

Jacques P.E. Hurabielle

Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT)

Michael G.A. Grace

M. Grace Consulting and University of Alberta

and

Michael Andrews

University of Alberta

The Role of Canadian Colleges and Technical Institutions in International Education: A 40-Year Perspective

This article documents the emergence and evolution of Canadian postsecondary technical or vocational international education by analyzing information derived from the administration of an in-depth survey to senior college officials in Canadian colleges and postsecondary technical or vocational institutions. Those who responded on behalf of the appropriate department in each institution had a wide variety of education, training, and skills related to the promotion and enhancement of international education. Results showed that the primary goals of international education in these institutions since 1960 were to form human capital, promote economic growth, and facilitate economic globalization. Few institutions in Canada in 1960 met the criteria of being colleges or technical institutions, and even fewer were involved in international education. The large increase in their numbers a few years later coincided with a rapid expansion of interest in international education. Geographical areas of international education were concentrated in Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean from 1971 to 1985. From 1986 to 1998 this changed to cover almost every area of the nonindustrialized world. The intent of international education in these institutions changed from the earlier altruism to a focus on staff development, generation of revenue, and provision of humanitarian assistance. This information may be of assistance to institutions setting policy and suggesting strategies for more effective coordination of international education.

Cet article documente l'émergence et l'évolution de l'éducation planétaire dans des institutions techniques post-secondaires au Canada. Les auteurs ont analysé de l'information découlant d'une enquête approfondie auprès de cadres supérieurs dans des collèges ou des institutions professionnelles au Canada. Les études, la formation et les habiletés de ceux qui ont répondu au nom de leur département étaient variées et liées à l'encouragement et l'enrichissement de l'éducation planétaire. Selon les résultats, les buts primaires de l'éducation planétaire offerte par ces institutions depuis 1960 étaient de former un capital humain, promouvoir la croissance économique et faciliter la mondialisation économique. En 1960, peu

Jacques Hurabielle is Program Chair and has worked as an international consultant for the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) and conducted educational development field work in South America for the Inter-American Development Bank.

Michael Grace is an adjunct professor in the Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry. His expertise is in planning and organization in risk management in clinical research, scientific writing, research design, database development, analysis, and ethics.

Michael Andrews is a full-time sessional lecturer in the Department of Educational Policy Studies, Faculty of Education.

d'institutions au Canada répondaient aux critères nécessaires pour être reconnue comme institution professionnelle, et encore moins offraient de l'éducation planétaire. Au cours des années subséquentes, une augmentation importante dans leurs nombres a coïncidé avec l'expansion rapide de l'intérêt porté à l'éducation planétaire. Entre 1971 et 1985, l'éducation planétaire touchait principalement l'Afrique, l'Asie du Sud-Est et les Caraïbes. De 1986 à 1998, l'intérêt s'est étendu pour réunir presque tous les pays du monde non-industrialisé. Les objectifs de l'éducation planétaire offerte par ces institutions, d'abord caractérisés par l'altruisme, impliquent maintenant le perfectionnement du personnel, la création de revenu et la fourniture d'aide humanitaire. Cette information pourrait s'avérer utile aux institutions qui établissent les politiques et proposent des stratégies pour une meilleure coordination de l'éducation planétaire.

Introduction

The emergence of Canadian postsecondary technical or vocational international education in the early 1960s coincided with the political independence of many British colonies in Africa (Chisiza, 1961). It is not surprising, therefore, that Canada's first funding operation was in Africa. It was also natural for newly independent nations to turn for their training needs to Canada, a predominantly English-speaking, developed country with a colonial past and limited imperialist aspirations (Government of Canada, 1995). In this article, postsecondary technical or vocational education refers to training individuals for employment in middle careers. These careers, usually requiring one or two years of study in a technical institute or college, fill the gap between unskilled labor and occupations that require a university degree. Postsecondary technical or vocational institutions provide training in trades, sciences, technologies, and business. The term *international education* refers to the provision of technical or vocational training abroad by Canadian technical institutes and colleges or their agents.

Canadian international education started as an informal affair, focusing largely on the training of tradesmen. As such, it did not require development and implementation of carefully devised strategies or frameworks (Simpson & Sissons, 1989). Broad guidelines supplied by emerging agencies and organizations were deemed sufficient to guide international education undertakings. In this context, participating postsecondary institutions responded via their regular administration (not international education departments or units), seconding available personnel for a given length of time.

