procedures and Capacity Summary Report -AUCC. November 1998.

post-secondary level"? and "What happened to the community aspects of internationalization?" The historical search through documents assured me that there was a precedent for both of these aspects and further digging uncovered that some aspects are alive, albeit buried under more rhetoric than I expected. Yet, although the study answered many questions, still many more questions persist. Some of the federal and provincial documents confirmed my sense that there might be a potential dark underbelly to the internationalization phenomenon. The theories that I applied to the findings offered some preliminary explanations as to why the phenomenon is progressing with *little resistance from anyone* who might see some internationalization activities as hegemonic tools of the institution and of the provincial and federal government.

As a researcher committed to uncovering "truths," I was often frustrated with the lack of access to information. For example, I naively expected access to student demographics on ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status but this was not readily available despite the best efforts of some helpful people at the institutions to provide me with this information. Therefore, the detail with which I wanted to look at programming (e.g. which groups access certain internationalized programs) was missed.

Another issue regarding accessibility to information involved access to policy discussions, for example in the form of board minutes. Other studies that I have read were enriched by the candid conversations that take place as decisions are made. Naturally, this would have required extensive observation over a long period of time or access to documents to compare what motions were proposed or vetoed regarding international direction. I attempted to glean what I could from the documents I gathered but more time and freer access to the higher echelons of policy making (in person or on paper) may have better answered some of my questions.

I also wondered how a study that critiques the primacy of economic goals over human values became so preoccupied with the financial context of internationalization. Yet, class or socioeconomic status or economic capital continues to complicate the path of post-secondary education. In fact, the primary correlate with school success is occluded again and again by institutional change agents and their decisions. Therefore, although I anticipated discussing issues of culture and ethnicity, the findings kept

indicating the tendency for internationalization to represent global entrepreneurial interests unless institutions deliberately defended community accountability.

Speaking generally about the direction that internationalization is going in many post-secondary institutions, the displacement of multicultural ideas and, hence, the devaluing of the relationship of institution and community warrants consideration. This particular study crossed into the new millennium and, consequently, saw the language of higher education's preoccupation with preparing for the future, the next century invading the various discourses that I studied. Internationalization was, therefore, portrayed as a solution to a social problem. Yet, the social problem was never fully articulated or really identified. We have ideas on what education should look like. Marketing materials for post-secondary education in Canada are sent overseas and students of all ages and ethnic backgrounds fill the glossy pages. International students and Canadian students are promised a "diverse" experience. Yet, a part of that picture is missing. In the history of education as a means to transform our realities, dialogue on who gets access, who is excluded, how the community and the institutions support each other and how what happens in post-secondary environment that reflects the world beyond is potentially waning. What I am suggesting is that institutions that support internationalization directives revisit principles of international development, critical multiculturalism, and education for global interdependence to eradicate, or at least minimize exclusive educational practices and work towards building post-secondary systems that include and engage diverse local communities in post-secondary education.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: GMCC REFERENCES

G1—Strategic Plan and Budget Strategies 2000

G2—Curriculum for Future Task Force April 1995

G3—Progress Report Curriculum for Future Task Force 1997

G4—Report Curriculum for Future Task Force March 1995

G5—International Centre Report

G6—Newsletter "Positioning GM for the 21rst Century" November 1, 1999

G7—Global College Council Newsletter 1998/1999

G8—Don Stewart (1999). GRCC South American Activities

G9—Memo December 9, 1998 "Tuition and Administrative Fees"

G10—Internal Communication (on Global College)

G11—ALT Presentation IEC 1995

G12—Smyth (1986). International Education: Challenges and Responses
(see Bibliography)

G13—"Multicultural and Native Programming at GMCC" 1987

G14—Serving the Needs of a Changing Community: Survey Report On Multiracial and Multiculturalism in Canada's Community Colleges and Technical Institutes ACCC 1990

G15—Annual Report 1983-1984

G16—MacEwan Today November 19, 1999

G17—Annual Report 1989-1990

G18—Annual Report 1995-1996

G19—Annual Report 1996-1997

G20—Annual Report 1998-1999

G21—VIEW book GMCC 1999-2000

G22—Calendar 2000-2001

G23— Rhul, G. D. (1995). Grant MacEwan Community College: The first two decades: A retrospective. Grant MacEwan Community College.

G24—Accessibility Plan Update June 2000

G25.1—IEC Background: Past Activities

G25.2—IEC Change to Entrepreneurial Model

G26—IEC Background: International Projects

G27—"Ten Reasons Why We Are Involved" in International Development (year?)

