THE CANADIAN BUREAU FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: INNOVATOR IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY LANDSCAPE OR TEMPORARY FILLER FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION? 1966–2004

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Abstract

This article will examine the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE). This non-governmental advocacy organization along with the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC, now Universities Canada) have been responsible for internationalizing higher education (HE) in Canada. It was and remains very significant to international higher education policy. This article will examine the history of the CBIE as it fills this important area of policy making in Canada. It will look critically at the early development of the organization, its fight for financial sustainability as a non-governmental organization (NGO), and lastly, its responses to continuing and emergent issues through to the 2000s. The need for an advocacy organization to fill this niche in Canadian international education policy continues today—what was the CBIE's approach, and is the CBIE now a permanent fixture responsible for internationalizing higher education in Canada?
Keywords*:* Canada, internationalizing higher education, policy history

Résumé

Le présent article fait l'examen du Bureau canadien de l'éducation internationale (BCEI). Cette organisation non gouvernementale, en partenariat avec le Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation du Canada (CMEC) et l'Association des universités et collèges du Canada (AUCC – aujourd'hui Universités Canada), a joué un rôle déterminant dans l'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur au Canada, et continue d'exercer un rôle très important en matière de politiques internationales de l'enseignement supérieur. L'article retrace l'histoire du BCEI dans le cadre de son rôle crucial dans l'élaboration des politiques au Canada. Il porte un regard critique sur les débuts de l'organisation, sur sa lutte pour assurer sa viabilité financière en tant qu'organisation non gouvernementale (ONG) et, enfin, sur son action face aux problèmes récurrents et émergents jusque dans les années 2000. La nécessité d'une organisation de défense des intérêts pour combler cet espace dans la politique canadienne en matière d'éducation internationale est toujours d'actualité. Quelle a été l'approche du BCEI? Est-il désormais un acteur permanent chargé de l'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur au Canada?
Mots-clés : Canada, internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur, histoire des politiques

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

Contemporary times in Canada's international higher education (IHE) sector are marked by continued debates and discussions regarding the nature of internationalization, as well as questions regarding the ability of the country to successfully recruit and support international students, all the while as institutions covet the tuition money that these students bring (Buckner et al., 2020; Jones, 2009).[1] In 2022, there were over 800,000 international students studying in Canada. In October 2023, the federal Minister of Immigration, Marc Miller, announced new and lower targets for the coming years. The number was capped at 360,000 students for 2024, and for 2025, the planned cap was 437,000 study permits (Brunner, 2017; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2023, 2025a; Packer, 2023). This year, 2026 will see a further decline to 408,000 study permits, as well as new rules for international students concerning where they can study and what fields are open to their applications (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2025b).[2] What can we, as scholars and practitioners, learn from the past? What does the history of advocacy organizations such as the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) tell us about Canadian efforts to internationalize higher education? The CBIE undertook its activities in internationalization, student support, education diplomacy, and oversight because no other organization filled this niche at the national level in quite the same way. It will be argued here that the CBIE emerged and undertook IHE initiatives because its creators saw a need to fill perceived gaps in advocacy, policy, and practice in internationalizing Canadian higher education in the period between 1966 and 2004. This was a period when internationalization became a question for most Canadian institutions of higher education. Secondly, the CBIE undertook its activities because it needed to find novel responses to maintain financial sustainability and fight to survive. Non-governmental organizations such as the CBIE lived under the continual threat of closure because of the shifting sands and financial priorities of funders, governments, and higher education institutions. Toward the end of the period under study, the CBIE lastly undertook its activities because of the continuing and emergent challenges of internationalization in the late 1980s through to the early 2000s. The CBIE thus went through several stages of development and has been able to fill this niche up to the present. I will provide an overview of the methodology and sources followed by a brief literature review before documenting these three stages of CBIE development.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

This article uses a historical conceptual framework, and the methodology is grounded in the works of Gary McCulloch, Ruth Watts, Richard Evans, and John Tosh (Evans, 2012; McCulloch & Richardson, 2000; McCulloch & Watts, 2003; Tosh, 2015). The main archives that were consulted and from which data was collected include Library and Archives Canada (LAC; multiple record groups), the University of Guelph Archives, the Archives of Ontario (AO; RG2, RG7, RG32), and the Ontario Historical Education Collections (OHEC) of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Ed-

1 Jane Knight, a Toronto-based scholar and practitioner of international education, has refined her definition of internationalization over time, and this definition can help crystalize our thinking at the outset and provide an important starting point for these discussions; "Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (Knight, 2003, p. 2; see also 1994, 2004).

2 A forthcoming special issue of the Canadian Journal of Higher Education entitled "From Recruitment to Restrictions: A New Policy Era for International Students in Canadian Higher Education" and edited by Elizabeth Buckner, Emma Harden-Wolfson, and Phoebe Kang will further address this question in the current environment.

ucation at the University of Toronto (OISE/UT).[3] The annual reports of the CBIE were located in the OHEC collections and provided the initial impetus for the study. The limitations associated with this research are as follows. This article was conceived at the outset as having a restricted scope; it was to focus primarily on development of the CBIE as an advocacy organization in the context of the internationalization of higher education in Canada, and the lessons that could be learned from this history. The choice of the time period (1966–2004) for the research was made in an effort to document the foundation of the organization through to its maturity in its role. By 2004, the organization was more established in its role in Canadian higher education. Concurrently, the advent of the Web 2.0 and a new wave of internet-based internationalization made this year a good endpoint for the analysis (Schuerholz-Lehr et al., 2007). Lastly, the history of the CBIE intertwines with multiple other associations. Appendix A provides an alphabetical list of key associations in this field and their corresponding acronyms.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Having earlier defined internationalization, the article will now proceed to look at what is known about the history of the CBIE (Knight, 1994, 2003, 2004). The reality of international educational organizations in Canada is that much of their function is overshadowed by the federal structure of the country, thus complicating the researcher's task. Jones has done much to light the way over this difficult terrain and provide context (Jones, 2007). He notes saliently,

> The Canadian approach to higher education policy, in contrast, is the most decentralized of any nation in the developed world. There has never been a federal ministry of education or higher education, and there has never been a federal higher education policy framework. (Jones, 2009)

Further, the number of core organizations, such as the CBIE, involved in internationalization is relatively small in Canada and in need of further attention as scholars of higher education underline (Viczko, 2020). Indeed, Trilokekar picked up where Jones ends and established that there was a role for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—currently Global Affairs Canada (GAC)—in the internationalization of higher education (Trilokekar, 2007, 2009). How do we characterize the CBIE, and what is the history of the organization in this context? The CBIE, for the purposes of this article, can be described as a not-for-profit, membership-based advocacy organization (notably with institutional members only, these being drawn primarily from public universities and colleges) that promotes internationalization of higher education in Canada (Larsen & Al-Haque, 2020, p. 345; Viczko & Tascón, 2016, pp. 7–8 ; Winders, 2013, p. 11).

McCartney focuses specifically on international student policy (McCartney, 2016, 2020, 2021). The CBIE is deeply intertwined with this. He also examines recruitment and the question of differential tuition fees. The creation of the term "international student" as a policy dialogue within the Canadian federal government in the 1960s onward is part of this question—the George Williams University affair of 1969 changed attitudes with regard to "international students" (McCartney, 2016). He notes presciently: "as differential fees became normalized, they reshaped institutions, driving them to dramatically expand recruitment efforts of international students (McCartney, 2020, p. iii)." One of the lacune in this research is the degree to which internationalization is an interdisciplinary puzzle which scholars need to unravel (Brock & Alexiadou, 2013).

3 The original organization, meeting minutes, and funding of the institute documents have not been found in the 1966–1970 time frame. As noted, multiple archives have been searched (e.g., University of Toronto Archives, Archives of Ontario, Library and Archives Canada, etc.). While FROS, some CSOST, U of T International Student Center (ISC), and other CBIE documents have been located, these particular documents remain elusive.

THE NEED TO FILL IN A GAP: INTERNATIONALIZING BETWEEN THE 1960S AND THE 1990S

The CBIE undertook IHE policy from the outset and throughout its foundational development.[4] As mentioned in the introduction, it did so, in this stage of development, to fill a perceived gap in advocacy, policy, and practice in internationalizing higher education in the Canadian context in the period between 1966 and 2004. This section will give an outline of the early efforts to fill the advocacy gap and the evolving policies and processes of the organization. The gap was clearly enunciated at the founding meeting of the Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees (CSOST) on October 18th, 1964 (Smith, 1964). Over 100 delegates attended this meeting, including the interim board of directors of this organization (Smith, 1964). The gap to be filled can be stated in the sense that the delegates saw that there was no national network of foreign student advisors (FSAs) and little coordination of new or existing service groups for foreign students (Smith, 1964). Further, there were no information services across Canada for foreign students; from their arrival (reception), through counselling during their studies, and through to their departure or settlement. Moreover, there was no research program nor advocacy at the national level for international students (Smith, 1964). Lastly, as Paul Martin Sr. (then–Minister of External Affairs) alluded to the national and international dimensions of the gap in his speech to the meeting, "the nature of those [future] policies [of foreign states of which the students come from] will depend in no small part on the image these students take home with them..." (Smith, 1964, p. 3). More broadly speaking, this era marks the time period of provincial expansion of universities, provincial moves toward executive federalism (aka the CMEC) and deeper thinking around international education in the United States as well (Allison, 2016; Arndt, 2005).

The precursors of the CBIE go back to the 1940s and started with the establishment of the Friendly Relations with Overseas Students (FROS) group at the University of Toronto (McCartney, 2020; Poitras, 2019) in 1950.[5] Friendly Relations with Overseas Students was set up by a group of inspired students and professors at the university. Among them were Professors Thomas H. B. Symons, founding president of Trent University, and Dr. Alan Earp, former president of Brock University (CBIE, 2016; Poitras, 2019).

The Toronto-based FROS transformed into the Canadian Service for Overseas Students in 1964, as previously noted. This development was with the support of FROS, the World University Service of Canada (WUSC; established in 1939), and the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (later, the AUCC; Peterson, 2010; Poitras, 2019; Smith, 1964). In August 1966, letters of incorporation were signed. The organization was renamed CBIE in 1970 (CBIE, 1986, p. 1; Sanger, 1970). The signatories of these letters included James A. Gibson, Jean-Charles Bouffard, Grace Maynard, Pierre Meunier, E. Clifford Knowles, John B. Thomas, Andrew Stewart, Douglas Mayer, Patrick Kenniff, Robert L. Dunsmore, Robert Murray MacDonald, Hugh G. Christie, Jacques Garneau, Mohammed Jeeroburkhan, Katherine D. Riddell, Helen Hnatyshyn, Gabrielle Einsle, and Robert J. Torrance (CBIE, 2016). These signatories represented a cross-section of Canadian society including Gibson (civil servant, future president of Brock University), Jean-Charles Bouffard (director of students, Univer-

4 Other countries solve this in different ways. Germany is notable in this regard as there are the Länder (akin to Canadian provinces or U.S. states) and the Kultusminister Konferenz. This Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (the KMK) faces similar pressures to the CMEC and the CBIE (see Broschek, 2021).

5 Daniel Poitras has written extensively on the history of this organization and how it developed the "FROS narrative" regarding international students. The welcoming place that the FROS offices constituted contrasted with the reality of living in Canada (Poitras, 2019).

sité Laval), Mayer (WUSC administrator), Kay Riddell (administrator of FROS and ongoing FSO at University of Toronto), and Einsle (civil society activist with L'Arche), among others. As McCartney (2020) notes, there was an evolution from FROS to the CBIE. The organization was changing from a campus-based organization one of national import (McCartney, 2020, p. 175). The founders' motivations for the CBIE then were manifested in the aims of the new agency. Canada had no organization that spoke to international education, and it was desperately needed.

Particularly through its efforts in capacity building, CBIE sought to develop a network of international education professionals. This was in marked contrast to CMEC's approach. This endeavour started early on with professional development programs for Foreign Student Advisors (CBIE, 1975). By 1970, there were 22,000 foreign students in Canada (CBIE, 2016).[6] The two Canadian organizations (CMEC and CBIE) functioned (and still do function) under two very different sets of principles regarding internationalizing higher education and education diplomacy for Canada—one that was much more government-centric, and one which was mainly oriented toward people.

The CBIE and the Struggle to Internationalize Higher Education in a Reluctant Canada

In his introduction to the 1975 CBIE annual report, director Allan Rix lamented that few Canadians were interested in international forms of education. While many Canadians in the post–World War II era were very engaged in internationalism and the construction of the UN system, particularly under the lead of Lester Pearson, this enthusiasm did not extend to funding international education services on Canadian campuses (Stairs, 1982). Building interest and support would be the organization's challenging goal in coming years (CBIE, 1975).

International Student Services: Efforts and Difficulties

In terms of policy and practice, the early period of the CBIE, from 1966 through to 2004, saw an intense focus on developing many areas. This section will look at only a few of these because of their increasing variety and number. Canadian Bureau for International Education activities were not successful without much work and often encountered difficulties. In the 1940s, there were 400 foreign students in Canada (CBIE, 2016; "International students in US," 2022). One of the key practices of the CBIE was to be involved in the entire recruitment process. This involvement continued through students' arrival, through helping with their stay, through the end of their stay, either to return to their home country or to their integration into Canadian society. No other advocacy organization worked at this level and with this degree of care in shepherding students from abroad through Canadian universities and colleges. Indeed, from the CBIE Board, which was comprised of university administrators (presidents, deans, registrars), to university foreign service advisors (FSAs), to the CBIE secretariat, to researchers who provided data, analyses, and reports for the organization, the entire journey of the students was central (CBIE, 1985).

One of the earliest (and still ongoing) adopted practices in terms of recruitment and retention was the "reception service." By way of this service, international students arriving in Canada received an initial welcome and orientation in selected airports between mid-August and mid-September (normally the start of the autumn term took place after the first Monday in September; CBIE, 1980, p. 5). Numbers had risen to 6,000 students by 1990, and the service

6 The universities that were the most popular with foreign students in the 1970s were normally the biggest universities in every province. In Ontario, this was the University of Toronto and York University; in Quebec, McGill University and Concordia University. So, for example, at U of T there were 3,035 international students in 1974–1975, whereas at York University there were 1,248 international students. See Statistics Canada (1983, p. 37) for more details.

was still deemed essential: "The reception service benefits students by giving them a sense of security and of being welcome upon arrival" (CBIE, 1991, p. 8).

Later, the uniquely grounded nature of the CBIE's role was also apparent in policy and practice. With the negotiation of a contract in 1977–1978, the recruitment of candidates, and the subsequent arrival of 500 students from Nigeria in 1978, the CBIE had to coordinate with the Nigerian federal government (CBIE, 1978). This program was primarily aimed at providing a technical education and would continue through 1983, with 500 students arriving each year (CBIE, 1978).

As McCartney (2020) notes, the issue of differential tuition fees was also part of the CBIE's effort to engage with policies, practices, and issues facing students from abroad. From their introduction in the mid-1970s, this issue was contentious. Early on, very few people felt these fees were fair. McCartney (2020) documents the degree to which the CBIE engaged with the development of this international student policy. In the course of their research and policy papers, the CBIE argued that differential fees were not appropriate, but government policy went in a different direction, as McCartney (2020) underscores. The CBIE's views also evolved as the national policy views on these fees shifted.

The focus on advocacy, policy, practice, and international student affairs established a solid foundation for new challenges in the subsequent time period. The discussion will now turn to the CBIE's fight for financial survival.

THE NEED TO SURVIVE AND INTERNATIONALIZE

The CBIE uniquely undertook its activities because of its desire to plug gaps in Canadian education, as has been established in the first section of this article. It also undertook its activities, in its second stage of development, as it needed to find novel responses to ensure its financial sustainability. Non-governmental organizations live under the existential threat of closure because of shifting financial priorities of funders, governments, higher education institutions, and, critically, they need money to function. What does the CBIE's history tell us about Canadian sources of funding who helped in the internationalization of higher education? What lessons can be learned? The article will now turn its focus to this question through an examination of contract income and the Nigeria/Canada Technical Education Program.

Commentary in the annual reports speaks to the question of finances in the early era of the CBIE. In the early years, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) provided the bulk of the funding for the organization. This was followed by provincial governments, then lastly, memberships and contracts made up the remainder. From 1974 through 1976 the executive director of the organization was Allan Rix (CBIE, 1975; Raptis, 2002). Rix oversaw a comparatively small organization. Key in terms of his annual report of 1974–1975 was the observation that one of the major problems facing all education organizations was money:

> The major difficulty confronting everybody in the education world is money and the shortage of it. This is particularly evident when you try and find money to assist Canadians who want to be involved in programs of an international nature. (CBIE, 1975, p. 1).

The organization through the end of the 1970s was forced to focus entirely on specific government agencies that sponsored projects aligned with their interests. The CIDA continued to be a big funder of the organization. As events showed, in particular the late arrival of funds from this organization, it could not be reliably depended on.

Contract Activities: Salvation by Other Means?

One of the decisions the CBIE made to underpin financial sustainability occurred at the start of Jim McBride's leadership period (1977–1985). This decision was to pursue the development of international contracted educational

services. This was also about capacity building, as the CBIE sought to engage with supplier countries in order to increase the flow of international students to Canada. Under these programs, the CBIE would approach foreign countries regarding their needs in higher education and help with the placement of their students in Canadian universities and Ontario community colleges (CAATs). This also marked the start of transnational connections in higher education.

The Nigeria/Canada Technical Education Program

Additionally, one of the early sources of revenue for the CBIE was the Nigeria/Canada Technical Education Program, which was set in motion in July 1978. This marked a return to international inbound exchanges. For many Canadians, from the higher education sector generally, Africa was not an unknown place. Rather, quite a few professors and students were active in Africa throughout the 1960s and 1970s. There was a long list of activities whereby Canadians helped in development work; from state-level monetary policy through teacher and nursing education (Brouwer, 2013; Walmsley & AUCC, 1970). Under the terms of the CBIE program, Nigerian students were recruited, and funding was provided for scholarships for these students to come to Canada (CBIE, 1978, 1979). This program will now be examined in the sense that it helped the organization survive and become more solidly anchored in terms of internationalization. Each year of the program, 500 Nigerian students came to Canada, as previously noted. The overarching contract for educational services was to be underwritten by the Government of Nigeria.

The pursuit of financial survival was successful by the early 1980s as the CBIE expanded it contracts and recruitment (CBIE, 1983). Despite ongoing lack of clarity in the early 1980s on the policy front from the federal government, and a diminution of support for domestic exchange programs—notably, Education Canada—the organization had successfully transitioned to a new financial path through its contract and recruitment efforts (CBIE, 1983, p. 3). From this point forward, the new model of internationalization became centred on this approach. This then leads to the final discussion: further change in the organization, evolving internationalization, and the CBIE's evolving role into the 2000s.

BROADENING RESPONSIBILITIES AND LATER INITIATIVES

Through the 1980s, the CBIE's key characteristic as an international education advocacy organization for international students was reaffirmed. With James Fox's arrival as executive director in 1987, there was a new clarity about the high-level challenges that the organization faced in terms of internationalizing higher education in Canada. This is the last stage of the CBIE's development to be addressed by this article. The focus was not only on financial planning, but now on strategic direction, and this will be examined in the context of Canadian regional offices and competition with other IHE organizations abroad. In Fox's opinion, oversight and development of a coherent internationalization policy remained a key problem, but he was cautiously optimistic that the CBIE was making strides toward this goal. He mused about this in the 1987–1988 report *Where to Now?*: "The question asked by the CBIE's 1987 conference discussion paper, in many ways encapsulated the organization's direction" (CBIE, 1988, p. 7). Clearly, the organization was now aware of its rising importance, how it filled its policy niche—but it was also looking forward.

The CBIE, in Fox's view, was now claiming strategic ground in internationalizing higher education for Canada. The emphasis of the organization was placed firmly on recruitment and developing new opportunities. The establishment of a new regional office of the organization, this time in Vancouver, was also a major milestone (CBIE, 1990). The issue of support for students also continued to be important (CBIE, 1990).

Further, the transformation of the organization was such that Fox and others saw that the late 1980s was a time to compete internationally with organizations such as the British Council, German Academic Exchange Service

(DAAD)[7], the Dutch HE internationalization organization NUFFIC, and the European Association for International Education (EAIE; Alter, 2000; Beerkens & Teekens, 2008; Callan, 2000, 2007; Chatterjee, 2023; Fisher, 2009; Richardson, 1999). The struggle to recruit, retain, and graduate international students now moved to a new level. Two initiatives in particular stood out: (i) the CBIE partnership with both the Association of Canadian Community Colleges and WUSC—supported by CIDA funding—to establish an office in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; and (ii) engaging a private firm in Indonesia to spread the word of Canada's higher education sector (CBIE, 1989). The British Council, DAAD, and NUFFIC (the German and Dutch organizations, respectively, as listed above) were amongst an evolving international constellation of cultural organizations and diplomatic agencies involved in internationalizing higher education. Their development had been underway for a long time, in some cases decades longer than the CBIE.[8] That Fox thought that the CBIE was able to compete on the same plane spoke volumes of his view on how far the organization had come. Fox furthered his call for a "champion for international education" in a *Globe and Mail* op-ed commentary article in 1993. He felt that Canada could compete on this level with appropriate resources (Fox, 1993).

The CBIE expanded from being an Ottawa-specific organization to one that, while still centred on the country's capital, could also focus on Canada's regions as well. The first of these regional centres, as noted earlier, opened in Vancouver in 1990 (CBIE, 1990). Additionally, the links with the federal government were tightening in that the CBIE had now gained sufficient prominence in internationalizing higher education to be exchanging information with diplomatic missions abroad (CBIE, 1990). Participation in the Canadian Education Centres Network (CECN) was a significant step in this organization's growth (Government of Canada & Consulting and Audit Canada, 1999).[9]

CONCLUSION AND RELEVANCE: WHAT ARE THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE CBIE?

At the end of this examination of the history of the CBIE, one comes away with new understandings of its policy direction. The CBIE undeniably undertook its activities toward internationalizing higher education because no other advocacy organization filled this niche at the national level in Canada in quite the same way. This article has argued that the CBIE emerged and undertook activities to fill perceived gaps in advocacy, policy, and practice in internationalizing Canadian higher education in the period between 1966 and 2004. Key areas of the CBIE's focus included capacity building, recruitment, differential tuition fees, and study abroad. Further, the CBIE undertook its domestic activities because it needed to find novel ways to ensure its financial sustainability and survive through times when governments, many Canadians, and other funders were not interested in supporting the internationalization of higher education. Lastly, as the CBIE stabilized its finances, it also undertook its programs as a result of continuing issues/newly emerging challenges of strategic direction and increased international competition for visibility, and for students in higher education in the 1990s and early 2000s. These facets under-

7 DAAD is Der Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst.

8 These organizations include the Alliance Française, the Goethe Institut, and the Confucius Institute. The literature on international cultural institutes and exchange organizations is specific to particular organizations (primarily, but to give an idea of the scope: Chaubet, 2006; Fondation Singer-Polignac & Alliance Française, 1999; Kathe, 2005; Windsor, 2014).

9 This collaboration later ended, as the CECN closed in 2009. Longtime university administrator Amit Chakma described the administration of this network as "faulty in its management and heavy infrastructure resources" in a follow-up co-authored report (Chakma et al., 2012, p. 40; Government of Canada & Consulting and Audit Canada, 1999; Keller, 2009; Steffenhagen, 2009).

scored the need for this organization. The CBIE thus filled a niche that it has been able to occupy up until today. It is critical to understand this history as policies and institutions originating in the past are, in contemporary times, deeply linked to the projection of Canada's image abroad, and in bringing in the next generation of students who will once again transform the country. The CBIE was directly responsible for shaping this international reputation abroad in that it actively solicited students to undertake higher education in Canada, provided the first point of connection for many international students, and, as they returned to positions of responsibility in their home countries, provided the lasting image that these students took home with them (Allison, 2016; Farquhar, 2001; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2024; Tosh, 2015).

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