The geographical focus of Canadian international education changed markedly from the mid-1980s to the present. The focus switched from Africa and Latin America (with the exceptions of Chile, Cuba, and Mexico) to newly industrialized countries of Asia (such as South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Philippines) and post-Perestroika eastern Europe (Hurabielle, 1998). This change is related to the perception by governments, agencies, and lending bodies that investing in either of the latter two regions presents less of a financial gamble (Government of Canada, 1995).

Parallel with changes in regional and disciplinary focus, Canadian international education experienced philosophical and conceptual changes, specifically in a shift in attitude from a humanitarian perspective to a pragmatic bottom line (Government of Canada, 1995). In the early stages, development and welfare were at the center of Canadian international undertakings along with a modest component of staff development opportunities and limited trade.

Canada has since developed an overriding concern for generating revenue, establishing strong trade mechanisms, and opening markets to Canadian industries. In the context of neoliberalism, Canadian international education has become more entrepreneurial, an effective vehicle to promote Canadian business and industry abroad, and less altruistic (Barker-Leginsky & Andrews, 1994; Government of Canada, 1995).

Canadian international education initially exhibited a limited level of activity and required little coordination. Over time, as more institutions and agencies became involved, each followed its own path, bringing about competition rather than cooperation, less than efficient use of resources, and frustration both to participating institutions and to recipients (Simpson & Sissons, 1989). Eventually, organizations such as the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC, 1986) and others made attempts to streamline and systematize Canadian educational assistance.

The purpose of this study was to provide an understanding of Canadian international education by examining the involvement of Canadian college and postsecondary technical or vocational education through the administration of an in-depth survey mailed to senior institutional officials.

Research Method

Five semistructured interviews were conducted to gain knowledge of early and current issues in college and postsecondary technical or vocational education assistance. These interviews targeted seasoned international education practitioners who were retired. From this information, in conjunction with the collective experiences of the researchers, a survey was constructed and mailed to educational establishments that met specific criteria.

The survey was directed to colleges and postsecondary technical or vocational institutions. These were defined as establishments that provide one- or two-year technical or vocational training leading to diplomas or certificates, belonging to the public sector, and having completion of secondary schooling as a prerequisite for enrollment (Canadian Education Statistics Council, 1996; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1992; Picot, 1980). The list of these institutions was compiled from member and nonmember institutional listings provided by ACCC and the Government of Canada's listing of colleges.

The survey was to provide a holistic view of what international involvement has been in Canadian establishments. The survey instrument emphasized the nature of international activities, regional and disciplinary focus of activities, chronological distribution of activities, and international education department structure and administration.

In addition to a brief introduction and a concise set of instructions, the survey comprised 81 questions in eight sections, only a few of which are addressed in this article. These sections requested information concerning respondents, specifics of institution, history and structure of international departments, staffing and budget, institutional importance of international education, periods during which activities unfolded, areas of the world covered, success in international education, evaluation techniques, proactivity in international education, strategies to market services, and respondents'

opinions about international education in the institution. The survey generally took 30 to 50 minutes to complete.

The survey and supporting package were reviewed by methodologists throughout the development phase and sent to 20 individuals who represented a cross-section of possible respondents (Gray & Guppy, 1994). The reviewers comprised the following: six methodologists associated with various faculties (sciences and humanities) in universities throughout North America; one statistician or methodologist; three engineers (civil and computing); the Director of Institutional Research for a major postsecondary institution; a professional writer; a pharmacologist; and postsecondary educators familiar with research principles and surveys.

After implementing the modifications recommended by these reviewers, a small pilot project was conducted to see how international education practitioners would react to the final version of the survey (Gray & Guppy, 1994). To preserve the population to be surveyed, the instrument was piloted on four retired international education practitioners. The survey was then altered in the light of the pilot responses. The survey and supporting package were translated into French and checked by two French-speaking academics (one French-Canadian, one French) and two visiting professionals from France.

Questions were of five types: categorical, yes/no response, numerical, open-ended, or descriptive. Responses to open-ended and descriptive questions were grouped by similarities and where possible quantified for statistical analysis.

Limitations

Several limitations were inherent in the design of this study. Because the study relied on surveys, interviews, and documentation only, other types of data available through alternative methodologies were not considered. The decision to limit the study to Canadian public colleges and postsecondary technical or vocational institutions meant that findings would not necessarily be generalizable to Canadian private colleges and technical or vocational institutions, to comparable institutions outside Canada, or to Canadian and foreign universities. Data on international education in the surveyed institutions were limited to information received from one specific respondent in each institution.

Results

The survey was addressed to 123 institutions that met the operational definition of postsecondary technical institution or college, with a 59% ($n=72$) response rate (one was a private institution that was eliminated as it did not meet the entry criteria). The final response rate was 71/122 (58%) of which 10 did not participate in international education. These were eliminated from data analysis, bringing the final number of eligible respondents to 61. From these, 49 (80%) were English-speaking and 12 (20%) French-speaking.

Respondents in Institutions

Fifty-four percent of respondents indicated they did not have international experience before joining their institution. At the time of response, 85% had between one and 10 years of international activity with their institutions.

Levels of educational status indicated that 67% of respondents completed graduate studies. In the area of primary training, the category *education* was

selected by 47% of respondents, with additional disciplinary concentration under the categories of *business* (13%) and *international education/development* (12%). The highest levels of language proficiency (advanced) were English (75%) and French (28%). Forty-one percent of respondents knew three languages at some level of proficiency (basic to advanced), and 21% knew only English. The third language identified by most respondents (29%) was Spanish.

In the study sample 36 (59%) of institutions had fewer than 500 staff members, and 18 (30%) had 501 to 1,000 staff. Most international education departments (66%) functioned with a full-time staff of fewer than four. The general practice among institutions was for administration to appoint staff to international education duties (46%) rather than selecting them via internal open competition (21%). Some respondents (15%) indicated a reliance on both processes. Most respondents (69%) stated that their institutions hired consultants for overseas postings, whereas 31% did not follow this practice. More than half (57%) felt their department did not have sufficient staff to handle international activities effectively.

The survey also investigated the importance of specific skills for teachers of international students in Canada and Canadian personnel on overseas duty. A *very important* rating was given for practical or applied skills (80%), cross-cultural (67%), and academic (63%) for teachers of international students in Canada. For Canadian educators involved in overseas duties, similar categories yielded 85% for practical or applied skills, 64% for academic background, and 33% for international experience.

Funding

Funding was not received from the institution by 67% of departments, so they operated as cost-recovery entities. Another 21% of departments were allocated 1% of the total institutional budget. Between 2% and 5% of the institutional budget was given to 7% of departments in support of their operations, whereas 5% of institutions funded their department entirely. Respondents who stated that they did not operate on a cost-recovery basis indicated that they were contemplating employing this strategy in the future or were funded largely through external agencies such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), ACCC, and others. Revenue-generation data indicated that 46% of the departments did not generate institutional income, although they might have operated on a cost-recovery basis. When asked if international education was considered a primary activity in their institutions, 75% of respondents answered No, but 75% viewed international education as a complementary activity.

Involvement of Institutions in International Education

Institutions became involved in international education because of institutional initiatives (69%), personal initiatives (43%), foreign formal requests (38%), and foreign informal requests (31%). Federal, provincial, governmental, non-governmental requests, and local initiatives all followed at around 20%.

The nature of international activities was categorized in (a) teaching of international students on campus in Canada, and (b) overseas work in the form of international projects. Respondents did not participate in either category between 1960 and 1970. For the period 1971 to 1985, 8% indicated teaching

activities and 6% participation in projects. A higher level of involvement characterized the period of 1986 to the present, when 67% of respondents reported teaching activities, and 79% reported participation in projects.

Eighty-nine percent of respondents rated the function of promoting economic growth as being either *very important* or *moderately important*. Seventy-seven percent held similar views of the function of international education in economic globalization, 72% for its role in modernization, and 47% concerning the part it played in the formation of human capital. Combined ratings (*very important* and *moderately important*) for the function of promoting social equality and income redistribution were 71% and 38% respectively (Table 1).

Most respondents (89%) indicated that international education was a good vehicle to promote the sale of Canadian goods and services abroad. Most respondents (87%) perceived that international activities undertaken by their institutions had a sustained positive economic impact on recipient countries.

Location of Institutions

Table 2 shows the major geographical areas of international involvement identified by respondents. Africa and Southeast Asia emerged in the 1971 to 1985 period as areas of concentration, with 28% and 23% of respondents indicating international involvement in these respective regions. For 1986 to the present, Southeast Asia consolidated its position as an area of high activity (67%). Next in importance—with over 40% of respondents mentioning regional involvement—were China, Africa, and South America. These were followed by eastern Europe and Central America (33% each).

Follow-up of International Education Projects

Follow-up of international education projects was defined as a process designed to assess the undertaking. The most common practice was to assess projects immediately (67%), whereas 33% of respondents replied that they followed up within three years of completion. In 13% of the institutions, no follow-up took place, whereas others indicated that follow-up depended largely on funding and terms of projects.

Success

The survey investigated rate of success of international activities based on the programs and projects undertaken by institutions. Success was defined as

Table 1
Importance of Functions of International Education

<i>Function</i>	<i>Very n (%)</i>	<i>Moderate n (%)</i>	<i>Not n (%)</i>
Form of human capital	25 (41)	22 (36)	14 (23)
Promote economic growth	25 (41)	29 (48)	7 (12)
Facilitate economic globalization	20 (33)	27 (44)	14 (23)
Modernize	16 (26)	28 (46)	17 (28)
Promote social equality	14 (23)	29 (48)	18 (30)
Redistribute income	3 (5)	20 (33)	38 (62)
Others	7 (12)	1 (2)	53 (87)

Table 2
Geographical Areas of International Education by Period

Area	1960-1970 n (%)	1971-1985 n (%)	1986-present n (%)
Africa	1 (2)	17 (28)	29 (48)
Southeast Asia	1 (2)	14 (23)	41 (67)
Caribbean	0 (0)	10 (16)	19 (31)
China	0 (0)	3 (5)	29 (47)
Eastern Europe	0 (0)	1 (2)	20 (33)
India	0 (0)	1 (2)	14 (23)
Central America	1 (2)	2 (3)	20 (33)
South America	0 (0)	6 (10)	25 (41)
Others	1 (2)	5 (8)	12 (20)

client satisfaction expressed by minimal complaint and no request for corrective or supplementary training after students' graduation. Twenty-three percent of respondents considered their success rate in programs to be either *good* or *very good*, and 43% held a similar opinion of their success rate in projects

Participation in formal evaluation of international education performance of institutions, both from a Canadian perspective and that of international clients, was examined. Four groups emerged as major evaluators of the performance exhibited by institutions in international endeavors: administration of institution (64%), international clients involved in evaluated activity (61%), international department itself (54%), and Canadian federal agencies (51%).

Respondents did not identify trade expansion, partnership with Canadian business, or offsetting staff reduction as an intent of international activities during 1960-1970 (Table 3). However, since 1986, respondents indicated the importance of these intents as 25%, 44%, and 12% respectively. Other areas where considerable change has occurred over time are partnerships with foreign business (2-49% over the 3 periods); revenue-generation (5-82%); and internationalization of curricula (2-74%).

The period 1960-1970 was characterized by an absence of strategy or reliance on reactive practices. This tendency changed over time, as 12%

Table 3
Intent of International Education at the Institutional Level by Period

Intent	1960-1970 n (%)	1971-1985 n (%)	1986-present n (%)
Generate revenue	3 (5)	12 (20)	50 (82)
Provide staff development	2 (3)	19 (31)	52 (85)
Provide humanitarian assistance	2 (3)	8 (13)	19 (31)
Internationalize institution's curriculum	1 (2)	5 (8)	45 (74)
Partnership with foreign business	1 (2)	6 (10)	30 (49)
Internationalize education in foreign countries	1 (2)	3 (5)	14 (23)
Expand trade	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (25)
Partnership with Canadian business	0 (0)	3 (5)	27 (44)

reported proactivity in marketing for 1971-1985 and 72% since 1986. Although proactivity increased, 46% continued to report reactivity in international education, and 12% did not have a marketing strategy.

Coordination

Some respondents considered international education to be well organized and coordinated at the institutional level (20%), but fewer considered it so at the local (12%), provincial or territorial (8%), and national (5%) levels. No respondent deemed organization and coordination of international education at the international level to be *very good*. In the *good* category, institutional organization or coordination received 26%, local 16%, provincial or territorial 15%, national 10%, and international 7%. Respondents found international education to be *moderately* well organized or coordinated, as attested by close to 30% responses across all levels. Moderate satisfaction notwithstanding, 10% of respondents rated institutional level as either *poor* or *very poor*, 31% gave the same rating to the local level, 32% to the provincial or territorial level, 38% to the national level, and 44% to the international level.

Institution Ratings

When asked to provide a personal rating of their own institution's undertakings in international education by period, respondents indicated they were typically more pleased than less pleased with the results. This level of satisfaction was seen in percentages related to the period after 1986, where 26% responded that results were *very good* and 54% responded *good*.

Most respondents considered current Canadian college and postsecondary education to be either *very good* or *good*, the two categories combined accounting for 94%. When asked to speculate on what this education would be like between now and 2010, 87% of respondents had high expectations.

Discussion

The survey results show that respondents had minimal international experience before joining their institutions. Although international education practitioners were well educated and had typically completed graduate studies, few had formal training in international affairs or intercultural issues. Education reported was heavily concentrated in the disciplines of education and business. Similarly, respondents indicated little or no knowledge of foreign languages relevant to international education pursuits.

By the late 1960s, due to economic, political, and social reasons, Canada boasted a large number of technical schools, colleges, and institutes of technology and placed considerable value on technical or vocational education (ACCC, 1995; Bryce, 1970). The importance, quality, and stature of technical or vocational education in Canada placed the country in an excellent position to promote similar forms of education abroad (Government of Canada, 1995). Institutions responding to the survey were generally founded between 1961 and 1970. However, in those early years, institutional involvement consisted primarily of overseas consultancies in Africa. Most international education departments were established after 1981. The general practice among institutions was for the administration to appoint institutional staff to international duties rather than selecting them via open competition and according to performance criteria. Among skills deemed important for international education

practitioners were cross-cultural abilities, practical knowledge, and academic abilities. For those working overseas, previous international experience was also considered important.

As a rule, institutions had a department devoted to handling international education. These generally operated on a cost-recovery basis and if funded by other means, indicated that they contemplated the implementation of cost-recovery. Most respondents mentioned that international education was a secondary activity in their institution. Important functions of international education were reported as facilitation of economic globalization, formation of human capital, modernization, promotion of economic growth, and sale of Canadian goods and services abroad.

Major geographical areas of international activities and student origin were initially Africa and the Caribbean, Latin America, and more recently Southeast Asia and China. Over time, enrollment in programs and participation in projects increased steadily. The reported project functions were curriculum development, human resources development, training trainers, provision of technical assistance, completion of needs analyses, evaluation of programs, and teaching students abroad. At the institutional level the intents of international education were summed up as revenue-generation, internationalization of curricula, meeting government commitments, staff development, and to a lesser degree humanitarian assistance.

The period 1960-1970 was characterized by a reliance on reactive practices. This tendency changed over time as respondents reported proactivity in marketing for 1971-1985. Proactivity continued to grow in institutions after 1986. Respondents indicated that international education was well organized and coordinated at the institutional level, but poorly at the national and international level. They generally considered the international achievement of their institutions to be commendable. Reported success rate achieved in international activities was impressive. All but two respondents rated institutional success as high or very high. Yet it was surprising that institutions considered international education to be a secondary activity and continued to endow it with limited resources.

Respondents believed Canadian technical or vocational and college education had the following strengths: quality of skills taught, variety of programs, well-developed curriculum, flexibility, competitive pricing, small class size, provision of a safe and clean environment, and highly qualified staff. They also perceived that Canada was neutral, had a strong network of industry-education partnerships, and was able to deliver curricula via distance education. Canada's reputation as a good international citizen, access to the United States, neutrality, and bilingualism or multiculturalism were considered valuable assets. Respondents anticipated opportunities in teaching English as a second language, software training, distance education, avionics, and information and communication technologies. They saw the increase in industry or education partnerships as a beneficial development.

Respondents also identified weaknesses in Canadian international education, including a lack of financial commitment by various levels of government toward international education, an absence of national guidance in internation-

al endeavors, shrinking budgets, and the existence of a cumbersome foreign visa application or issuance process.

Although each postsecondary technical or vocational institution in Canada exhibits its own strategies in international education, it is reasonable to anticipate commonalities in these strategies. Canadian colleges and postsecondary technical or vocational institutions share many characteristics. Students train to enter mid-level careers, that is, careers located between those characterized by an unskilled labor force and those engaged in by skilled professionals. Institutions offer training in comparable areas of expertise. They grant comparable credentials after comparable lengths of training. Institutions hire similar staff: practitioners rather than academics. They are usually affiliated with the same international agencies and groups: the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC), and others. They are, therefore, exposed to similar opportunities and are expected to operate in relatively similar ways. Canadian colleges and postsecondary technical or vocational institutions share a similar ideological and developmental orientation.

An important issue in international education centers on the dire need for coordination and marketing by the Canadian government. Canada needs a task force dedicated solely to supporting international education. A major responsibility of this task force should be the articulation of the many services offered by discrete institutions into a coherent educational menu from which foreign clients, typically working in national rather than provincial systems, could make their selection.

Second in importance is the need for administrators in institutions to recognize the developmental and financial potential of international education. It is evident that international education plays a secondary or complementary role in most institutions. Inappropriately staffed and insufficiently funded, most departments focus on cost recovery, with limited time or resources to explore opportunities or create them. This is consistent with the findings of Galway (2000). Although a policy of cost recovery is probably permanent, institutions would benefit immensely from staffing their departments adequately (both quantitatively and qualitatively) and from establishing funds for exploratory activities that are a vital component of proactivity. Training and hiring of international education practitioners should be organized in a logical manner. Canadian international education practitioners generally lack adequate cross-cultural and linguistic preparation for the tasks they undertake.

This lack of preparation is compounded by questionable hiring practices for international duties. The study revealed that convenience or internal political expediency acted as overriding factors, whereas rational criteria such as applicant's international experience, qualifications, and cross-cultural and linguistic skills accounted for little in the selection process.

Observations and Reflections

The major purpose of the study was to examine Canada's involvement in educational aid (postsecondary technical or vocational sector) to developing countries from the 1960s to 1997. We acknowledge that any study presents only certain perspectives about the phenomenon under examination, but we believe that the findings are of value in gaining a better insight into international

activities at the college and technical institute level. We highlight here some selected observations, offer some thoughts on topics for further research, and conclude with reflections on the study itself.

Observations

More than half of the respondents had no international experience before coming on staff. At the time of response most had between one and 10 years of employment with their institution. Most respondents had completed graduate studies, with concentration in education or business, not in international affairs. Although respondents were fluent in their mother tongue (either English or French), fewer than half could function satisfactorily in a third language of international significance.

The study also revealed that the vast majority of international education departments received little or no financial support from their institutions. These departments were also operating with minimal permanent staff (typically fewer than 4). The research also revealed that the process used in staff selection for international duty is less than ideal, with staff being appointed, not selected, and based on availability rather than qualifications. Less than ideal selection did not come as a surprise, as international activities were perceived by 75% of institutions to be undertakings of secondary importance. It is reasonable to conclude that although international education practitioners are well educated and technically proficient, they are products of their own system, trained to function in the context of North America.

The research drew attention to the fact that most respondents considered international education to be a valuable tool to promote economic growth in Canada and abroad. Respondents believed that their institutions were successful in their international undertakings, and that these had a positive effect on recipient nations. Generally speaking, respondents perceived international education to be well coordinated at the institutional level, but not at the national level.

Further Research

The study was limited in time and scope and could not address peripheral findings that emerged from literature reviews, interviews, and the survey. Many of these findings, however, deserve attention and should become objects of further research. It would, for example, be enlightening to discover possible differences between the international philosophy, focus, activities, and practices of public and private institutions. Similarly, a study could concentrate on differences between international education in English- and French-speaking institutions. Regional differences could also be explored and lead to a comparison, for example, between institutions in the western and eastern parts of Canada. Detailed comparative investigation could also be made of performance achieved by international departments staffed by cross-culturally and linguistically trained individuals and those staffed by individuals lacking these skills. Although the performance of institutions in international education was reported to be assessed by numerous stakeholders, it would be interesting to investigate how much weight is carried by these respective evaluators in the final assessment of programs and projects.

Reflections

The completion of any major study has a profound impact on the researchers. The principal investigator of this study, Hurabielle (1998), offers the following insights.

The study provided me with an opportunity to review the many international education achievements of Canada over nearly four decades. It also allowed me to better understand the challenges and obstacles Canadian international education practitioners faced over time, and to develop a deeper sense of appreciation for the skills and efforts required to successfully meet these challenges and negotiate these obstacles. The study also fostered in me a greater appreciation for how much international education was steeped in ideology. This ideology was, typically, not acknowledged by practitioners or in policy—both of whom saw Canadian education as neutral. Ideology was, however, always at work behind the scene. This ideology had even shaped my own early views of educational assistance. (p. 153)

As we examined the comments of the respondents and reviewed government literature, it became evident that early involvement in international education was perceived as coming from a humanitarian perspective. However, as international education activities increased in Canada's colleges and technical institutes, the underlying motivation would appear to have shifted from aid to profit. This shift may be attributable to the increasing neoliberal philosophy exhibited by government and the need of institutions to expand their resource base in the light of government cutbacks.

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