G28—"New Initiatives in Support of Externally
Funded Projects 1994-95"

G29—IEC policy Draft

G30—Commitment to International Development

G31—Memo November 14, 1989 p. 9

G32—Memo March 13, 1989

G33—Terms of Reference 1992

G34—Memo February 14,1991

G35—Memo October 7, 1992

G36—GMCC'S Comprehensive Approach

G37—Summary IEC Achievements

G38—Memo Re: draft March 2, 1992

G39—University Affairs "Record Increase in FS Enrolment"

G40—Service Management team meeting February 17, 1993

G41—Update on IEC March 23, 1993G42—IEC Fact Sheet

G43—MacEwan Journalist November 1996 p. 10

G44—Memo May 22 1996

G45—IEC, Mandate

G46—Memo July 11, 1996

G47—Draft of Presidents Update, 1992

Appendix 2: UCCB REFERENCES

U 1—UCCB Annual Calendar 2000-2001

U 2—UCCB "Strategic Planning Process 2000: Charting New Directions, Environmental Scan Summation

U 3—UCCB Confronting the Millennium: Internationalization at the University College of Cape Breton. Preliminary Report: Tennyson & Stinson July 15 1999

U 4—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1993

U 5—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1994

U 6—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1995

U 7—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1996

U 8—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1997

U 9—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1998

U 10—UCCB IEC Annual Report 1999

U 11—UCCB IEC Annual Report 2000

U 12—UCCB Spring and Summer Course Listings Program offerings. 1999

U 13—UCCB President's Annual Report 1996-1997

U 14—UCCB President's Report: A catalyst for Growth 1997-1998

U 15—UCCB President's Report1998-1999: Breaking the Seal on Post-Secondary Education

U 16—UCCB Homepage (4 pages Stapled)

U 17—UCCB "Distinction Alumni News" Fall 1999

U 18—UCCB "Distinction Alumni News" Winter 2000

U 19—UCCB "Programming for Career Transition" 1999

U 20—UCCB Information Page 2000

U 21—UCCB "International Opportunities for UCCB Students" 1999-2000

U 22—UCCB "Centre for International Studies: Public Awareness Program Final Report" April 1995-Aug 31, 1995 by Ruth Schneider

U 23—UCCB "New Directions in Difficult Times: A Review of the Mandate Of the Centre for International Studies to End of the Century, March 1996

U 24—UCCB "Five Dialogues Project" Final Report, 6 Aug. 1997

U 25—UCCB" Nova Scotia Public Awareness Program Evaluation" CIDA Pierre Tanguay, PGF Consultants

U 26—UCCB "Study of International Development Education in Canada. Final Report, 1982. Canadian Council for International Cooperation.

U 27—UCCB International Exchange Program

U 28—UCCB "Welcome to UCCB, Here's Your Introduction to University College Life"

U 29—UCCB Extension and Community Affairs

U 30—Opening Opportunities Strategic Plan, 2000-2005

Appendix 3: ACRONYMS

AAE	Alberta Advanced Education
AAECD	Alberta Advanced Education and Career Development
AB	Alberta
ACCC	Association of Canadian Community Colleges
ACIE	Alberta Centre for International Education
ACOA	Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
AUCC	Association of University and Community Colleges
BCCIE	British Columbia Centre of International Education
CAP	Canada Assistance Plan
CAUT	Canadian Association of University Teachers
CBIE	Canadian Bureau of International Education
CBITA	Cape Breton International Training Associates
CCPA	Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
CHST	Canadian Health and Social Transfer
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIS	Centre of International Studies (at University College of Cape Breton)
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
ECBC	Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation
EPF	Established Programs Financing
ESL	English as a Second Language
FITT	Foundation of International Trade Training
FTAA	Free Trade Agreement of the Americas
GATT	General Agreement of Trades and Tariffs
GMC	Grant MacEwan College or Grant MacEwan Community College
GOC	Government of Canada
HRDC	Human Resource Development Canada
IAPS	Institute of Asia Pacific Studies
IEC	International Education Centre (at Grant MacEwan College)
ISR	International Student Recruitment

NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NS	Nova Scotia
OMNP	Office for Multicultural and Native Programming (GMC)
PAP	Public Awareness Programming (UCCB)
PSE	Post-secondary education
SES	Socio-economic status
UCCB	University College of Cape Breton (UCCB)
UNESCO	United Nation Educational and Scientific Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization