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# Disorienting experiences during study abroad: Reflections of pre-service teacher candidates

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#### ABSTRACT

This study examines the study-abroad experiences of pre-service teacher candidates at the Faculty of Education, York University, using transformative learning theory. Disorienting experiences are a crucial first step for perspective transformation; students reported facing racial dynamics, "outsider" status, risk-taking behavior and power relations. Students' utilized a variety of reflection opportunities; however, critical self-reflection imperative for transformation requires greater awareness of one's frame of reference. Future studies need to examine how students' specificities shape the realization of study-abroad goals for pre-service teachers and their ability to develop global consciousness and to work towards an equitable and just society.

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# 1. Introduction

Research conducted in mid-western universities in the United States in the 1990s (Baker & Giacchino-Baker, 2000; Cushner, 2007; Cushner & Mahon, 2002; Mahon, 2007; Merryfield, 2000; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Ouezada, 2004; Willard-Holt, 2001) generated significant literature on the relevance and importance of international experiences for pre-service teachers. Most studies examined the structure and nature of cross-cultural educational experiences for pre-service teachers; they all documented (Willard-Holt, 2001) their value (Williams & Kelleher, 1987; Cushner & Mahon, 2002; Quezada & Alfaro, 2007; Willard-Holt, 2001; Roose, 2001; Alfaro, 2008; Wilson, 1993; Stachowski and Mahan, 1998; Sharma and Jung, 1984; Stachowski and Visconti, 1998) and identified a wide range of benefits. However, there is an increasing recognition of insufficient systematic documentation of teacher candidates' international experiences (Conle et al., 2000; Cordeiro, 2007; Zeichner, 2002). In particular, there is concern that "[international] experiences alone do not make a person a multicultural or global educator" (Merryfield, 2000, p. 440) and that studies need to identify "a broader understanding of [the] lived intercultural experience[s of teacher candidates]," noting that such an understanding is "a critical element in gaining a meaningful understanding of other cultures as well as one's own place in an interconnected world" (Cushner, 2007, p. 37; Wilson, 1987).

Transformative learning theory provides a framework for understanding how "lived experiences" provide a context for making meaning of the world. In attempting to understand teacher candidates' study-abroad experiences, this study will draw on transformation theory: it will also refer to Dewey's concept of "critical reflection" (Dewey, 1933; Montrose, 2002) and to Che, Spearman, and Manizade (2009) conceptualization of "constructive disequilibrium". Using these concepts, this study will consider what, if any, such experiences are reported by students during study abroad and what, if any, opportunities students have for critical reflection. We will draw on researchers such as Che et al. (2009), Malewski and Phillion (2008, 2009), Merryfield (2000), and Talburt and Stewart (1999) who have identified the importance of socio-cultural differences as factors influencing students' perspective and ability to meet study-abroad learning goals. Studyabroad programs for pre-service teachers aim to develop international/intercultural knowledge, skills and dispositions to work in diverse learning environments, and to encourage critical reflection in teaching practice to enable creation of a just and equitable society. Study-abroad literature refers to these outcomes as "intercultural competencies," "cultural consciousness," "global perspectives" or several similar concepts (Bennett, 1993; Che et al., 2009; Taylor, 1994). Using transformative learning theory, we attempt to understand the international/intercultural learning process associated with study abroad. We will also consider

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Helms's racial identity theory (1984; 1994: Thompson, 2003) to analyze critically how race diversifies and complicates the nature of the study-abroad experience. We aspire to fill the existing gap in the literature, while also contributing a Canadian perspective to the largely American discussion.

#### 2. Theoretical framework

Mezirow (1978; Taylor, 2008) first introduced the concept of transformative learning. He said, "[A]t its core... it is about how we make meaning of the world through our experiences... how we develop a frame of reference for understanding the world" (Cranton & King, 2003, p. 31). Frames of reference are "structures of assumptions and expectations" that determine an individual's perspective and world view; his/her beliefs, values, thinking and actions. "It is the revision of a frame of reference [meaning perspective] in concert with [critical] reflection on experience that is addressed by the theory of perspective transformation" (Taylor, 2008, p. 5). Critical reflection leads to one opening his/her frames of reference, discarding old ideas/habits, and adapting new ways of thinking/believing, eventually changing one's assumptions and ways of seeing the world. This emphasis on critical reflection is synonymous with Dewey's "habit of reflective activity" (Dewey, 1933; Montrose, 2002) and is what enables Freire's development of "critical consciousness" (Taylor, 2008) and "conscientization" (Kitchenham, 2008).

Mezirow differentiates three progressive ways of reflection. "Content reflection" examines the content/description of the problem: "process reflection" focuses on the problem-solving strategies; and "premise reflection" questions the problem or issue itself. It is "premise reflection" that enables a person to question his/her perspective within a larger view, leading to transformation (Cranton & King, 2003; Kitchenham, 2008). Mezirow outlines ten phases for perspective transformation; the catalyst for this change begins with a disorienting dilemma (Taylor, 1994). This idea of disorientation, or what Che et al. (2009) refer to as "disequilibrium or dissonance" (2009) is one that we take up in our research. This sense of dissonance or disorientation is described by the study-abroad literature as "culture shock" (Taylor, 1994). Adler (1975) identified culture shock as a form of anxiety resulting from the "misunderstandings of commonly perceived and understood signs and symbols..." (p. 13). Oberg and Gudykunst (Pusch & Merill, 2008) associate culture shock with feelings of panic, anxiety, alienation, frustration and helplessness. Culture shock theory and the intercultural development process has been examined by several researchers who propose phases of change in this experience over time (the U- and W-curve theories), the stage development of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1993) and the importance of various intensity factors to the intercultural experience (Paige, 1993).

#### 3. Literature review

Williams (2005) states that, "[w]ithout concrete evidence of values and outcomes, study abroad experiences will lack the credence afforded other educational programs" (p. 357). This view may partly explain scholars' tendencies to focus on the beneficial outcomes of international experiences. The relationship between successful program design and beneficial outcomes is well documented (Cushner & Mahon, 2002), but little is known about how pre-service teachers develop a deeper awareness of their "frames of reference," examine assumptions and world view, and eventually change their perspective (Kitchenham, 2008). Faulconer (2003) makes clear a need for "...[m]uch more research into how preservice teachers internalize ...cultural sensitivity training ... and how we can better design experiences that are authentic and have

a deep impact on the future teachers' views of their diverse students" (p. 23).

Research on international opportunities for teacher candidates is built on the premise that the students going abroad undertake a "cultural exchange," implying that a homogenous "home" culture comes in contact with a "foreign" culture; the reality of a diverse student body creates a much more complex dynamic. Students' identities are complicated and varied. For an international experience to have a solid foundation, as transformative learning theory suggests, student teachers should be encouraged to explore their own cultural backgrounds and biases in order to examine how these affect their experiences and have an impact on what they do and how they view and interact in the world (Conle et al., 2000; Faulconer, 2003; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Taylor, 1994; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). As Weaver (1998) suggests, "the irony is that the way we often find our culture is by leaving it" (p. 73). Willard-Holt (2001) and Yee and Pik (Tang & Choi, 2004) emphasize that candidates on international teaching practicums demonstrate personal growth and develop empathy, "because of feelings of being an outsider" (Willard-Holt, 2001, p. 515) in an uncertain and unfamiliar environment. Cushner and Brennan (2007) also note students' ability to "strengthen their practice and stretch beyond their traditional zone of comfort" (p. 6). In asking participants about the experiences that have most influenced their work, Merryfield (2000) found that "[m]any of the lived experiences described by the teacher educators include disorientation, confusion, and discomfort when they have moved into new situations" (p. 439). Not only were uncomfortable experiences central to the teacher educators' chosen work: the nature of the experiences also showed common threads. Merryfield found that "...[m]any experiences are centered upon societal, institutional or individual discrimination, poverty or injustice that comes from being treated as different or seen as the 'other' or a permanent outsider" (p. 439).

# 4. Background of the study

In conversations with students during their stay abroad and at re-entry at York University's Faculty of Education, the program coordinators noticed that students repeatedly spoke about incidences that might best be described as challenging "disorienting experiences," which made them uncomfortable and confused. These incidences remained with them as part of their international experiences; several remained largely unresolved. Based on this observation and the reviewed literature, this study sought to achieve two objectives: (1) to identify and analyze what, if any, disorienting or discomforting experiences pre-service teachers identified as salient to their study-abroad experiences; and (2) to examine opportunities for reflection which had been made available to the pre-service teachers. An e-mail invitation to participate in the study, which included a short quantitative questionnaire (asking for program of study, prior international experiences and reasons for participating in the current experience) and an interview, was sent to all ten participants of the 2007 and 2008 York International Internship Placement (YIIP) and all nine participants of the 2008 International Practicum Placement (IPP).

The **YIIP** was established in 2005 as an opportunity for students to work abroad for three months starting in May. York University arranges the internships and provides a stipend for airfare and other expenses to all participants. The students arrange housing in consultation with the placement site. Program admission is competitive, based on an application and interview process. Some students are placed together in pairs, while others are alone in their placement. Before and after their placements, students are required to attend pre-departure and re-entry sessions. During the placements, students are in touch with each other across different

sites abroad and with the YIIP coordinator through a mandatory blog and e-mail. Student must complete a final reflective piece of writing in order to fulfill the program's requirements. The YIIP is a non-credit program.

The **IPP** was made available to students in 2008. Like the YIIP, it involves an application and interview process. Once selected, students are placed in pairs at school locations abroad. Housing is usually arranged within the school compounds but may vary by site. The program runs for four weeks beginning in May, and students are also provided with some funding from York to help offset costs. The IPP also does not offer any academic credit. It offers students a pre-departure and re-entry program. During the practicum, students are required to keep a personal journal; they also must submit a final reflective piece of writing. Students keep in touch with York faculty via e-mail.

Both programs are promoted and managed by the University's International Office and the International Education Office in the Faculty of Education.

# 5. Research methodology

A qualitative methodology was selected and an in-depth oneon-one interview process was developed for both groups of students (YIIP and IPP). The university's ethics protocol was followed. All interested students who responded to our invitation were given gift certificates as a token of appreciation. All students were informed about the study's purpose and their right to decline responses to questions asked; reminding them that their participation was entirely voluntary. In terms of confidentiality, the students were informed that their individual identities would not be revealed; the data would be accessed only by the two researchers, stored securely for three years and then destroyed. Students were asked to sign an Informed Consent Form.

Of the nineteen invited participants, nine volunteered to participate in the study. These nine were interviewed in June and July 2009; five interviews were chosen for transcription and detailed data analysis. It is important to note that all of the nine participants had no difficulty answering our questions; they identified specific incidences and experiences that they labeled as "disorienting" during their study abroad. These were experiences, as stated before, that gave them much discomfort or challenge and were disturbing in one way or another. Although all of the nine students reported "disorienting" experiences, five student responses were selected as a purposive sample for this paper. This was done in order to capture "multiple voices" (Shenton, 2004, pp. 63–75) reflecting York's diverse student population (45% are visible minorities, largest groups being 31% South Asian, 24% Chinese, and 11% Black). These five students provided the most detailed accounts of their experiences. In this sense, our sample is biased as we possibly targeted articulate and cooperative participants.

Below are brief profiles of the five participants who were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

**Angela** - Chinese female, current student who prior to participating in the YIIP, had traveled to China and the Caribbean on family vacations and chose to apply to gain "international teaching experience."

**Fadi** - South Asian male, just graduated. Born in Pakistan and lived there until age eight. He had not traveled between immigrating to Canada and participating in the YIIP and chose to apply to the program for "knowledge in global education."

\* Fadi and Angela were placed in Hong Kong, China.

**Nancy** - Caucasian female, an alumna who prior to participating in the IPP, had traveled to Cuba, Mexico and Europe on vacation and chose to participate because she felt something was missing

in the program that made her unsatisfied so " ... [I got to] mix the two things I love doing: teaching and traveling."

**Nita** - South Asian female, just graduated. Before her participation in the YIIP she had traveled to the United States, the United Kingdom and Mexico for leisure and chose to apply for "personal growth, to explore the world and open my mind."

\* Nita was placed in Dublin, Ireland.

**Yvonne** - Afro-Canadian female, an **alumna** who had not traveled at all prior to her participation in the IPP and chose the program because she wanted to do something unexpected of her and "visit a place where I had preconceived notions and hopefully eradicate those stereotypes."

\* Nancy and Yvonne were placed in Jiangmen, China.

#### 6. Data collection and analysis

Guba's (1981) four criteria for building trustworthiness in qualitative studies – credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability – are discussed below. After reviewing several interview schedules as part of our literature review, we developed a set of interview questions to best address our research questions. The five students responded to a set of open-ended questions that took on average ninety minutes to answer (Patton, 2002, p. 342). The interviews were unstructured, as the researchers recognized that the interviewees knew a lot more about the topic and were happy to be "eager learner[s]" (Guba, 1981, p. 167). All questions on the interview protocol were asked at each interview, but apart from the first question, the order of the questions was not standardized, to maintain a natural a flow of conversation between the interviewer and interviewee. Following are some of the questions asked:

During your time abroad, did you face any disorienting, confusing and/or discomforting incidences or experiences? If so, what were these experiences? Can you reflect back on these experiences and your thoughts/feelings about these experiences?

Had you expected to encounter any situations that would make you feel disoriented, confused and/or discomforted during your international experience?

Did disorienting, confusing and/or discomforting situations influence your understanding of cultural difference? If so, how? Have these disorienting, confusing and/or discomforting experiences influenced you as a teacher/educator? If so, how?

What opportunities did you have to reflect on disorienting, confusing and/or discomforting experiences? If so, how useful did you find these opportunities?

Since we were familiar with the two programs (one of us had participated in the YIIP, the other had been involved in their development and implementation), we engaged in critical self-reflection to see how our previous knowledge and engagement might affect our research process and conclusions. We were careful with stimulus bias in terms of how the questions were phrased, avoiding contextual explanations so as to trigger specific associations or solicit specific responses from the students (Shenton, 2004, pp. 63–75). The familiarity with the programs and our insider knowledge of the Faculty were made known to the participants; we believe this added credibility to our position as researchers and helped establish rapport and trust.

We broadened our data base by including participants from two different programs (YIIP and IPP); we had frequent debriefing sessions between ourselves to discuss the interview process, data management and analysis, to avoid individual research bias and allow greater validity. We also engaged our peers through the project for feedback from research design to the review of this paper (Shenton, 2004, pp. 63–75). The interview data were analyzed qualitatively. The interview transcriptions were read and re-read separately by each of us and independently marked and coded in an effort to discover conceptual categories. We then met to compare our individual coding efforts and through these consultations identified a set of four conceptual categories: experiencing racial dynamics; experiencing "outsider" status; engaging in risk-taking/experiencing new identities; and recognizing privilege and power relations. In reporting our findings we provided a "thick description" of the experiences through the use of verbatim (direct quotation) of the participants (Pulkkinen, 2004). Also, we engaged in the use of multiple theory perspectives and related our findings to these theories and past studies to help interpret and explain the data.

# 7. Limitations of the study

The sample was selective, including experiences of five students at three placements. A larger sample and greater diversity in placements would make the findings more nuanced and highlight any further differences in student backgrounds and differences resulting from the length of the two programs. The interview questions were open-ended and addressed in a different order for all teacher candidates possibly influencing the nature of the responses. The study was based on students' self-reports of their experiences and we had no way of verifying the responses; for example, to see whether they empathize more with their classroom students and minority populations in general upon their return. A more credible data-collection process would have been to triangulate our methodology and use student journals, blogs and reflection papers for analysis. However, we did not have access to these resources. Finally, the researchers were familiar with the Faculty and the programs; thus there is the possibility that social desirability bias influenced the teacher candidates' responses, since the researchers were not total strangers. Participants may also have been more comfortable sharing with the researchers, thus contributing more candid and detailed responses to the interview auestions.

#### 8. Research findings

The findings will be reported under the four conceptual categories mentioned above.

# 8.1. Experiencing racial dynamics

Three of the students' significant moments of discomfort occurred when they personally experienced an act of racism. The two other students reported feeling deeply uncomfortable as they witnessed what they deemed an instance of racism, while also expressing discomfort in recognizing the privilege they enjoyed because of their own skin color.

Yvonne's experience in Mainland China was shaped largely by how she was perceived as a black woman. She would be asked, "Why is your skin so dirty?" Yvonne felt that her race dictated her interactions both with students in the classroom and outside her placement setting:

Students would just, when they saw me, they would run and scream. I'm thinking, "What is this about?" I chalk it up to immaturity as well as ignorance and just fear of the unknown... It just made me realize that I'm black. I never had to think about it in Canada, about the fact that I am black. I had never thought about it. But there, that's when I knew I was black. It wasn't a very positive experience.

Nancy, who was with Yvonne in China, mentioned Yvonne's experience in her interview. She sympathized with Yvonne and echoed her sentiments:

I felt horrible for [Yvonne]. I didn't know how to make her understand... like you can't excuse that but at the same time... it's just a lack of experience on the Chinese culture, on their behalf. They don't have the same history as we do; making people accept different cultures and different skin colors and everything.

Yvonne felt more comfortable on a visit to a silk factory while on a side trip to Beijing:

I saw people of my own race. We greeted each other like longlost relatives: I just felt more comfortable to see someone like me there. And just people from different races... There were different people, so it felt like Toronto again.

Fadi had considered ahead of time his reactions to being "different" from people in Hong Kong:

[A former lecturer at the placement] said that the area that I would be living in would be homogenous... So, I was like, "Ok, I might stand out because of my skin color or my ethnicity". So that was in the back of my mind but I didn't pay attention to it or focus that much onto it because I was going there for an educational experience.

Fadi experienced what he described as an overt act of racism while in Hong Kong:

[The fellow student from York and I] sat down on the subway to go home to the campus and she sat by the exit so she wasn't sitting beside anyone. I sat next to her and then there were two people who were sitting next to us... next to me... So I sat down and so did um, my friend, and then, all of a sudden the two got up and sat directly opposite to us and there were already two people sitting on the opposite bench. I just was taken aback. My friend also noticed this. That stayed with me because I felt that the couple that was sitting next to us felt uncomfortable with having me sit next to them and I think it might have been different if my friend had sat next to the couple and I had sat by the exit.

Angela, who was with Fadi on the subway, raised the incident in her interview:

We were sitting at the same bench as two other couples... They just kind of got up and sat the opposite of us... It could have... maybe it wasn't racism but I took it as that because there was no reason for them to get up and we weren't talking or making noise or anything so it was kind of... it was interesting.

Fadi felt there were consistent misconceptions of him because of the way he looked. He gave specific examples:

I think there was an expectation of me because of my of my skin color. When I [met my roommate] and told him that I was from Canada, he was surprised because he didn't expect me to be from Canada. He asked me, "Do you have any Arabic background or Indian background?" I said, "Yeah, I was born in Pakistan and so were my parents and we moved to Canada." He was like, "Oh! That's surprising because you don't have an accent or anything." So there was an assumption that I would have a particular accent that [was] associated with people with my skin color. But then there were also some moments when my ethnicity was in dispute... Some assumed that I was from Western China because that border is Pakistani in some sense...so there were all of these expectations and assumptions that they had about my ethnicity.

While Fadi felt as though he had to prove his Canadian identity; Nancy, who was white, never had her identity as a North American questioned. Angela, who was ethnically Chinese, was more readily accepted in Hong Kong, and was given additional privilege as an English speaker. Angela recalls:

...When we were placed at the high school, because [my York partner and I] were native English speakers and they highly regarded English-speaking people, they treated us like we were so smart and academic and really, really intellectual beings. And while that was very nice and flattering, I kind of felt out of place, I didn't deserve this attention because I am privileged to be born in Canada and had gone to English schools, so I didn't feel like I worked for that title or that respect, but it was nice.

Nita, who did not report experiencing racism in Dublin, did report experiences she defined as racism when visiting cousins in another European country:

I found that in [that country] what they expected from you was very much tied together to the color of your skin... So if they see that you are non-white, the attitude that you get is completely different than the one a white person would get.

The thematic of race was thus a shared experience for the five participants, eliciting a number of very discomforting, difficult feelings. It is interesting to note that, while only three of the students personally experienced "racism" directed towards them, the other two recognized these discriminatory behaviors while being aware that their own race provided them with a unique privilege that was not accorded their colleagues. This experience gave the students' a feeling that they were "outside their comfort zones"; which leads to the second category we identified.

# 8.2. Experiencing "outsider" status

For Nancy and Angela, the two students who did not report an act or attitude they deemed to be racist towards them, the complexities of being a cultural outsider were the most salient. Nancy expressed frustration at being unable to speak the language:

It was awkward sometimes, because you knew people were talking about you but you had actually no clue as to what [they] were saying, whether they were talking about you because you had done something rude and you didn't know what it was...

She spoke at length about her experiences traveling through Asia upon the completion of her placement. She struggled with whether or not she, as a Canadian, was representing America in parts of the world with a complicated historical relationship with the United States:

I kind of wondered whether I was [representing America] but not on purpose... because I speak English and I'm white, I must be American. I really wanted to make sure that people knew that I wasn't and that I wasn't part of what they'd done...

She spoke about the difficulty of recognizing her own privilege and how she felt it changed people's treatment of her. She said, "I guess because we were hitting a lot of the tourist areas, people see you as a walking ATM, and so you never know if people are ripping you off or how badly." She continued to struggle with the experience of being perceived as a wealthy North American throughout her travels, an experience that changed her vision and expectation of people in general:

I guess, I just thought that people were naturally good-willed to help you out and it wasn't necessarily the case. But then, it wasn't always their fault, just the circumstances that they are living in. It made me think when I got back to Toronto what it would be like to be a tourist in Toronto; whether there are the same kinds of schemes going on but you are unable to see the schemes going on because we live here.

Angela found that, as someone who "looked Chinese" and spoke Cantonese, she could blend into her surroundings over time. She described making a conscious choice to change some of her habits in order to be less noticeable:

I was dressing [like a North American] for the first while and I think that is why [local people] noticed that I was a foreigner. Also, when I was saying little things, I just have a bit of an accent when I speak Cantonese. So that gave it away. But I think about mid-point I started shopping in their stores and dressing like them [laughs] and my accent started to go away a little bit so I noticed that I stopped getting as many stares.

Angela found that, as she began to be accepted as a local, she felt increasingly comfortable in her surroundings. She also found her ability to negotiate between her status as a foreigner and a local a useful asset in her work in a local high school during her internship:

I found that after I revealed [to some of the students] that I spoke Cantonese they were kind of excited and they would feel a little more comfortable, they kind of lit up, like: "Oh!" You know? And that didn't stop them from trying to speak English, but they would use Cantonese sometimes if they didn't understand what I was saying in English so I think that helped. I think it opened up a little bit of a comfort zone for the both of us.

While Angela used her feeling of being a cultural insider to create a stronger bond with her students in Hong Kong, Yvonne saw her feelings as a cultural outsider as a means to empathize with students in Toronto:

The students [in China] would look at [me] funny and just stare, and just make [me] feel very uncomfortable 'cause I was the outsider. And I remember saying to myself, "Now I know how it feels, when a person comes to Canada and they feel like the outsider."

Like Yvonne, Nancy too suggested that her experiences had helped her connect to students:

Now I have a better idea of what it's like to be a foreigner coming into a place. So the kids that don't speak English or [who] are new, I can kind of relate to them a little better now. I haven't had a lot of chances to empathize with somebody who is a minority.

Fadi found that his status as a cultural outsider was reinforced by his Pakistani-Canadian identity. Recounting how he would react when challenged on his Canadian identity, Fadi says:

I just sighed inside. I was like, "Ah, okay. It's okay." This is a globalized world and if we are not going to say anything then nothing is going to get cleared up. So I didn't feel angry, I just felt... what's the word... I felt like I had to teach them. Like: "Okay, so you have that understanding but here let me tell you. This is what I am, or what I perceive myself to be."

Fadi dealt with his status as a cultural outsider by seeing himself in the role of educator about his identity and multiculturalism in general:

I can say that when I was in Hong Kong I wasn't afraid to talk about Pakistan or talk about Canada, ...there was no fear in telling people what I am, so that's how [my identities] melded because the fear wasn't there of hiding one identity from the other.

Nita was the only student who did not speak about feeling like a cultural outsider:

When I went to Ireland, nothing was different; people do shopping the same way, your housing is the same way, you drink water the same way. The only thing that is different is the way people speak, but they still speak in English so you still understand everything that is going on around you. ...so no, when I wrote my first blog I said, "Dublin, home away from home" because I didn't feel that I was away from home.

Facing race and racism was a core factor in the students' experiences of being an "outsider." Nancy had to deal constantly with her privilege of being "white" and all that it implied about her representation, while Angela had to negotiate her Chinese ethnicity in balancing being both an "outsider" and an "insider." What is interesting to note is that the experience of being an "outsider" raised issues of identity in all students as well as an empathy as current teacher candidates of what it means to be a "minority" and/or a "new immigrant" in a Canadian classroom. It is difficult to analyze Nita's comment; perhaps the fact that she was in a "western" country and spent a great deal of time with other international interns made her experience resemble the multiculturalism of Toronto. Overall, the questioning of one's identity as a result of being an "outsider" had interesting implications for the participants, as noted below.

#### 8.3. Engaging in risk-taking/experimenting with new identities

Being an outsider in their host society and being away from home enabled more risk-taking behavior, an opportunity to experience a new or different identity.

Nancy found that, in her teaching practicum in China, she was with a host teacher whom she did not find supportive and a class whose English skills created a language barrier. She recalled feeling uncomfortable in the first class she was expected to teach:

I thought, "Why isn't she helping me?" [Laughs] Because I wasn't an experienced teacher, this was my practice teaching so I was like, "Why isn't she, sort of, guiding me a little bit more?" Especially on that first day.

Nancy challenged herself to draw on her preparation at the Faculty of Education, as well as her own resources, to teach several classes of students despite the language barrier and little guidance from her host teacher. This risk-taking in her professional experience paid off for her learning:

I think that there were some really good things that I learned in the [teacher education] program about visual cues and that kind of stuff that was helpful. And music is not something that they touch on in teachers' college so it was [something I experimented with in the classroom]... I tried to crack my brain... [I had] a booklet and I looked through the booklet for some ideas.

Yvonne described her experience in China as an endeavor she undertook to challenge herself and move beyond her comfort zone:

I know that I changed as a person because I did something that people thought that I couldn't do. So I kind of did it, despite [their doubts]. I'm going to go to China and see what happens, and see? Here I went.

Despite the challenges she faced, she says, "It was learning, 'cause I learned about myself and what I can and cannot handle." Fadi also spoke about risk, but he connected his willingness to take risks to his own understanding of his evolving identity:

I think [as a result of this international experience] I am willing to take more risks. I am willing to immerse myself in the culture of the area but... at the same I can keep the identity I formed in Pakistan and Canada intact and I can take that identity and meld it with what I am experiencing there. And so I think in the future I can form new identities but still keep the ones I have already... So I can create a bigger identity of little different identities I have with me.

Yvonne re-iterated this message:

You can be someone here in Canada, but you can almost reinvent yourself in China.

This experience of being an "outsider," of having one's takenfor-granted identity challenged, enabled in students a sense of "newness" of trying something different. This is indeed interesting, given that most students also reported feeling discomfort at being an "outsider" and having their difference made obvious. This dichotomy seems to influence one's sense of "identity," "self concept," or "self esteem" — who I am, how others perceive me, and how I perceive myself and what I am capable of — enabling some profound changes in self as a result of the study-abroad experience. For some, this sense of self and identity are also intrinsically linked to their own representations of power relations, as detailed below.

# 8.4. Recognizing privilege and global power relations

Other discomforting moments involved the recognition of different power relations both between students' host and home cultures and also within their host cultures. Nancy's travels through Asia disturbed her when she examined them through a historical, geopolitical lens:

...I don't know if we were involved [in the Korean and Vietnam wars] but America kept coming up a lot, in these places of Southeast Asia. And [Americans] would go in and help but they just leave it a mess... [I]t made me have a different view... [and] more reason for what I was thinking, because there is no cleanup or anything that happens after [a war].... [S]o they were a third world country because that is how we left them. It was hard, that part. ...[W]ell, just maybe we should maybe not be interfering in other people's problems unless they are asking for help, and if we do [intervene], we make sure that we help all the way through so that they can get back to whatever level of living they were at beforehand. It was just really sad to know that their lives revolved around us and tourism.

While Nancy was disturbed by the geopolitical realities between Asia (East) and North America (West), Nita tried to make sense of the differences between two developed countries, Ireland and Canada. She spoke about the differences in power between people related to education:

[In Canada] education is like power, it equates with power. I guess it's because it's scarce in a sense; post-secondary education, you have to pay for it. You have to come from... a privileged background that allows you to pay for tuition. But when you look at Ireland, they are not so worried about titles. ... the reason for this is because their education is not the same as ours. Post-secondary education in Ireland is free, so everyone has access to it. When everyone has access to it, it's no longer scarce; everyone has it, and it doesn't equate to power.

Fadi made observations of different power politics within his host culture. He observed:

...I learned about the different power relations... between...the Mainlanders in China ... and... the Hong Kong people... and

what their perception is. The Hong Kong people did not prefer Mainlanders coming to Hong Kong because they didn't see them as educationally fit or culturally fit. And I heard it more than once, several times by the friends I made and then from even people on the street about power relations that were between Mainland China and Hong Kong.

Undoubtedly, students' study-abroad experiences exposed them to the nuanced notions of power and power differentials: Nancy contextualizing these relations in context of North America and Asia, Nita experiencing them in terms of access to social and cultural capital (education) in Ireland and Canada; and Fadi recognizing them in terms of a historical context within what is now one nation (China). These experiences were noted by students as discomforting, albeit varying in levels of intensity; however, unlike the experiences of "feeling like an outsider" which they reflected upon as a "take-home lesson," students did not indicate reflective thoughts on what this meant to them as future teachers in Canada. Below, we outline the types of opportunities students had for reflection and follow up with a more detailed discussion on our research findings.

# 9. Opportunities for Reflection

We found that all the students in the study had a mechanism for reflection as part of the requirements for their programs. Nancy made clear that, although her program required that she keep a journal, writing was something that she enjoyed and would have pursued regardless:

I always do a travel journal when I go away, so that I remember everything that is going on. And it lets you let go of whatever is frustrating or good. I always enjoy doing that.

Nancy also identified speaking with friends and family back in Canada and other York students at debrief sessions as very important aspects of reflection on her experiences.

Yvonne emphasized the importance of sharing her experiences as a mechanism of reflection:

I talked to my friend who is also black; we talked about [my experiences]. I also talked to [one of the program leaders] and she was so supportive, just talking to me...

Like Nancy, Yvonne kept a journal both because she was required to and because she felt the need to. Nita emphasized the importance of communication with others in her dorm as a form of reflection. She said:

...In the evening, we would gather and talk about our experiences and we would try to make sense of *why we are where we are*? And the decisions we make, why they turned out the way they did. So yeah, it opens your eyes a lot to... "how things have happened" and their significance.

On reflecting on her experiences, she said:

I got into the habit of reflecting upon the day before I went to sleep. I would think about what I did and what was different from what I would have done before and I think about it every night and you try to make sense of what is happening.

Fadi also emphasized that he used a variety of reflection techniques. He recalled:

It was a mandatory thing to have an online blog to talk about our experiences through these... questions that we had to reflect on...I think the other opportunity was silent reflection when I was alone in my room. Also talking about it with my roommate

and my Hong Kong friends of those confusing or discomforting incidents because then they were able to talk to me about their own discomforting or confusing incidents that they experienced.

Angela, like Nancy and Yvonne, identified herself as a "diary keeper." She found the required blogs very helpful as a reflective mechanism and was inspired to blog independently on her own.

#### 10. Discussion

Our findings are consistent with Merryfield's (2000) account that formative uncomfortable experiences often deal with aspects of societal, institutional or individual discrimination (p. 441). The discussion below on each of these four categories may not necessarily be distinct, because at times, as outlined in the research findings, the sub-themes and issues between each intersect.

# 10.1. Experiencing racial dynamics

The data suggest that racial and cultural identities and the construction of those identities in different contexts are a central aspect of international experiences for teacher candidates. Interestingly, the experience differs greatly between white and nonwhite students (Merryfield, 2000). For Nancy-the white student in the group—her racial affiliation was of great significance, however not in the same way as it was for the non-white students. Fadi. Nita and Yvonne. For Nancy. as Talburt and Stewart (1999) note, her racial identity gave her "an unmarked and privileged category, whiteness granted the sense of absolute belonging and importance" (p. 172), a status of dominance and privilege, although she had ambivalent feelings about being its beneficiary. While Nancy "felt horrible for Yvonne," her own being "Canadian" or "American" was never questioned; yet Fadi, Nita and Yvonne each were subjected to what. Helms defines as a "quasi-biological definition of race" based on visible aspects of their skin color. They experienced how accepting whiteness as central to North American identity can marginalize and negate Canadians of color, resulting in their identity as Canadians being suspect and their skin color devalued.

Clearly what is being experienced here is the socio-political constructed hierarchy of race (Malewski & Phillion, 2009) where, in this case, being white or Chinese (Angela's group identification) was valued while being black was negatively evaluated. For Nancy and Angela, their racial identities and nationalities translated into "social capital" in terms of how they were perceived and treated by their host community. In the case of Fadi, his ethnicity was confounded with his race as the host community made sense of what they considered his "Arab" or "Indian" descent.

The experience of their racial identities was distinctly different for Fadi and Yvonne. Fadi, as described by Helms' racial identity model (1994) demonstrated the pre-encounter stage when he prepared himself for "difference" as he first made his plans to travel to Hong Kong. However, once he encountered the society, he described an initial disorientation about the many group affiliations with which he was associated. Towards the end of his experience, he demonstrated what Helms describes as "introspection" and an "integration awareness" of his racial identity. He said that "...there was no fear in telling people what I am, so that's how [my identities] melded because the fear wasn't there of hiding one identity from the other." Clearly he demonstrated his attempts to deal with a more complex racial identity based on "greater self actualization and definition" (Helms, 1994, p. 303).

Yvonne's experience resonated with Talburt and Stewart's (1999) recounting of the experience of the only African American

student in their study program who described "unwelcome comments and the ways racism impinged on her actions and interactions" (p. 164). In contrast to Fadi, Yvonne demonstrated a very different understanding of her racial identity development. Her statement that she never realized she was black or had to think about this in Canada is indeed surprising. This denial or avoidance of black racial identity has been referred to by researchers either as a way to disassociate with "other blacks" and identify with the majority white population or as a defensive strategy as a marginal community to settle the dissonance often associated with acknowledging racial inequities (Thompson, 2003). While it was difficult to examine Yvonne's situation in detail, it is interesting to note that both she and Nita had internalized Canada's image of "multiculturalism" and perhaps "unconsciously" assimilated with the "mainstream" to the point where they did not "see" racism within Canadian society. As Helms (1994) suggests, perhaps they were demonstrating "naiveté, obliviousness to socio-political implications of race." According to Helms, Yvonne's behavior (1994) may also be considered as "contradictory racial behavior" as she critiqued her host country's negative racial identity while failing to recognize that racism existed in her own country, a finding similar to Talburt and Stewart's (1999) study in which racialized subjects slip into generalizations about their host's culture.

Merryfield (2000) clearly encourages future research in identifying how what Talburt and Stewart (1999) refer to as students' "hypervisibility" result in shaping their international study-abroad experiences. Leaving the comfort of their home society, both "people of color" and European Americans come to understand, albeit differently, what it is like to live outside the mainstream, feeling discriminated against or excluded, and be perceived as "the other" within another cultural context. Merryfield proposes that teachers bring this learning to their teaching.

# 10.2. Experiencing "outsider" status

Laubscher has also suggested that a significant lesson of study abroad is "an emergent sensitivity to being different, to being an outsider, to being in a distinctive minority—and a realization that in many cases, no amount of effort will ever overcome the basic reality of being different" (Talburt & Stewart, 1999, p. 172). In our study, all students spoke about their experience as the "other." The difference between Nancy and her colleagues is that, while Nancy felt an "outsider," she had to come to terms with her representation of "whiteness," as someone with resources, power and privilege. She continuously battled these thoughts as she negotiated her Canadian identity as separate from "those" Americans. "I wasn't part of what they had done!" At times, she fought feelings of guilt and shame about her position as one associated with world hegemony and oppression. Both Che et al. (2009) and Malewski and Phillion (2009) talk about this burden of privilege and how this can be emotionally and intellectually challenging for participants. On the other hand, Malewski and Phillion (2009) also describe how being similar in terms of looks, culture and language can make one feel comfortable in one's host country and better relate to the local population. This was the case for Angela who was ethnically Chinese and was most comfortable once she could interface both cultures and be "more like them." This differentiated her experience from her peers and she felt "privileged."

While Angela felt as though at some point during her stay she fit in to her host culture, all students expressed this desire to belong. Merryfield (2000) and Talburt and Stewart (1999) also report that most students in their study dealt with ambiguous feelings of wanting to belong, to blend in and not to stand out as a "foreigner;" while also realizing that they were after all "outsiders." This uncomfortable feeling of struggle within themselves resulted in

their reflecting upon the realities and everyday lives of those outside the mainstream such as marginalized and new immigrant students and their families in Toronto. The literature suggests that these feelings are magnified for non-white students who already have the experience of being "positioned on the margins of society or dismissed as inferior" (p. 439).

While we were unable to verify these findings through our data, it is evident that students in our study were challenged by issues of their physical appearance, cultural representation, language ability and other factors that set them apart from the mainstream host society. What is interesting is that, despite these experiences, none of the participants critically reflected on "Canadian" society and their "Canadian identities." They spoke about Canada as if it were a "race-less" or "de-raced" (Thompson, 2003) society and did not seem to analyze the role of power and privilege within Canadian society. This is surprising, considering Dolby's (2007) findings that study abroad results in students gaining greater awareness of the nation and national identities or Merryfield's findings (2000) that students of color are able to relate their international experiences to their own encounter with discrimination. The connections between global and local issues of diversity seem to be understood minimally. It would be interesting to research whether and how these feelings of empathy, of what it like to be an outsider, lead students to understanding the construction of race and the complex nature of social oppression and eventually shape their professional practice as teacher educators.

Transformative learning theory sheds light on how students begin to change their perspectives, in this case becoming more interculturally sensitive and developing an intercultural identity. Core to this transformation is the new experience, which begins with disorientation. In the case of the students in this study, the experience of race/racism as well as being an outsider can be thought of as culture shock and a catalyst for change. However, how this change occurs at the individual level based on various intensity factors (Paige, 1993) and how a deeper critical reflection process enables an evolving intercultural identity or what is commonly referred to as a "third culture perspective" (Taylor, 1994) are questions that remain largely unanswered.

#### 10.3. Engaging in risk-taking/experimenting with new identities

Our data suggested that a positive or liberating outcome of this "outsider" experience was students conscious choices to allow themselves room to look, act and behave differently, and to take risks in relation to their personae at home. Nancy spoke about taking initiative in her role as a teacher in an unfamiliar classroom. Yvonne spoke about her resolve to face an entirely new challenge through traveling to China and "reinventing one's self." Fadi referred to his willingness to take more risks through cultural immersion and reconciling his Pakistani-Canadian identity with the formation of new identities developed through his experience. Both Fadi and Nita talked about experimenting with "something different" that they would not think of doing at home. They both referred to building confidence in "taking the plunge." Our findings perhaps reflect the up-swing in culture shock theory and support earlier studies that suggest that international experiences are catalysts for an increase in self-confidence and improved selfawareness (Cushner & Mahon, 2002; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001).

# 10.4. Recognizing privilege and global power relations

Zemach-Bersin (2009) speaks about the ability of study-abroad programs to help students develop a more sophisticated "world view" and a more nuanced understanding of the complicated power

relations and inequality that exist within and between different countries. Both Nancy and Fadi demonstrated an understanding of postcolonial contexts and their impact on nations/societies. While Nancy was unsure of Canada's political engagement with the Korean and Vietnam wars, her identity as a "White North American" did raise in her conflicts about global power relations. She was much more cognizant of how "North America," a "super" power in a global context, has had an impact on the geo-politics of other parts of the world, in this case Korea and Vietnam, and how western imperialism has left behind several poor legacies in these nations. While she perhaps did not know the specifics of Canada's political interests, she realized how it is equally implicated in creating these global power dynamics. She also spoke about how tourism in the developing world is structured by past colonial relations and the power imbalances between developed and developing countries. In the words of Malewski and Phillion (2008) she was beginning to see some "connections between global capitalism, international policy and changing economic conditions" (p. 58).

Fadi discovered the cultural and economic hierarchy between Hong Kong and Mainland China and how the differential power relations result in discrimination. While he did not make reference necessarily to western hegemonic power as Nancy did, he displayed a deeper understanding, as Malewski and Phillion (2009) report of their students, of the economic, political and cultural nuances of his host country. Nita's reflection on Canada and Ireland, demonstrated a fairly sophisticated understanding of the structure of power relations within a society and how access to resources such as education can create different social, economic and political divisions.

Quoting Britzman and McCarthy, Merryfield (2000) suggests that "identity and contexts of power shape how experiences are interpreted so that experiences themselves have no essentialist effect or meaning" (p. 431). The participants' concerns about power dynamics and their own experiences with power relations were ultimately shaped by their own context and positionality. Transformational learning theory reinforces a similar notion in identifying certain factors, such as cultural difference, race, gender, visibility/invisibility, status and previous experiences of marginality, that either intensify or mute disorienting experiences in intercultural contexts (Taylor, 1994), thus reinforcing the importance of a participant's specific background to perspective transformation and intercultural learning.

Why students do not critically reflect on power structures and power relations in Canada and/or how these power relations extend between and across borders is unclear. What is further disconcerting is that Fadi separated issues of race from the studyabroad experience by saying, "... I didn't pay attention to it or focus that much onto it because I was going there for an educational experience." Without connecting students' experiences with pedagogical learning, particularly in contexts of national and global history, politics and culture, study abroad can prove to be ineffective in developing "intercultural competency." In fact, it may even prove counterproductive in terms of reviving white privilege and colonial thinking (Che et al., 2009).

# 11. Opportunities for reflection

Transformational theory, experiential education and Friere's "critical consciousness" are built on the foundation that "premise reflection" is core to the learning process as it enables a person to engage in deep critical thought, question pre-existing meaning schemas, and thus evolve their intercultural identity or in Bennett's (1993) terminology an "ethno relative perspective."

All teacher candidates were required to engage in personal reflection as part of the program requirements; however, most mentioned their personal interest in this process regardless.

Students used a variety of methods for reflection: journal entries; blogs; dialogue with colleagues; and silent reflection. They found each of these methods useful in terms of recollecting the events of the day/week (content reflection), considering their own feelings and reactions to these events (process reflection) and examining the how and why of specific incidences/occurrences (premise reflection). Thus, students engaged in all three forms of reflection identified by Taylor (2008), Merryfield (2000) proposes, "It is in the telling of experiences in creating ones narratives of experience that who a person is and what the person experienced becomes one" (p. 431). It is evident that students engaged in dialogue about their discomforting and confusing experiences and attempted to scrutinize and contextualize their cultural experiences through their peers. Peer support networks have been identified as an important feature of the transformational and intercultural learning process especially for short-term programs (Malewski & Phillion, 2009), Dewey (1933) described reflective thought as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends" (p. 9). In this study, students identified moments of disorientation and discomfort that initiated a thinking process. They also demonstrated the beginning of a searching or inquiring process. However, it is unclear whether this is sufficient as "critical reflective thinking" to lead to "transformative learning" or "perspective transformation," "conscientization" and intercultural competence.

#### 12. Conclusion

This study confirmed that disorienting experiences were reported by teacher candidates as part of their study abroad experiences as identified under four thematic categories. Students had varied opportunities for reflection; however, they also revealed a limited ability to relate some of their study-abroad experiences in ways that would revise or develop new frames of reference (Taylor, 2008). We conclude that study abroad literature can no more examine what Malewski and Phillion (2009) describe as the "disembodied abstract student;" it must begin to describe and explain how differences amongst students—through their race, gender, class, status and power—and their diverse personal experiences shape their "expectations and outlooks, the ways social group affiliations enable and constrain their ability to gain access to the host culture and the implications of both for the conceptualization of study abroad curriculum" (p. 50). Our study confirms the importance for educators to recognize the pedagogical value of each individual's experience as the basis for learning, engage learners in building an awareness of their own frames of reference (social, cultural and political contexts), and take on the challenge of confronting difficult discussions on positionality in examining its relationship to one's learning process of constructing and revising one's perspective of both self and other. Such study-abroad curriculum is essential for all students—not only those who are affected by their visible differences (Che et al., 2009; Tiessen, 2007) so as to enable critical self-reflection, "perspective transformation" and the realization of the goals of study abroad for pre-service teachers. As Merryfield (2000) rightly asks, "How can teacher educators who have never examined their own privilege or who have no personalized learning of what it feels like to live as the other prepare K-12 teachers to teach for diversity equity and interconnectedness" (p. 441) and develop into globally conscious pre-service teacher candidates?

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